MEMOIRS OF THE FAMILY OF TAAFFE

NOT PUBLISHED.

VIENNA 1856.

By Lord Lewis Taaffe, Ninth Viscount

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https://archive.org/details/memoirsoffamilyo01taaf/mode/2up

Commented edition by Stephen J. Taffee

PREFACE

While researching my family tree I ran across a document entitled The Memoirs of Taaffe written by Lord Lewis Taaffe and published in 1856. My family always claimed the name Taaffe as its original surname, changed to variants such as Taffee and Taffe upon migration to the United States from Ireland in the early 1800s. The Taffees of Michigan further claimed a connection to Irish royalty, and the Memoirs of Taffee clearly lays out the history of some Irish Taaffes as having served in various roles, often in support of British and Austrian monarchs and their interests both in the U.K. and Europe.

As I started reading the document, I soon discovered that in addition to British English, many parts of are written Latin, French, German, and Italian. Additionally, the contents often describe historical events occurring in Europe, most centred around military conflicts and associated diplomatic efforts to elicit and coordinate with allies, report the outcomes of battles, and deal with domestic issues and scheming for political power. This meant a journey into the history of that time and terms that had meaning in the 17th century but eventually fell out of use.

Memoirs was posted on archive.org. As of June 2022, the archive claims to have almost 700 billion web pages in their collection. In addition to a scanned original of the Memoirs that you can read online, they downloadable versions.

The contents of the Memoir consist primarily of letters between members of the Taaffe family and their various agents, English royals and clergy, and leaders from other European countries. Most of the writers are male, with occasional correspondence from female nobility. The book also contains drawings of some of the principal Taaffe figures and their various estates and associated buildings.

Early in the book, there is also a family tree, spread over several pages, which proved to be a difficult thing to decipher as the text was in Latin, and areas of the chart were sometimes cut off where the book binding obscure the writing.

Historical Context. Readers who are not conversant with 17th century European history (like me!) maya find it useful to scan Appendices 3, 5 and 6 which offer maps, a list of monarchs, and a timeline of major events of those decades.

Further, this era is also in the middle of *The Little Ice Age*, a period when average global temperatures were cooler in the 16th through 19th centuries, with attendant impacts on agriculture, ocean and river navigation, storms, resulting in food scarcity, disease, and increased death of farm animals. As human living conditions grew more desperate, countries vied for access to warmer climates where food was more plentiful and religious leaders talked of the judgment of God on sinful populace. Christian antisemitism and anti-Muslim sentiments also rose.

Spelling. The original writers did not have the advantage of modern spell checking afforded by computers. I decided to apply spell check to all the text, which resulted in some differences between the original and this copy. Most of the reported “errors” were in non-English languages and the use of various diacritical marks (accent marks above letters uses in many languages). There are also subtle differences between U.S. and U.K. spellings.

Place Names. There are many place names in the document. For example, the First Chapter by Lewis Taffee, mentions over 100 places. Places may be village, towns, villages, counties (or their equivalent) states, and nations. Most of the letters in the Memoir include their place of origin and the place they are being sent to. Names of people are often associated with the places and properties they come from, live

in, or own. Place names often have different spellings and pronunciations depending on who is doing the writing, and some places have undergone several name changes over time.

I take two approaches to helping readers understand place names:

A footnote to a place name indicated that there is something of additional interest about the place relevant to what the correspondent is writing about.

A hyperlink which will take the reader to Appendix 6, an Alphabetical List of Place Names listing the current place name and country, and alternative spellings that may have been used by the correspondent.

Numbers and Currency. A lot of correspondence will include numbers and money. Numbers are most often associated with number of soldiers and their horses, munitions, and distances. Money is often denominated in different currencies in use in Europe at that time.

When it comes to estimates of numbers of troops, I take those with a grain of salt. First, is tempting to inflate the number of the enemy, especially if your side is victorious, to exaggerate the gallantry and leadership of the fighting men and their leaders. It may also serve to indicate the relative contribution given to a battle by various allies. The same may hold true for the number of enemies killed, wounded, and taken prisoner. You may be able to get closer the reality of the situation by comparing ratios. For example, if you estimate the enemy to have 100,000 troops, and you have reasonable knowledge that your side has 70,000, then a 10 to 7 ratio is probably useful in planning. Even then, given that most troop movements were on horse or by foot, it could take weeks for the entire force of either side to make it to a battle, and the numbers could fluctuate wildly. Put on top of that disease, lack of adequate food and shelter, and desertion (especially when fighting your own country with a lot of farmers in the force who have crops to attend to), the situations is fluid.

When money is involved, as it always is in war and politics, there is the matter of whose currency you are using and the relative exchange rate. In the Memoirs, several currencies are most commonly use:

- British Pounds, used in England, Scotland, Ireland. The currency symbol is £
- French Francs. The currency symbol is ₣.
- Dutch Guilders, also called the Florins. The currency symbol is *ƒ* or fl.
- Crows (koruna, krone, króna, koruni, ruvdna) in several Scandinavian and Baltic countries. The currency symbol is kr, Íkr, or , Kč.

Other denominations may appear and will be footnoted.

Writing Tools, Language Conversion, and Translation. I used Libre Office for the initial draft as my word processor and its associated non-English dictionaries, and Microsoft Word for the final draft. The typeface is Times New Roman and Arial. Language conversion was performed using the online service located at Translate King, based on Google Translate. Each conversion names the original language in parentheses at its start.

If a document contains two languages, such as English that contains a Latin or French phrase, I will put the translation in [brackets]. If the phrase has some additional context, such as a famous quote or saying, it may also be accompanied by a footnote.

Converted text is different from translated text. Converted text simply takes the words and attempts to make a literal, word for word equivalent, which is sufficient in simple situations. Translation, on the other hand, tries to take the original text and make it more readable and nuanced. This is what I have

attempted to do. However, since I am not a native speaker of these non-English languages, my efforts likely fall short, However, I do think that I capture the essence of the original and beg the forgiveness of real translators.

Research Notes. I added footnotes and hyperlinks to the text to provide historical and geographical context to the text. Links tend to go to articles relevant to an individual or historical event. Footnotes are shorter, one or two sentence descriptions of a place, person, or definition of word.

Table of Contents. The original Memoirs document contains a Table of Contents at its end. I opted to create a Table of Contents as well but placed it at the beginning in keeping with modern practices. Entries in the Table of Contents are followed by a number in parentheses, which refers to the page number Lord Lewis' Memoirs. I did not index the document as it is searchable on your electronic device. If a sufficient number of users tell me they are printing the document and would like an index, contact me via my family website, taffees.online.

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—Stephen Taffee (ST), Menlo Park, CA, July 2022

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PREFACE i
Preface to Lord Lewis Taffee's Introduction 3
Introduction by Lord Lewis Taaffe 3
LORD LEWIS' FOOTNOTES 12
PREFACE 29
SUPPLEMENT TO THE EARL OF CARLINGFORD'S CORRESPONDENCE 153
Preface to The Correspondence of Francis Taffee 163
First Chapter: 1670 — 1701. (207) 165
Second Chapter. 1695 — 1704. (248) 201
OBSERVATIONS ON AFFAIRS IN IRELAND 263
PREFACE 263
JOHN TAAFFE'S CORRESPONDENCE DURING HIS SOJOURN AT LISBON (335) 281
Preface to John Taaffe's Correspondence 281
John Taaffe's copies. (339) 285
EXTRACTE AUS DEN FELD-UND HOFKRIEGSRÄTHLICHEN 297
I. Die Militär-Dienstleistung (353) des ein Jahre 1704 verstorbenen 297
II. Die Militär-Dienstleistung (356) 302
APPENDIX 1. PORTRAITS 306
APPENDIX 2. POSSESSIONS (361) 313
APPENDIX 3. REGIONAL AND COUNTRY MAPS 326
APPENDIX 4. ALPHABETICAL LIST OF PLACE NAMES 329
APPENDIX 5. LIST OF EUROPEAN MONARCHS 1550-1750 336
APPENDIX 6. SELECTED EVENTS IN EUROPEAN HISTORY – 1600-1750 337
APPENDIX 7. OTHER NOTABLE TAAFFES 345
Julia Taaffe (1809-1881) 345
Eduard Franz Joseph von Taaffe, 11th Viscount Taaffe (1833-1895) 345
Heinrich (Graf) Taaffe, 12th Viscount Taaffe (1872-1828) 346
Edward Charles Richard Taaffe (1887-1967) 346
Ellen Taaffe Zwilich (1939-) 347
Alice Frances Taaffe Terry (1899-1987) 347

Preface to Lord Lewis Taffee's Introduction

*Lord Lewis' writing style is dense, confusing prose consisting of run-on sentences and facts derived from historical records and oral family histories both of which beg for a professional fact checker well versed in European history of this period. Many references are made to locations in Ireland, towns and villages that may no longer exists or whose names have changed. Each paragraph is replete with name dropping, possibly to further bolster the reputation of the Taaffe family and as way of placing a person in time and that a reader in 1856 would recognize the reference. Not being an expert of this period, I have sprinkled footnotes throughout to help equally challenged readers gain of a sense of the cast of characters, places, and events Lewis alludes to. You will note the spelling of some surnames reflect Lewis' practice of the time (such as Mac-Carthy) that may look odd to modern eyes. Sentence punctuation was also different in those years, with em-dashes, ellipses, and semi-colons often used in place of commas and periods (or full stops, as Brits would say.) Lewis also likes long footnotes, some of which span several pages. These posed a challenge in figuring out how to present them alongside the footnotes I was including, so and decided to put them at the end of his introduction, linked within the document with hypertext. Lewis marked his footnotes (now endnotes) with an asterisk *.*

Lewis is clearly proud of his ancestors, and I respect the effort it would have taken him to assemble, edit, and print, a book over 400 pages in length. There are no current Taaffes alive that still hold rank in the British peerage system.

—ST

Introduction by Lord Lewis Taaffe

The family of Taaffe has been of great antiquity and considerable repute in the counties of Louth and Sligo and has produced many eminent persons, among whom was Sir Richard Taaffe; who flourished in the time of King Edward I, and died in 1287; contemporary with whom the Lord Nicholas Taaffe, who by deed, dated at Clantarffe, Crast' animarum 1284, gave in pure alms to God, the blessed Mary, and the Knights Templars in Ireland, his lands of Killergy, and died 30. Oct. 1288 (16 Edw. I.) leaving issue John Taaffe, Archbishop of Armagh, who died in 1306, and Richard Fitz-Nicholas Taaffe, against whom by virtue of his father's said charter, Adam, Prior of the holy trinity in Dublin, recovered 400 acres of land in Killergy with twenty mares cost in Hilary term[1] 1291. He left issue two sons, Richard and Nicholas, who about 1310 gave and confirmed the manor of Donacumper, in the county of Kildare, to the priory of St. Wolstan, and in 1334 (8 Edw. III.) had a grant from the crown of lands in Kenlys etc. to the value of £10 a year, during pleasure, for his persecution of Sir Richard de Mandeville, John Cogan[2] and others, the murderers of William de Burgo, Earl of Ulster.

Richard Taaffe Esq., was seated at Ballybraggan and Castlelumpnagh, and in 1315 (9 Edw. II.) was Sheriff of the county of Louth,[3] when Hugh de Lacie, the younger Earl of Ulster, for inciting Edward Bruce to invade Ireland, for joining him with all his force, causing him to be proclaimed King, and

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1 "Hillary term" is the period from January 11 to 31 during which the superior courts of England were formerly opened.

2 a.k.a. "Sir John de Logan."

3 "The office of High Sheriff is the oldest under the British crown. It was established in Louth in 1227 and remained first in precedence in the county until the reign of Edward VII, when an Order in Council in 1908 gave the Lord-Lieutenant the prime office under the Crown as the Sovereign's personal representative. In the United Kingdom, the High Sheriff remains the Sovereign's county representative for all matters relating to the Judiciary and the maintenance of law and order. The office of High Sheriff of Louth was abolished in 1922 when the Irish Free State became largely independent."

committing divers murders and outrages, was condemned to be drawn with horses, afterwards to he hanged and quartered, one quarter with his head to be set up in Dublin, and the others in Drogheda, Dundalk and Trim, and his bowels to be burned: but the Archbishop of Armagh and others interceding with the L.J.[4] to respite his execution until the king's pleasure might be known, his body was delivered for safe custody to this Richard Taaffe, who kept him until he was ordered to be hanged at Drogheda.—On 19. March 1336, by the name of Richard Taaffe of Castlelumpnagh, he obtained the king's Writ of Ease; being excused by patent[5] during his life, from attending or being put on assizes, juries etc.

He was founder of the family of Ballybraggan, Athclare, Bolies, Stormanstown, Cookstown, Stephenstown, Ranitty, Dromin and Harlestown, from the last of which the Lord Viscount6 Taaffe derives.—By his wife Joan (who after married John Rochford and pleaded her dower in 1384 against her son of 40 messuage[7], 82 mills, 8 carucates[9] of land, 80 acres of meadow, 200 of pasture, 200 of wood, 500 of moor and bog, and 12 pence 10 rent in Ballybraggan, Duncashell, Athclare, Mandevilstown, Dromyng, Ratheskyr, Wodeton, Drakeston, etc… in the county of Louth) the said Richard left John Fitz-Richard Taaffe, who in 1349 was the king's coroner, being then styled John Taaffe, senior, of Ballybraggan, Liscahan and Rath near Platen; and by Rose, his wife, was father of John Fitz-John Taaffe, who in 1342 purchased half a carucate of land in Kiltaltyn from Michael Bath and Mariot his wife, and his issue were Thomas Fitz-John,11 Nicholas Fitz-John Taaffe of Rathmolyn (who by Joan his wife had Adam Fitz-Nicholas of the same place, his second son, his eldest being Simon, who was living in 1363, which Adam in 1368 pleaded £300 against Walter Cusack12), and Richard Fitz-John of Gibston, who had issue Nicholas Fitz-Richard his heir, and John Fitz-Richard of Ballybraggan and of Liscahan, who in 1411 sued William More of Bermeath, cousin and heir to John Taaffe of Castlelumpnagh, for £1000, which John was living in 1382 and probably is the same person who was Sheriff' of Louth in 1377 and married Alicia, who on his decease remarried with John Talbot. Nicholas Fitz-Richard the eldest son, succeeded at Ballybraggan, and was father of Richard Fitz-Nicholas, his successor there, living in 1365, whose son Nicholas in 1414 (2 Hen. V.) was appointed one of the Keepers of the peace in the county of Louth with power to assess men, horses and arms: and to him succeeded Sir Nicholas Taaffe, who in 1441 was Sheriff of the county of Louth when he did great service to the English government in Ireland; and his son Sir Robert 13. April 1468 with 70 horses joined the Mayor of Drogheda at Ardee, who with 500 archers and 200 pole-axes marched against O'Reily and his sons, Mac-Cabe and Mac-Brady, who had entered and wasted Louth with 2400 men. At Malpas bridge they came to an engagement, where O'Reily, his sons and 400 men were slain; for which signal service K. Edward IV. the next year gave the town of Drogheda a sword, to be carried before the Mayor, and the annual sum of £20 for the maintenance thereof.

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4 L.J.—Lord Justice, a judge in the English Court of Appeal.

5 *Patent* is a legal term of the time referring to a "letter of patent," a published, written order issued by a head of state, similar in effect to Executive Orders issued by U.S. Presidents or the Royal Prerogatives of British Monarchs..

6 Ranks of royalty in the U.K. from lowest to highest are: Baron/Baroness, Viscount, Viscountess, Earl (Countess) Marquess/Marchioness, Duke/Duchess, Prince/Princess, and King/Queen. In Taaffe's memoir, he tends to use the term Count instead of Earl, perhaps owing to the European influence and presence of many family members.

7 *Messauge* is a house with adjacent buildings, such as barns and outbuildings, and the land they occupy.

8 A dwelling with outbuildings and land assigned to it use. More…

9 *Curacrate*: the mount of land a team of eight oxen could plow (curraca) over the course of a year. about 120 acres.

10 12p converts to about $ 0.15.The following 10 probably refers to the next lower denomination coin, the half-penny or ha'penny. To read about what a penny would purchase ion 15th century England, more…

11 "Fitz" as a surname prefix means "son of." Some scholars conjecture that its early use in British history may also have been a means of referring to the illegitimate progeny of a male nobles.

12 Walter Cusak was an Irish judge in County Meath, fought for King Edward I. At one point he would be accused in treason associated with the murder of King Edward II, but he was acquitted. He died in 1334.

To him succeeded Sir Lawrence Taaffe Knt.,[13] who in 1472 was one of the 13 honourable and most faithfully disposed persons in the counties of Kildare, Dublin, Meath and Louth, established by act of Parliament a society, by the name of the Captain and Brethren at Arms, or the Brotherhood of St. George, for the preservation of the English pale.[14]—From him descended Peter Taaffe of Ballybraggan Esq., whose son and heir Nicholas in 1552 (6 Edw. VI.) had a special livery of his inheritance and represented the county of Louth in the Parliament, which met 2. January 1559.—He left issue John Taaffe of Ballybraggan and of Harleston Esq., who had three sons, viz.[15]

Christopher, to whom a special livery[16] of the estate was granted, 4 March 1606. He married Susanna, third daughter of Luke, the first Earl of Fingall, and was succeeded in his estates by his son John of Braganstown, who had a like livery by patent, 5 August 1633; but he with his son Christopher being engaged in the rebellion of 1641, the same was forfeited.

Sir William, ancestor to the Lord Taaffe.

Peter, of Dromin in Louth, who during the rebellion in Q. Elizabeth's reign, was murdered in his own house, and left issue Jenico, the father of John; and Lawrence, who in 1583 lived at Moymet, and 31 March that year received a warrant from the Queen to have the first pensioner's place that should fall void (after the preferring of Richard Wood and Roger Lucas), and that in the meantime he should be otherwise relieved, the manner of which relief she referred to the Deputy's discretion, who could best judge what was meet to be done for the present necessity of the poor gentleman, whom she was induced to relieve for his good services, sundry times done both before and in the time of the rebellion, following therein his father's steps, who was murdered in his own house, and had his goods carried away and his house burned and spoiled, in revenge of a special good piece of service performed to her by his said son. And K. James I for the same reason, by patent dated 16, October 1624, pursuant to Privy Seal at Westminster 17 July, gave and confirmed to him and his heirs the castle, town and lands of Peppardstown in the county of Louth, which were then and had been many years in the occupation of him and his ancestors.

Sir William Taaffe of Harleston, of Ballymote and of Smarmore, the second son of John Taaffe of Harleston and Ballybraggan, distinguished himself by his services to the crown, during the course of Tyrone's rebellion.—On 1, Nov. 1597, he was made constable of St. Leger's castle; and after the Spaniards in 1601 had landed at Kingsale, and, in order to subsist, had taken a large prey of cattle and sheep, which were in a seeming island on the south side of the town beyond the water, not to be entered but by a march to a neck of land of 8 or 9 miles about. Captain Taaffe used such expedition, that he attained the place before night, and by a hot skirmish recovered the prey, although under the cover of Castlenyparke, manned purposely to secure them.—On 10, February 1601, the Lord Barry and he routed Donogh Moyle Mac-Carthy's men; and at the siege of Kingsale he behaved with such singular courage and conduct, that he was knighted; and in December 1602 commanding the Irish in the Queen's pay in Carbery, he engaged a band of rebels under the apostolic Vicar Owen Mac-Egcan (whose barbarity was such as to cause every Irishman, that served the Queen and fell into his hands, to be confessed and absolved, and then instantly executed), whom he killed 5. January with 140 of his men, near the river Bandon, took all their cattle, and (upon O'Suleivan's flight) wasted his country and reduced his castles, whereby and the Nuncio's death the Mac-Carthies of Carbery submitted to mercy.—By this success over the Irish the kingdom was settled in a state of peace, and when K. James

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13 Abbreviation of "Knight."

14 *Pale,* a portion of Ireland under direct control of England. In 1450 this specific reference is to the area currently occupied by Dublin.

15 *Viz.* meaning "More detail to follow" or "Namely."

16 *Livery* is a legal term which means the delivery of property to a new owner.

ascended the throne, he put such methods in execution, as he judged most conducive to the establishment thereof; the principal of which was the plantation of the forfeited lands, and the disposition of them to such persons, as he was assured not only deserved a reward for their past services, but would continue to promote the tranquillity of the kingdom and secure it from future commotions: among whom Sir William Taaffe had not the least share of His Majesty's Bounty, as well as of Q. Elizabeth, having served them both with great fidelity.

The Queen, in reward of his service, by her letter from Greenwich 6 July 1592 ordered him a lease, or leaves in possession or reversion, of so many crown lands in Connaught, as should amount to £30 a year, for 30 years, without fine; and K. James by patent 9 January 1603 granted to him in fee-farm the Rectory of Ballykilly, parcel of the Priory of Inistiock, lately demised to Sir Lucas Dillon, the Precinct of St. Mary de Insula vitae [Island of Life] in O'Carrol's country, with other religious possessions in the counties of Waterford and Cavan; and 20 of that month the manor of Smarmore[17] in the county of Louth, the town and lough [lake] of Ballinlowre in the county of Dublin, the Abbey of Odorney in Kerry, the Rectories of Odorney, Mollahiffe and Rathreogh, with other hereditaments in those counties and in Cork, Waterford, Sligo, Longford, Meath, Westmeath, Kildare, Mayo, Tipperary and Queen's county, to hold by the 20, part of a Knight's fee, and £37 8 s. 6 d. rent. Also, 16 July 1604, he had a grant of the entire territory or county of Ichonloe, in the county of Cork, containing 28 small carucates of land, each consisting of 120 acres, lying in Muskery, to hold by the like tenure and the rent of £5 's. Irish. Farther he passed patent 20 January 1610 for 1000 acres of escheated[18] lands in Cavan; and 2 July 1617 the King gave him the town and land of Ballintogher, Drumconragh and many others in the baronies of Corren and Tirrerill in the county of Sligo, to hold as of the castle of Athlone by knight's service; in which patent is contained a grant to his son and heir John (then of Cotletstown), his heirs and assignees, of the castle, town and lands of Cotletstown and divers others in the said last county; some parts of which having been by former grants given to Francis Edgeworthe of Dublin Esq., from whom Sir William Taaffe at a great expense for the better security of his estate had acquired them, and some of them being pretended to lie in the county of Leitrim, he passed a new patent (to avoid all doubts and questions) 17, April 1620, of the lands of Ballintogher, etc., to hold in capite,[19] which were created into the manor of Ballintogher.

On 21, April 1630 he makes his will and thereby bequeaths his body to be buried in the chancel of the church of Athirdee, where his ancestors lay, and directs his well-beloved son Sir John Taaffe, immediately after his death to cause to be erected a monument over his burying-place, for effecting whereof he left £50, if in his life-time the same was not finished; and that his son the second year after his decease should pay the sum of £170 to such persons and pious uses, as his trusty and well-beloved cousin and friend Walter Evers of Bingerston, in Meath, Esq. should distribute and appoint, etc. He married to his first wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Brett of Tulloch in Fingall, secondly Ismay, daughter of Sir Christopher and sister to Sir John Bellew, Knts.; and dying 9 Feb. 1630 was buried in Ardee, leaving issue by his second wife Sir John his heir, Mary married to John Taaffe of Arthurstown, and Eleanor, to Richard Taaffe of Cookstown, both in the county of Louth.

Sir John Taaffe was knighted in his father's lifetime, and the King (as he expresseth himself in his Privy Seal date at Westminster 27 June 1628 [Rot. A. Car. II. p. D. R. 26]) having received special commendation of his virtues and abilities, of his father's long services in the wars of Ireland with much

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17 Smarmore Castle was the seat of the Taaffe family up to the 1980's, after which is was an inn and in 2015 became an addiction treatment centre. More…

18 *Escheated.* Property which has become the property of the state when the owner dies without a will or legal heirs. In this case, the land was located in County Cavan, near present day Ulster in Norther Ireland.

19 *Capite*. In old English law a capite was land held either by the king or a knight sworn to his service who serves as a type of landlord or manager for the land.

valour and reputation, and that he was a principal gentleman of an ancient English family, and well affected to his Majesty's interests, was pleased to advance him to the dignities of Baron of Ballymote and Viscount of Corren, by patent bearing date at Dublin, 1 August 1628; and 14 July 1634 he took his seat in the House of Peers.* After the commencement of the rebellion, he received a letter at his seat of Ballymote, written by friar Peter Taaffe and signed by Sir Phelim O'Neile at Braganstown in February 1641, to this purpose:

"That his Lordship, with the rest of the Roman Catholic confederates in the province of Conaught, should vigorously prosecute the war, according to their first undertaking, until all the heretics were routed out; and that if they did not unanimously proceed in that business, he would, as soon as he had reduced Drogheda, march thither with his army, to spoil and destroy all those that were refractory,[20] *for that they were all as deeply engaged in the business as he was, and should not withdraw when they pleased. If the contents of this letter were true, his Lordship was freed by death from his engagements, for he departed this life before 9 January 1642 and was interred at Ballymote, the burial-place of the family*). By Anne, daughter of Theobald, the first Viscount Dillon, he had eleven sons and four daughters, viz.*

Theobald, created Earl of Carlingford.

Anna, married to Randall Plunket, brother of the Baron of Dunsany.

Lucas, who during the rebellion was Major-General in Connaught, and in October 1649 made Governor of Ross, with 1500 foot,[21] to defend the place against Cromwell; after whose reduction of the Kingdom he submitted, with his brother Francis and the forces under their command, upon the articles concluded at Downmore; yet was excepted from pardon for life and estate, and being forced to retire, served for some time as a Colonel in Italy and Spain; but deceased in Ireland, and was buried at Ballymote.—He married first Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Stephenson of Dunmoylin, in the county of Limerick, Esq., and left an only child Mary, married to Richard Burke of Derrymaclaghtny, in the county of Galway, Esq.; and secondly Annabella, fifth and youngest daughter of Thomas Springe Esq. (the first of that name in Kerry, by his wife Annabella, eldest daughter of John Browne of Awny Esq.), by whom he had one son Christopher, a Captain in the regiment whereof Dominick Ferreter was Major in the time of K. Charles exile in Flanders, with whom having some angry words the Major commanded two of Doctor Field's sons his kinsmen, then in their company, to shoot Captain Taaffe, if he did not quit the place, which one of them accordingly did. By the daughter of… FitzGerald of Ballynasquiddane, he left one son Lucas, a Captain in the Irish army, who retired into France upon the revolution, and by Elizabeth Gunter, his wife left one son Abel Taaffe of Tipperary.

- Francis, a Colonel in the rebellion of 1641, died without an issue at Naples.
- Captain William, ancestor to the present Viscount Taaffe.
- Edward, died without an issue.
- Thomas married in Flanders, and had three sons and one daughter; Lucas, Theobald, who died unmarried, Charles and Anne.
- James, a Franciscan friar.
- George died in the 16th year of his age.

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[20] *Refractory.* Stubborn, unmanageable, resistant to change.
[21] *Foot.* In this case meaning "foot solider."

- Jasper, married the daughter of Sir William Hill Knt., and was killed in battle without an issue.
- Christopher, who died unmarried after the year 1625 in the 21. year of his age.
- Charles, was abbot of the Cistercian Abbey of Boyle, in the county of Roscommon.
- Ismay, was married to Bryan MacDonogh of the county of Sligo Esq.
- Eleanor, a Nun of the order of St. Clare.
- Anne, a Nun of the order of St. Dominic.

Sir Theobald Taaffe, the second Viscount, in 1639 represented the county of Sligo in the Parliament, and during the course of the rebellion, was constituted General of the province of Munster; of which post being deprived by the peace, concluded by the Marquess of Ormond with the Irish in 1646, and the Earl of Carlingford, he remained without employment until April 1649; when upon the death of Sir Thomas Lucas, he was made Master of the Ordnance; a charge for which he was well qualified by his capacity and experience, and which he well deserved by his extraordinary affection and services to the crown.—In 1651 he was sent, with Sir Nicholas Plunket and Geoffrey Browne, by the Marquis of Clanricarde, the King's deputy to the Duke of Lorrain, to solicit his aid in favour of the (then) unhappy Kingdom of Ireland),* and was excepted from pardon for life and estate, by Cromwell's act of Parliament for the settlement of Ireland; but after the Restoration, until the King's order for restoring him to his estate could be executed, he had his Majesty's letters of direction, dated 17. August 1661, to the L. J. to grant him £800 a year towards his immediate support, to be paid August 1661, to the L. J. to grant him £800 a year towards his immediate support, to be paid monthly out of the treasury.—But notwithstanding his Lordship being detained from the possession of his estate, and the said annuity being stopped, he addressed the King for relief, who 30, November that year required his chief Governors, to use all diligence for the restoring him to his estate; and in the meantime, from the date of his said former order, to allow him the said annuity, or otherwise the immediate possession of his estate with the rents due, according to former orders.—Accordingly, by the acts of settlement he was restored to his estate, together with those of Christopher Taaffe of Braganstown, and Theophilus Taaffe of Cookstown, which they had respectively forfeited; and had the benefit of his provisos confirmed by patent 16 April 1667, and by several future patents a discharge of the new quit-rents, imposed by those acts.

"His Majesty having a particular esteem for his Lordship, was pleased, as an especial mark of the gracious sense he had of his eminent services for him and his interests, to honour him with the dignity of Earl of Carlingford in the county of Louth, entailing that honour on the heirs male of his body, "by Privy Seal, dated at Whitehall 17, June 1661 (Rot. A. 13. Car. 11. 1. p. D.), and by Patent 26, June 1662,*) he was accordingly advanced to that title with the creation fee of £20; and for the better

In 1666 his Lordship was sent ambassador to the Emperor Leopold.[22]—He married first Mary, daughter of Sir Nicholas Leixlip, with whom he had a large fortune, and by her had six sons and one daughter; and his second wife was Anne, daughter of Sir William Pershall Knt, but by her, who in 1693 remarried with Randal Lord Dunfany, he had no issue, and dying 31, December 1677, was buried at Ballymote.

His children were William and Robert, who both died unmarried, Nicholas and Francis successive Earls of Carlingford, and Lady Anne, first married to Sir Joseph Throckmorton, secondly to Nicholas Plunket Esq., second son of Christopher, Earl of Fingall, and died in July 1742, in the county of Monaghan,.

[22] When the word *Emperor* appears in this document it will refer to the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire unless otherwise stated. More…

Nicholas,* the third Viscount Taaffe and second Earl of Carlingford, was of the Privy Council to K. James II, but in 1690 commanding the King's guards lost his life (1 July) at the battle of Boyne; and leaving no issue by his wife Mary, daughter of…Wild of Wildhouse Esq., was succeeded by his brother.

Francis, the third Earl, the famous Count Taaffe of the Empire, who was above 30 years in the Imperial service, being Colonel of the Royal Cuirassiers,[23] and Lieutenant General of the horse.—He was placed by his father to prosecute his studies in the city of Olmütz in Germany, where his talents were so great, that to this day his portrait is preserved there. The Emperor Ferdinand made him one of his Pages of honour;** and Charles, the fifth Duke of Lorrain, gave a Captain's commission in his own regiment of Cuirassiers, which regiment he afterwards bestowed upon him, and committed to his care the education of all his children, particularly of his eldest son Leopold.* In 1674 he went to Poland, where, during the elections, he held a famous speech in favour of the Prince of Lorrain.** His conduct being equally conspicuous in the cabinet and the field, he in his younger days obtained the golden key as Chamberlain[24] to the Emperor, was advanced to be a Marshal, Counsellor of the state and Cabinet, and obtained from the Emperor and the King of Spain Louth the Order of the Golden Fleece.*

He was so highly esteemed by most of the crowned heads in Europe, that when the hereditary honours devolved to him on his brother's death, he was exempted from forfeiture, by a special clause in the English act of Parliament 1. Will, and Mary);** and in the act, passed in Ireland, 9. of that reign, to hinder the reversal of diverse outlawries and attainders. Louth it was provided, that nothing therein contained should extend to attain or convict of high treason, Nicholas, late Earl of Carlingford, or his brother John Taaffe Esq., or to vest in or forfeit to the crown their estates. But his Lordship dying without issue, in August 1704, the honours descended to his nephew Theobald, son of his brother John. His death was very much lamented at the Imperial court, and especially by the Duke of Lorrain),*** who to express his concern for the loss of so great a man and one that had been so faithful and serviceable to his Highness' family, and the Emperor and Empire in general, cause the Cathedral church of Nancy to be hung with black, and corpse to lie in state the space of a month, attend by his guards.

His brother John, in December 1671, married Lady Rose Lambert, third daughter of Charles, the first Earl of Cavan, and being a major in K. James' army was killed before Derry in April 1689, leaving issue the said Theobald, Lambart killed at the siege of Cremona in Italy, in 1701,**** and a daughter Mary.

William Taaffe, cousin German to Francis Earl of Carlingford, was adjutant general and lost his life in the wars against the Turks, the year 1684.

Theobald, the fifth Viscount and fourth Earl, married Lady Amelia Plunket, youngest daughter of Luke, third Earl of Fingall. In his youth he made some campaigns against the Turks and especially distinguished himself at the siege of Buda. On the 25, of April 1737, receiving a pass from the Government to go into Germany, he died at Lisle in Flanders 24 Nov. 1738 O. S. without issue (by her who died 4, October 1757, at Brussels) and was buried the 26, in the chapel of the college of Lisle, whereby the Earldom of Carlingford became extinct; but the titles of Baron and Viscount devolved on his next heir-male, Nicholas Taaffe (descended from William eighth son of John, the first Viscount) whom by his will, dated 7, May 1737, he constituted his heir, residuary legatee, and joint executor.

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[23] *Cuirassiers* were cavalry solders, usually equipped with a sword or sabre, light chest armour (cuirass), and later, pistols. They were successors of the heavier armoured knights of the medieval era.

[24] A Lord Chamberlain is key member of the royal household, appointed by the King or Queen. One symbol of this office is a golden key, representing the key to the royal's home. The Lord Chamberlain oversees all ceremonies, visiting dignitaries, ceremonies, staffing, the castle grounds, and upkeep, etc. A huge job with a lot of responsibilities.

Which William Taaffe Esq. married Margaret, daughter of Conor O'Kennedy Roe (Dynasty of Ballymartin in Ormond, by his wife Eleanora, daughter of… Purcell, titular Baron of Loughmoe, in the county of Tipperary), by whom he had one son Francis and three daughters, Elizabeth, married to Hiberus O'Hara of Ballyhara, in the county of Sligo, Esq.; Elinor, to John, son of Major Walter Philips of Ballinduth, in the county of Mayo; and Mary, who died young.—Francis Taaffe Esq. married Anne, daughter of John Crean, of O'Creans-Castle in Sligo (by his wife Sarah, daughter of William Ormsby Esq., by his wife Mary, of the family of Mapolder) and by her, who after married Mr. Philips of Ballinduth, in the county of Mayo, and died in 1736, had Nicholas Viscount Taaffe, and two daughters; Anne (married to John Brett, of Bathdoony in the county of Sligo, Esq. by whom she had several sons, all deceased, and four daughters, Anne married to Roger Irwin of Lisballin in the said county, Esq., Sarah, Mary, and Elizabeth); and Mary, to Theodore, son of Major Christopher Verdon of Clunigashell, and died childless.

Nicholas, the sixth Viscount Taaffe, Count of the Holy Empire, was educated in Lorrain, appointed Chancellor to Leopold, father to the Emperor Francis I. From thence he entered into the Austrian service, where he was raised to the rank of L. General. He obtained the golden key from the Emperor Charles VI., as he did from his successor, which mark of distinction both his sons enjoyed; his Lordship was Colonel of a regiment of fusileers, and possessed a considerable estate in Silesia.—The late Earl of Carlingford left him all he had, but as a Catholic, he could not inherit the estates so that a female relation, her children being protestant, according to the law had the estates.—He distinguished himself by the name of Count Taaffe during the war in 1738 with the Turks, and especially at Belgrade behaved with remarkable bravery. He married Mary-Anne de Spindler, Countess of the Empire, daughter, and heir to Count Spindler of Lintz in Upper-Austria, of an ancient and illustrious family of the Empire, a Lady of the bedchamber to her Imperial and Hungarian Majesty, and by her, who died 21 Nov. 1769, age, 69, at the castle of Ellischaw in Bohemia, had issue two sons, viz.

John,* who was born 1. Jan. 1741 in Soho-square London, appointed in 1761 a Counsellor Imperial aulic25 of the Empire. He was Envoy or Ambassador in Spain and there mediating the marriage-contract between the Archduke Leopold (afterwards Leopold II.) with the Princess of Spain, was highly esteemed by the Empress Maria Theresa, who caused his own marriage-contract to be signed in her name by the Lord Steward Prince Trautsohn.—Upon a mission to the court of Naples, he suddenly died at Gortz, 10, Dec. 1765. The letter the Empress wrote to his widow in consequence of this event, shows, how much his death was lamented at the Imperial court.

He left issue two sons and one daughter.

1. Rodolphus the seventh Viscount and 2. John.** colonel in the Imperial army, who married Anna, daughter of Count Harsch.
2. Francis*** younger son of Nicholas Viscount Taaffe, was Colonel Commandant of the regiment of Deux-Ponts, a Lord of the bedchamber, or Chamberlain to their Imperial Majesties and a Count of the Sacred Roman Empire. In January 1772 he married the eldest daughter of John late Lord Bellew but had no issue.

His Lordship deceased 30, Dec. 1769 at the castle of Ellishaw, being succeeded by his grandson:

Rodolphus the seventh Viscount, born in London 1763. He married the daughter of Count Haugwitz, a general in the Austrian service, deceased in June 1830 and had issue two sons and one daughter, viz.

25 *Aulic.* Of or relating to a law court.

1. Francis the eighth Viscount,* a Major in the Imperial army and Lord of the bedchamber, who married 1811 the daughter of Count Amade of Varkony in Hungary and died childless 1849, being succeeded by his brother.
2. Lewis, the present Viscount.
3. Clementina, Lady of the starry-cross, was married to Count Thaddeus Amade of Varkony in Hungary, Privy Counsellor and Chamberlain to His Imperial Majesty. She died childless in 1846.

Lewis, Patrick, the ninth and present Viscount Taaffe, Grand Cross of the order of St. Leopold26 and of St. John, Privy Counsellor and Chamberlain to His Imperial Majesty, President of the chief court of justice at Vienna etc. etc… married the 10th of June 1822 Amelia, daughter of Prince Charles of Brezenheim-Regéez in Hungary (formerly Sovereign Prince of Lindau in Germany) and has issue two sons and three daughters, viz.

1. Charles, a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Imperial service.
2. Clementina.
3. Louisa, maid of honour to Her Majesty the Empress Maria Anna.
4. Amelia.
5. Edward.

[26] *Grand Cross.* The highest order of knighthood; see Knight Commander. More…

LORD LEWIS' FOOTNOTES

The preamble.

Cum ad Coronae regiae honorem et claritatem nihil magis conducere videatur, quam lit Heroum et clariorum Virorum copia in omnibus Regni partibus stabiliatur, utpote eorum Consiliis, Prudentia, Virtutibus et Fidelitate solium Regis non solum firmatur et quasi tot Columnis aureis undique suffulcitur, verum etiam eorum nitore et splendore, tamquam Radiis a Majestate regia derivatis, estimatio Principis apud rudes et agrestiores Subditos magis veneranda efficitur, et in remotioribus Regni Partibus sacra reddatur ipsoque dilectum et fidelem nostrum Johannem Taaffe de Ballymote in Comitatu Sligo Militem, gratiose intuentes, in ipsoque non solum Familiae suae Antiquitatem ex illustrissima olim in Anglia Prosapia oriundam, verum etiam Possessionum amplitudinem et late fundum, nec non heroicae Virtutis tum ipsius, tum Patris sui Willielmi Taaffe Militis, qui sin ceram et immotam Animi Constantiam erga Coronam nostram, tam in nuperrimis intestini hujus Regni Seditionibus, quam in Acie Kinsaliensi contra Hispanos praestitit, ubi praedictus Willielmi Taaffe non solum strenui Militis. verum etiam sagacissimi Ducis gloriam reportavit; de quibus omnibus per-amplum Testimonium recipimus: Nos praedictum Johannem Taaffe Militem non mode praedicti Willielmi filium natu maximum, sed etiam paternarum Virtutum Haeredem, altioribus Honorum titulis insigniendum, et in Classem Nobilitatis collocandum, ipsumque et haeredes masculos de Corpore suo procreatos et procreandos, in numerum Heroum et Parium hujus Regni Hiberniae adscribendum statuimus. Sciatis igitur etc.

Translation: The preamble.

Nothing is more beneficial to the honour and glory of the King than that the wealth of heroes and famous men established in all parts of his realm, shining like rays derived from his royal majesty, the esteem of the prince among the ordinary and less cultivated subjects becomes more respected.

In the more remote parts of his realm the king is rendered blessed by his beloved and faithful soldier, John Taaffe of Ballymote in County Sligo. The history of his illustrious family originates in England, as well as the extent of his possessions, his vast estate, and his heroic prowess, as well as that of his father, William Taaffe. If there was a strengthening and wilfulness in favour of the Crown, it was fought in the most recent civil riots and in the Battle of Kinsalien[27] against the Spaniards. William was not only a valiant soldier, but he also gained the honour of a most savage duke. We received ample testimony that the aforesaid knight John Taaffe, the eldest son of the aforesaid William and heir of the paternal virtues, is to be distinguished with higher titles of honours, and to be placed in the f of the nobility and listed among the heroes and stalwarts of this Kingdom of Ireland. Know therefore etc.

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[27] *The Battle of Kinsalien,* aka *The Siege of* Kinsale. The setting for this siege began in October of 1601 with an alliance between Irish and Spanish Catholic forces. Spain was engaged in their own war with England and figured that supporting the Irish Catholics and divide and deplete the English military. Meanwhile, Irish leaders Hugh O'Neill and Hugh Roe O'Donnell and other nobility were looking for help in their revolt against English Queen Elizabeth I. A small Spanish fleet made sail for Ireland, where the landed and captured Kinsale in the south of Ireland but failed to push inland. Learning of this, English troops made their way to lay siege to the trapped Spaniards. Their Irish comrades, veterans of guerrilla warfare and light infantry tactics, set off during a gruelling winter and marched 300 miles to the south to provide food supplies and reinforce Spaniards. The exhausted Irish and near starving Spaniards would engage in three battles against the English. The English would prevail, all sides suffering brutal losses. The Spaniards surrendered and under treaty, survivors were allowed to sail back to Spain. The Irish retreated to fight another day, lost control of their country as the English asserted more dominance over their government and culture. The Taaffes, though Catholic, were English loyalists and therefore on the winning side and reaped significant benefits.

History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England[28] (10)

Begun in the year 1641, written by the Earl of Clarendon (rupture between the King and the two houses).

They objected to the King the seizing some carthorses at Chester[29], provided for the train of artillery for Ireland; that his forces "had taken many clothes and provisions, on the road, which were going to Chester to be transported thither for the relief of the soldiers, and that he entertained and countenanced men in his court, which were favourers or actors in that rebellion: naming the Lord Viscount Costeloe,[30] and the Lord Taaffe, which gave great umbrage to those, who were well affected, and as great encouragement to the rebels there.

The occasion of the reproach for countenancing persons who adhered to the rebels, was this: "The Lords Dillon (Viscount Costeloe) and Taaffe had, four months before, passed out of Ireland into England, having never been in consort with rebels, but so much trusted by them, that they desired, by their hands, to address a petition to the King; humble enough desiring only to be heard, and offering to submit to His Majesty's single judgment." With this petition and all other instructions, as they pretended, these Lords acquainted the Lords Justices, and Council of Ireland, who were so well satisfied with the persons employed that they granted their safe-pass and sent letters by them of testimony. They were no sooner landed in England, but they were apprehended, and sent prisoners to the parliament and by them committed with all strictness as agents employed by the rebels of Ireland to the King" and that circumstance enforced and spread among the people, with all licentious glosses against the King; who for that reason, took no notice of her restraint, though from his ministers he received advertisement of the truth of the whole business. After some time was spent in close imprisonment, these Lords by petition and all other addresses they could make, pressed to be brought to any kind of examination or trial; of which they found no other benefit, than that, upon this importunity, their imprisonment was less close; and by degrees, under a formal restraint (which though more pleasant, was not less costly) had the liberty of London, and from thence. After a few months' restraint, without being formally charged with any crime, or brought to any trial, which they often desired, they escaped, and came to York wither a messenger from the house of Commons followed them, and demanded them as prisoners.

Many were of opinion, that they should have been delivered back, foreseeing that the Parliament would press the scandal of sheltering them much to the King's disadvantage; and any imputations "of countenancing the rebels of Ireland," found more credit, and made deeper impression with the people,

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[28] As previously mentioned, the Taaffes were English loyalists, but apparently good natured to enough to be thought by many Irish rebels that they were on their side. Lord Dillon and Taffee took a trip to London to clear up any misgivings the King might have about where their loyalties lay, only to be arrested immediately and put in jail. They quickly protested their shabby treatment and provided with better confinement allowed roam the city. At some point they managed to escape and made it as far as York (north of London), where they were caught and returned to London. Meanwhile the King, who appeared to have many other things on his royal mind, wished the whole mess would go away and decided that they did not escape and could live with him for a while. The Irish Lords decided to make themselves available to the English army thereby demonstrating fealty and laying the groundwork for future advancement in service of the Crown.

[29] Tensions were rising between the English parliament and the King Charles I, and Chester was a key city. Indeed, Charles would have loyal Cestrians raise a regiment and build fortifications around the city to protect it from anti-royal forces, which indeed occurred in 1645. Charles' forced were routed in the Battle or Rowton Heath, and the parliamentary forces lay siege to the Chester. The King escaped and his forces in Chester held on as long as they could, but finally capitulated and a treaty was signed. The city would be further decimated by the plague the following year.

[30] Theobold Dillon was the first Viscount of Costello-Gallen. His daughter, Ann, was married to John Taaffe.

than any other discourses of "protecting malignants and delinquents." On the other side, it was thought unreasonable, to remit men to an imprisonment, which appeared to have been unjust by their not being proceeded against in so long a time; especially when their coming to the King would be declared such a crime, that it would be now in their enemies power to cause them to be punished, which before they could not do; at best, it were to deliver them up to the serjeant of the house of commons, from whence no innocence could redeem them, without paying such vast fees, as would amount to a greater sum than they could probably be supplied with. So that the King, who wished that they had rather gone any whither than where he was, resolved to take no notice of their escape. And so they continued in his quarters, and put themselves into the troops; where they behaved themselves with good courage and frankly engaged their persons in all dangerous enterprises.

Viscount Taaffe (Copy). (13)

May it please your Eminence.

I was retained by the Lord Judge and Catholics of Ireland, that I might give an account of the condition of that country to my master, the King of Great Britain, and obtain from him what supplies of money, arms and ammunition his intercession with his friends and allies he procure for us. But, but he left for Scotland before I got here. I don't know, given our dangerous situation, wherein our country and the Catholic religion is now weakened, to unto whom I may turn to with any hope of relief apply such as yourself, whose piety and generosity is known to the world, a great leader of England who famously in defends of the Catholic church and religion and where, in their our hour of greatest need, the King, Queen and most of that royal family have found not only protection from the barbarous rage of their rebellious subjects, but also safe foot and shelter for their persons, which has… induced me (being necessitated to stay here myself, and awaiting my King's commands). I have asked that Doctor Terrel, with his knowledge and memory for the affairs of Ireland, to meet with your eminence and receive an account as well of the state of Ireland, as also of the particular supplies it needs to defend itself. Ireland is ready to furnish men for the service as soon as such agreements can be with Doctor Terrel, or any person employed by your eminence to negotiate and sign agreements with me.

I humbly request your eminence to afford your favour and timely assistance to his desires being a business worthy of your zeal and courage, whereby Your Eminence will add to the shining reputation of your other gallant actions by the glory of preserving the Catholic Religion in a kingdom wherein it has been practised for 1200 years without interruption, the honour of setting one kingdom under the obedience of the son of a daughter of France, and gain the affections of the nation of Ireland, who will be obliged to praise your eminence and pray for you.

Your Eminence's Most Humble and Faithful Servant, Taaffe.

Copy of a letter to the Duke of York,[31] Brussels Wednesday, 14th June 1651. (13)

May it please Your Highness.

Sir Henry Denicke told me tonight that Your Highness will be at Antwerpe tomorrow, and though I expected a specific command from Your Highness to give you an account of our proceedings here, I shall not fail to act upon this accidental knowledge to greet you properly on Friday morning. I can't get there any sooner as I have to meet with people from Ireland and was commissioned by the emperor to continue the treaty negotiations I started with the Duke of Lorraine. We have our first meeting tomorrow, and based on his responses to our proposal, I expect to be able to judge what he resolves to do. I will tell you about this well as provide an account of the present condition of Ireland, and deliver some letters directed from them to Your Highness. All this has necessitated that I delay my arrival on Your Highness, and I humbly beg you will pardon that delay, and know that I truly remain,

Your Most Dutiful and Obedient Humble Servant, Taaffe

The Preamble. (15)

Cum regiam nostram Majestatem opitime decet, ut qui Obsequio et Fidelitate nobis se libere obtulerunt, praecipuis Honoribus Imperii nostri regalis primo dignarentur; nos regia mente commemorantes eximia Merita et Servitia prae dilecti et perquam fidelis Consanguinei nostri Theobrotii, Domini Vice comitis Taaffe de Corren, Baronis de Ballymote in Provincia nostra Consciae in dicto regno nostro Hiberniae, nobis et Antecessoribus nostris praestita et impensa, tam in remotis Partibus et transmarinis, in eminentiorem Dignitatis titulum promovere decrevimus; non solum ut insigni regio magis publice decoretur, sed ut quibus Gratia et Affectu propter indefatigata Fidelitatis suae Servitia nobis et Domi et apud Exteros praestita indulgeamus; universis enuntietur; aequum enim esse censemus; ut qui nobiscum in adversis publice compressus sit; in Secundis etiam nobiscum publice suscitetur. Sciatis igitur, etc…

Translation: The Preamble

It reflects well on our Royal Majesty that those who freely presented themselves with obedience and loyalty, would also be first hope for the honours of our Royal Empire. We in the royal mind celebrate the extraordinary merits and services of our beloved and extremely faithful cousin Theobald, the Viscount of Taaffe de Corren, Baron of Ballymote, from the kingdom of Ireland. The costs bestowed upon us and our ancestors, both in remote parts and from across the sea, have caused us to suggest a title of higher dignity, not only that Theobald be more openly honoured by a distinguished country, but that we may indulge in those things by whose grace and affection, on account of his tireless faithfulness to the service rendered to us both at home and in foreign countries. Everyone says so, and we think that it is fair, that he who was with us in adversity was publicly scorned will now exalted in the public with us. Know then, etc…

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[31] James Stuart (1633-1701). The fourth child of King Charles I of England and Henrietta Maria of France, he would eventually ascend to the throne of his father upon the death of his brother, Charles II, in 1685.

Leopoldus I ad Ludovicum de Guzman. (16) Data Viennae 13. Martii 1666.

Illustris sincere Dilecte. Non dubito, quin Vobis quam optime constet Nicolaum Taaffe, Filium Comitis de Carlingford, Angliae Regis, pro nunc in Aula mea oratoris cum una cohorte pedestri Hispanica novem continuis annis in statu Mediolanensi fideliter inservisse, cujus frater Franciscus Taaffe dum Ephebum meum ageret suo muneri et meo servitio fidelem navavit operam adeo mihi gratam ut Eundem honore et officio Canierarii mei cum clave aurea jam jam sublimaverim.

Ego igitur attentis familiae hujus fidelibus servitiis Domui meae praestitis aliisque justis causis et motivis quae in hane rerum statu intuitu eorundem Parentis praefati Comitis de Carlingford, cui negotia Coronae Angliae commissa sunt, plurimum augentur: Vos hinc perbenigne requiro ut ad hane meam intercessionem et Commendationem praedicto Nicolao Taaffe, Cohortem aliquam equestrem ex ordinantis ut vacet quam primum dare velitis, vel hae non vacante, unam interea supernumerariam aut ex alia formandam. eo usque, donec aliqua ex ordinantis ei dari potuerit, ut aliis quibus ob similes respectus factum fuisse percepi: Quod profecto Exemplum et praefatae familiae ad ulteriora praestanda calcar addet et incitamentum miliique adeo impense gratum erit ut mea Caesarea gratia id agnoscere paratus sim quam vobis in omne tempus confirmo, et hujus meae benignae interpositionis effectum quantocius audire expecto, velim enim credatis me valde satisfactum iri, si huic intentioni meae satisfeceritis memoratumque Comitem sparta hac ab illo tantopere exoptata, et a me ipso tam impense desiderata donaveritis.

Leopoldus.

Translation: Leopoldus I to Louis de Guzman.[32] Vienna, 13 March 1666

My dear sir,

You have no doubt heard of Nicolas Taaffe, the son of the Earl of Carlingford, appointed by the King of England. Nicolas has served as one of my leaders for nine consecutive years of a Spanish infantry company in the state of Milan. He has devoted himself to my service and is so grateful that I have already promoted him the same rank and duty as my Chamberlain with the gold key.

Keeping in mind the faithful services rendered to my House of this family, and the other just causes and motives which are in this situation, and in view of his father, the Earl of Carlingford, to whom the King of England trusts, I very kindly request here that you consider my recommendation and respect for him.

Nicholas is creating a new cavalry regiment, and I hope that you may be willing to spare him as much attention as possible, or if you can't, appoint someone who can help. To the extent that some information on my thoughts about him, as I believe it has been done by others on account of their similar regard for him I confirm it. I look forward to hear what you think of my kind request. I will be very thankful if you accept it, and that the proposal has been so greatly desired by him that you will forgive my pressing for it.

Dated at Vienna, 13 March 1666. Leopold.

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[32] Possibly Luis Enríquez de Guzmán, 9th Count of Alba de Liste (1605-1667), though he spent most of his time abroad in Mexico and Peru as representative of Spain.

Carolus Dei (16)

gratia Magnae Britanniae, Franciae et Hiberniae Rex, Fidei Defensor etc… Serenissimo, Potentissimo et Invictissimo Principi ac Domino, Domino Ferdinando Tertio, Divina favente dementia, Romanorum Imperatori semper Augusto, Germaniae, Hungariae, Bohemiae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae, Selavonia Regi, Archduci Asturiae, Duci Burgundiae, Brabantiae, Styriae, Corinthiae, Carniolae et Wirtenbergae, Marchioni Moraviae, Duci Lucenburgiae, Superioris et Inferioris Silesiae, Comiti Habspurgi et Tyrolis etc… Fratri Consanguineo, et amico nostro charissimo. Salutem per-paetumque felicitatem.

Serenissime, Potentissime et Invictissime Princeps, Frater, Consanguinee, et Amice charis sime: Quod sub favoris vestri auspiciis tam feliciter institutus sit Franciscus de Taaffe, fidelissimi et admodum dilecti Consanguinei nostri Vice-Comitis de Taaffe filius, quem literis nostris non ita pridem Caesareae Vestrae Majestati recommendaverimus, novo nos nomine (qui jam multis Eidem devincti sumus) addictos profitemur. Assurgat optamus juvenis in provectiorem spem, tantisque beneficiis non indignam: Quae, ut in ilium Caesarea Majestas Vestra erogare dignaretur, enixe rogamus; non dubitantes quin in vestras nostrasque res olim inserviet tanta cura exculta indoles. Pollicentes insuper nos quoties Maiestas Vestra Caesarea in re quapiam operam nostram desideraverit pro virili promptissimos reperiet. Quod superest Deum ter Optimum Maximum precamur Caesaream Vestram Majestatem diu sospitet, Consiliisque et inceptis omnibus propitius adsit. Datum Brugis 12°. die Augusti Anno Salutis 1655, Regnorumque nostrorum octavo.

Caesareae Vestrae Majestatis, Amantissimus Frater et Consanguineus ,Carolus, R. m. p.

Translation: Charles, by the grace of God King (2 August 1655)

of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc…

To the Most Serene,[33] Most Potent, and Invincible Prince and Lord, Lord Ferdinand III, by divine favour Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, Styria, Corinthia, Carnivora and Wittenberg, Marquess of Moravia, Duke of Lunenburg, Upper and Lower Silesia, Count of Hapsburg, and Tyrol, etc... Cousin Brother and our dearest friend…

Greetings and happiness, Most Serene, Most Potent, and Invincible Prince, Brother, Cousin, and Dearest Friend,

Francis Taaffe, whom we recommend to your service, and you agreed to, has worked out so well that we now suggest a promotion.

We wish the young man to rise in the hope of a more advanced position, worthy of such great benefits. We don't doubt that so much mutual benefit developed for yours and ours that will one day serve our joint purposes. By promising us, moreover, that whenever your Majesty requires our attention in anything, he will find the active proponent.

[33] *Serene* is a title used with nobles of lesser rank than that of a full-blooded king or queen. Getting titles right was a tricky business, but not surprisingly laced with misogyny. Women could sometimes be elevated to "full blood" status and titles if they married a King, but not vice-versa. Some sticklers would even scoff of such female ascendence and insist on using "serene" as a prefix, such as Serene Queen so and so. Since the Emperor of the HRE was elected, "serene" was often attached to a laundry list of titles.

We pray thrice that the greatest God that survives long may your Majesty's Caesar[34] be safe and be merciful to all his plans and enterprises. Given at Bruges 12 August 1655, the year of our salvation and the eighth year of our reign.

Caesarea Your Majesty, Beloved Brother and Cousin, Charles, R. m. p.

The Preamble. (17)

Leopold par la Grace de Dieu, Due de Lorrain, Marchis, Due de Calabre, Bar, Gueldres, Marquis du Pont à Mousson et de Nommeny, Comte de Provence, Vaudemont, Blamont, Zütphen, Sarwerden, Salm etc… . A toux ceux qui ces présentes verront Salut. Les longs fidèles et agréables services, que nous recevons des notre Enfance de notre très cher et bien aime le Comte de Carlingford Conseiller d'Etat de Sa Majesté Impériale, Marechal de Camp, General de ses armées. Colonel d'un Régiment de ses Cuirassiers et Gentilhomme de sa Chambre, lequel en qualité de notre Gouverneur et Grand Maitre de notre Hostel s'est donne des soins extraordinaires de notre Education, et pris la peine de nous conduire dans nos premières Campagnes en Hongrie et sur le Rhin, et vient de se charger de la Commission, que nous lui avons confie de nous précéder dans nos Etats pour en prendre possession en notre nom, et d'y représenter notre personne en exécution du traite de Paix conclu à Riswick le trentième Octobre de l' année dernièr; des sera aces si importants qu'il nous a rendu avec tant d' affection et de fidélité, une conduite si sage et si prévoyante dans Établissement do tous les Tribunaux de nos pays, et dans I'administration de nos finances; nous engageants a tâcher de luy en marquer une reconnaissance proportionnée: Nous avons crû ne pouvoir le mieux faire qu'en luy continuant les témoignages de notre Confiance entière et en lui conférant les plus éminentes Dignités de nôtre Etat. A ces causes et autres bonnes considérations a ce nous mouvantes, de notre certaine science, plaine puissance et autorité Souveraine, nous avons au dit Sir Comte de Carlingford donne, confère et octroyé, donnons, conférons et octroyons par ces présentes les Etats et offices de Grand maitre de notre Hostel, et Surintendant de nos finances, Chef de tous nos Conseils, Gouverneur de notre bonne ville de Nancy et Colonel du Régiment de nos Gardes etc. etc. etc.

Translation: The Preamble

Leopold by the Grace of God, Due de Lorrain, Marchis, Due de Calabria, Bar, Guelders, Marquis du Pont à Mousson and Nommeny, Count de Provence, Vaudemont, Blamont, Zütphen, Sarwerden, Salm etc… To all those who will see

Greetings! The long faithful and pleasant services (which we receive from our childhood) of our very dear and well-loved Earl of Carlingford, Councillor of State of His Imperial Majesty, Marshal of Camp, General of his armies. Colonel of a Regiment of his Cuirassiers and Gentleman of his Chamber, who as our Governor and Grand Master of our Hostel took extraordinary care of our education, and took the trouble to lead us in our first Campaigns in Hungary and on the Rhine,… has taken charge of the Treaty Commission. I have entrusted to him to precede us in our States, take possession of them in my name, and to represent me there in execution of the treaty of Peace concluded at Riswick the thirtieth October of last year.

Given that he accomplished all this with so much affection and fidelity, with such wise and so far-sighted conduct in the establishment of all the courts of our countries, and in the administration of our finances, I am committing to try to mark him with a proportionate reward. I believed that we could do

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[34] *Ceasar* was often uses a title or nickname for an imperial leader. The original was the Roman dictator Julius Caesar, but later Roman leaders adopted it as a third surname (cognomen). This evolved into other uses as a title, perhaps to associate a monarch with Rome and military prowess.

the best only by continuing to him the testimonies of my entire confidence by conferring on him the highest honours of our State. To these causes and other good considerations to this moving me, of my certain consideration, power, and sovereign authority, I will to the Earl of Carlingford give, confer, and grant States and offices of Grand Master of our Hostel, and Superintendent of our finances, Head of all our Councils, Governor of our good city of Nancy and Colonel of the Regiment of our Guards etc…

Harangue du Comte de Taaffe (18)

prononcée le 12 May 1674, pou r l'léction au Moyaume de Pologne en faveur du Prince Charles de Lorraine. (Hist. eccles. et civ. de Lorraine par le B. P. Dom. Augustin Calmet, Tom. III, Nancy 1728.)

Reverendissimi, Excellentissimi, Illustrissimi, Perillustres, Magnifici et Generosi Domini, Domini, Principes, Senatores, caeterique Regni Poloniae et magni Ducatus Lithuaniae congregati Proceres! Quinquennium est, ex quo in hoc amplissimo consessu comparuit Orator Lotharingus, et si successu irrito, nunquam tamen poenitendo. Innotuit serenissimae Reipublicae, tam laudabili, nec supra natales suos ambitione Princeps Carolus, quae quamvis scopum suum non sortita, non potest tamen apud tam generosas mentes gratam sui memoriam non reliquisse; et fas sit dicere, nescio quod jus in amicitiam vestram acquisivisse videtur. Juvat adhuc recordari magni illius diei, quo non aversis Polonorum animis, sed fatis alio trahentibus, serenissimus Princeps Lotharingus spe concepta non in totum excidit, dum proxime ad coronara esset, non nisi Polono cessisse. Quaeritis quo animo tam honestam repulsam tulerit? Eo ipso quo coronam accepisset, animo plane regio, et tam in adversa quam in prospera firmo; neque unquam regnare dignior visus est, quam ubi regnandi spem amiserat. Tester et hoc augusto Senatu quam plurimos, quos discedens litteris grati animi testibus liumanissime compellait et tamquam rediturus. Yidere mihi videor omnium ora, oculosque in me conversos, tamquam sciscitantium quibus studiis, quibus in tantam spem rudimentis intervallum hoc transegerit Lotharingus Tester, quod fata ipsa ad maturitatem, si quae adhuc deerat, acquirendam, concessisse videntur. Dicam testis oculatus, et si placet, juratus; et eo liberius dicam, quod ea quae in oculis totius Europae gesta, neque ab inimicis, si qui sunt, occultari, neque ab amicis supra meritum exaggerari possunt. Transtulit ad exercitum Caesareum eam ipsam gloriae aviditatem, quam in Polonia testatus fuerat, adjecto ad priorem animi magnitudinem hoc novo stimulo, ne quid ageret, quod tanti Regni candidatum dedeceret.

Hungariam, quam jam antea fama sua illustraverat, dum Turcarum impetum in proelio ad Sanctum Gothardum primus cum legione sua stitit, Regi suo minus obsequentem supremus equitatus Caesarei dux pacavit ea celeritate ut eum Rebelles suis cervicibus prius inhaerere sentirent, quam admovisse crederent.

Binis in imperium Germanicum expeditionibus adfuit ea vigilantiae et fortitudinis laude, ut eum Montecucullus primis in Europae ducibus, si vita suppeteret, annumerare non dubitaverit. In laboribus indefessus omnia magni Ducis et fortissimi militis munia obire visus est. Diem ducendo agmini, disponendisque quae in rem necessaria erant: noctem quam semper in castris et inter milites transigebat, magnam plerumque partem lustrandis vigiliis praesidiisque impendebat; et apud gregarium militem instar prodigii erat, Principem Lotharingum non nisi semel vidisse. Ipse quotidie tentoria militum obire, querelis omnium aures praebere; aditu tam facili, ut nec infimus qui-dem ab ejus accessu arceretur; ea cura, ut si quid vel in subministranda annona negligentiae, vel in stipendiis militi persolvendis difficultatis occurreret, id ipse summa cum sollicitudine removeret; et seu agmen ducendum erat, seu locus castris deligendus, seu munimentum hostile expugnandum, nemo id exsequebatur solertius, nemo intrepidius. Qua oportuna aquatio, qua pabuli lignorumque copia, qua castra moventi tutum maxime iter, qua forma agminis, quibus potissimum armis impetendus hostis; quo impedimenta, quo sarcinae, quo turba inermis rejicienda, quanto ea aut quali praesidio custodienda; his

curis cogitationibusque ita animum agitavit, ut nulla ei in tali ac tanta militia difficultas nova futura sit: Dignum sane Martia Polonorum corona tyrocinium.

Commilitonem vobis offerimus, Fortissimi Viri, non deliciis aulae in-nutritum, sed in partem gloriae vestrae, in partem laborum accessurum; non fabulosum e Gynecaeo Achillem, cujus nondum probata virtus Poloniam periculoso experimento exponat, sed quatuordecim annorum continuata militia instructum. In eo apud Caesaream militiam gradu, ex quo Rudolphum Habsburgicum Imperatorem sibi assumere non dubitaverunt olim Germani. Militem offerimus coeli solique injuriis assuetum et in quosvis pacis bellive labores duraturum.

Virum damus adversis atque prosperis probatum, ea aetate quae cupiditates adolescentiae effugerit; ea vita, in qua nihil praeteritum excusatum habeat, cujus natura talis est, ut etiam sine educatione praeclarissima esse potuerit, ea autem accessit educatio, quae vel vitiosissimam naturam excolere potuisset; qui diversa et quasi inter se pugnantia placidas et feroces virtutes moderatum et difficilia aggredien temanimum mirabili unione composuit: ea domo quae mille et amplius annis toto orbe celeberrima, multis gentibus reges dedit, omnibus saeculis Heroes; ea Regum stirpe, quae coronas non tantum aureas, sed et spineas portare didicit; iis moribus, qui eum omnium exercituum delicias reddiderunt: ea in Deum pietate, in Religionem catholicam constantia, ut non tantum non serenissimam domum suam, sed neque in ullam ditionum suarum partem ullam unquam haereticae pravitatis labem admiserit.

Talis ad hoc magnum tribunal redit Lotharingus vester, Coronam Polonicam ambiturus, vel in praemium praeteritarum virtutum, vel in incitamentum futurarum; ea fiducia et sinceritate, ut se ipsum suaque omnia tutelae serenissimae Reipublicae committat, nullas aut amicitias, nisi in rem vestram habiturus. Ipsam suam Lotharingiam Regnorum aemulam, et quae principibus suis reditus non multum infra regios pendit; illam Gallicae magnitudinis per tot saecula Carthaginem; illam tot Regum et Heroum veluti Trojanum Equum, illam inquam, Lotharingiam utilitati vestrae devovet!

Nec est, quod quispiam objiciat, aureum discordiae pomum huc afferi. Notum est orbi universo de restituenda Lotharingia nec ipsi Regi Christianis simo dubium unquam incidisse. De modo restitutionis quaestio fuit, de qua vos, inclyti proceres, ubi principem Carolum tutela vestra dignati fueritis, tamquam de re vestra, tamquam de regis Poloniae patrimonio judicabitis.

Post Christianum nomen contra Turcas fortissime vindicatum, post tam immanem hostem ab Europae cervicibus depulsum, quid deest ad cumulum gloriae, quam ut Christianus orbis prudentiae vestrae pacem domesticam debeat, pro debita postmodum gratitudine vobiscum in communem hostem arma sociaturus? Ea in manibus vestris posita est; decidatur in vestro Areopago magna ilia controversia, quae multos jam annos tot principum, tot scriptorum et arma et ingenia fatigavit; et ne quid ea detrimenti patiatur Res publica, offert serenissimus Patruus praesentia subsidia, quibus urgentioribus necessitatibus subveniri, et militiae de toto orbe Christiano tam bene meritae stipendia exsolvi possint; quae si libuerit, a D. N. supremae curiae Lotharingiae Praeside, et serenitatis suae plenipotentiario fusius exponentur.

Agite, viri fortissimi, et Poloniam vestram Principi Carolo eadem generositate committite, qua ille vobis Lotharingiam suam devovet. Veniet e castris ad castra, a galea ad coronam, eadem alacritate a corona ad galeam rediturus. Et quem meliori omine quam Regem Jerosolymitanum in Turcas ducatis? Vidit olim in coelo crucem Constantinus, et in hoc signo vicit; videt et hodie Polonia non minori praesagio, fulgentem in coelo suo crucem Lotbaringiam, et si superis placet, tam notum victoriae signum amplectetur. Nihil arduum erit, nihil impervium aut Polonis Lotharingo duce, aut Lotharingo Polonis militibus. Finiam cum Guicciardino, rerum Italicarum scriptore celeberrimo, asserente Rem publicam Venetam, nisi virginitatem jurasset, non ex alia, quam ex domo Lotharingica sponsum sibi quaesituram fuisse.

Translation: Speech of Count Leopold Taaffe, 12 May 1674

Given on May 12, 1674, for the election to the Kingdom of Poland[35] in favour of Prince Charles of Lorraine. (Hist. eccles. et civ. de Lorraine by the B. P. Dom. Augustin Calmet, Tom. III, Nancy 1728.)

Most Reverend, Most Excellent, Most Illustrious, Most Illustrious, Magnificent and Noble Lords, Lords, Princes, Senators, and the other Nobles of the Kingdom of Poland and the Great Duchy of Lithuania!

It is five years since the prince Charles spoke in this most distinguished session, and even if his message was not well received, he does not regret it. Prince Charles was known to this most peaceful and praiseworthy Republic, and though Prince Charles was only twenty-five years old, and not yet King, yet could not have left a grateful memory of him among so noble minds.

It may be right to say that he has acquired a right to your friendship. It is my pleasure still to remember that great day, a day when the minds of the Poles were not changed, but the fates were drawn by another. The most serene prince Lorraine, conceived in hope, did not entirely fail, while he was next to the crown, and had not fallen to the Pole.

You ask dares to return after his honest rebuff? By the very fact that he had is now the king, he is clearly a king in his thinking and steady in hard times as well as in the good; nor was he ever more worthy to reign, than when he had lost the hope of ruling.

I testify also to this distinguished senate how many, whom, when departing, by letters of gratitude, most mercifully addresses the witnesses, and if they wish to come back. I seem to see the faces of all, and the eyes turned toward me, like those of inquisitors by which studies, by which Lorraine Tester has passed this interval into so great a hope of training, because the fates themselves seem to have conceded to maturity, if there was any still wanting to be acquired one.

I speak as an eyewitness, and, if it pleases, a sworn witness; and I will say the more freely, that those things which have been done in the eyes of the whole of Europe can neither be concealed from our enemies, nor can they be exaggerated above merit by our friends. He transferred to the King's army that very eagerness for glory, which he had attested to in Poland, adding to his former greatness of mind, this new impetus, that he should do nothing, because he should become a candidate for so great a kingdom.

Hungary, which its reputation had already been stressed, while the attack of the Turks first halted with its legion in Battle at Saint Gothard, the supreme leader of the King's cavalry subdued to its less submissive king, with such a speed that the Rebels felt that he should cling to their necks before they believed he had brought them up.

The King was present on two expeditions to the German Empire, with a reputation for vigilance and bravery, so that the others wouldn't hesitate to count him among the premier leaders of Europe if he lived long enough. Tireless in his labours, he appeared to perform all the duties of a great duke and a

[35] Poland was in a period of decline due to wars, bitter internal divisions, famines. And epidemics. What money the raised in taxes was quickly consumed by military spending. Enemies nibbled away at their borders and Polands geographical size decreased. The power of a central government declined amidst the chaos. They would align themselves with the Holy Roman Empire against the Turks, but were a mixed bag when it came to battle. In 1697 control of Poland would shift to the elector of Saxony, and things would continue to go downhill from there. You will here mention of a great Polish general of the time, John Sobieski, whose initial success in the Siege of Vienna brought a brief glimmer of hope to Poland, but that would soon fade. It's against this backdrop that Charles II of England, himself embroiled in wars on the continent and anti-Catholic sentiments at home, would try to find common ground with Catholic Poland. Leopold Taaffe would argue on the Kings behalf, but faced a fractious audience who were watching their kingdom fade away and increasingly distrustful of outsiders.

very brave soldier. He spent the most part of the day in leading the army and arranging things necessary for the purpose. He spent the most part of the night in the camp and among the soldiers, in surveying the watches and guards. Among the common soldiers he was like a wise leader that he had only seen Princess Lorraine only once. He daily visits and sleeps the tents of the soldiers and gives the attention to the complaints of all.

His approach was so easy, that even the lowest of the people would not be barred from speaking to him. His concern, that if any negligence should occur either in supplying provisions, or in solving the soldier's wages, might result in difficulty, he would remove it with the greatest attention. Whether the army was to be led in advance, or the place to be selected for the camp, or the fortification to be fought against the enemy, where there was convenient fresh water, an abundance of fodder and wood, what a safe route for moving the camp and what form of march, and above all others with which arms the enemy should be attacked. How to deal with people's possessions and what unarmed civilians to be helped or ignored. With all these anxieties and thoughts, he employed his mind so that there would be no new difficulty for him in such and such a campaign.

We offer to you, our comrades, most brave men, that he will not be consumed by the delights of your court, but will share in your glory, and will share in your efforts; not the fabled Achilles of Gynecaeus, whose prowess had not yet been proved, to expose Poland to a perilous trial, but had continued in service for fourteen years. In that rank in the Kings service, from which the Germans once did not hesitate to assume Rudolph the Habsburg as emperor. We offer the soldiers of heaven and the soil unused to injuries and to endure any hardships of peace or war.

We offer you a man tried by adversity and prosperity, at that age which escapes the lusts of youth; that life, in which he had nothing past excused, whose nature is such that even without education he could have been most distinguished; but there was added to that education which could have cultivated even the most vicious nature; who, as it were different and as it were in conflict with each other, composed the calm and ferocious virtues moderate and difficult to attack them with a wondrous union: that house which for more than a thousand years, most famous throughout the world, gave kings to many nations, Heroes of all ages; those of the race of kings, who learned to bear crowns not only of gold, but also of thorns; by those customs, who rendered him the darling of all the armies; with such piety to God, and constancy in the Catholic religion, that he had ever admitted not only not his most serene home, but even into any part of his dominions, any taint of heretical depravity.

Your Lorraine returns to this great tribunal, going around the crown of Poland, either as a reward for past virtues or as an incentive for future achievements; with such confidence and sincerity, that he entrusts himself and all things to the protection of the most serene Republic, and will have no friendships, except for your own benefit. That Lorraine itself was a rival of the kingdoms, and that the revenue of its nobles was not much lower than that of the king's; that of Gallic grandeur, Carthage for so many centuries. He vows that one of so many kings and heroes, like a Trojan horse, that, I say, Lorraine for your benefit!

Nor is there, as anyone may object, the golden apple of discord36 to be brought hither. It is known to the whole world that the restoration of Lorraine had no doubt ever occurred to the Christian King himself. There was a question of the manner of restitution, of which you, noble nobles, when you had deemed Prince Charles to be your guardianship, judge as of your interests, as of the patrimony of the king of Poland.

After a Christian name was most valiantly avenged against the Turks, and after having been driven off by such a monstrous enemy from the necks of Europe, what lacks in the heap of glory, than that the

[36] The *Golden Apple of Discord* is a Greek myth, a thing of beauty which led to a dispute amongst several of the gods.

Christian world owes domestic peace to your prudence, and afterward, for the sake of gratitude, would join you in arms against the common enemy? She is placed in your hands; let that great controversy be decided in your Areopagus[37], which for many years has worn down the arms and wits of so many nobles, so many writers; and lest the republic should suffer such a loss, the most serene Uncle at the present offers assistance to those who may be relieved of the more urgent needs, and the salaries of such well-deserved soldiers from all over the Christian world may be paid. which, if it pleases, will be exposed in more detail by the D.N., the President of the Supreme Court of Lorraine and the plenipotentiary of his serenity.

Come, brave men, and entrust your Poland to Prince Charles with the same generosity with which he vows to the Holy Roman Emperor. He will come from camp to camp, from helmet to crown, with the same enthusiasm, before returning from crown to helmet. And what better luck would you consider the King of Jerusalem among the Turks? Constantine once saw the cross in heaven,[38] and in this sign he conquered. Today Poland sees, no less of a portent, that the cross of Lotbaringia shone in its sky, and if it pleases the gods, it will embrace the so-known sign of victory. Nothing will be difficult, nothing impossible either to the Poles under the command of Lorraine, or to the soldiers of Lorraine to the Poles. I'll end with Guicciardino,[39] a very famous writer of Italian affairs, who asserts that unless he had sworn the virginity of the Venetian republic, he would seek for her a bridegroom from none other than the Lorraine family.

The Emperor's letter to the King of Spain. Vienna 18. October 1698. (21)

Serenissime. In recenti memoria semper manere, ipsaque experientia omnibus testatum fieri oportet, quod et Ego et Majestas Vestra oculos praecipue in illos ministros deflectemus, eorundemque commoda et ornamenta promovere non intermittamus, qui magnis meritis proeminere solent; proinde non possum quin Majestati vestrae Consiliarium meum intimum, Camerarium fidelem, dilectum, Illustrem et Magnificum Franciscum Comitem a Carlingford pro impertiendo Tosone obnixe commendare. Is enim a teneris annis propter fidem Catholicam patria exul plurima discrimina subire coactus, donec apud defuncti dilectissimi Domini parentis mei Majestatem, et post hujus beatissimum obitum, apud me Ephebum agere, et periculis eliberari coepisset. Litteris deinde ad omnium admirationem excultus, ob spectatam prudentiam, doctrinam et pietatem in altioris fortunae, et officiorum sphaera sibi versandum esse comprobavit, militiaeque nomen dedit, in variis belli periculis fortissimus, actualis campi mareschalli dignitatem, ac inter clariores militiae duces numerari strenue meritus. Commissam quoque habuit Ducis Lotharingiae Senioris curam, quae feliciter successit. Taceo etiam prosapiae ipsius nobilitatem, pervetusti generis splendorem et quidquid virtutis in viro Tosone dignando desiderari potuit. Gratissimum itaque Majestas Vestra officium fecerit, si huic interventioni meae tantum indulserit, ut aurei velleris Insignia, quibus aularum ministri altioribus officiis conspicui condecorari solent, illi quam primum conferantur. De caetero Majestati Vestrae perennem incolumitatem impensissime apprecor.

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[37] *Areopagus* is a rocky hill near Athens, Greece. It was home to early Athenian legal meetings of courts and councils, and also believed to be the location of a sermon from St. Paul in his mission to the region.

[38] *Constantine*, the first Christian Roman emperor, purportedly saw a vision of a large cross in the sky with the initials of Jesus and the phrase "by this, conquer," which led to his conversion to Christianity.

[39] Francesco Guicciardini (1443-1540), Italian historian and statesman.

Translation: (Latin) The Emperor's letter to the King of Spain[40]. Vienna, 18 October 1698.

Most Serene. It will always remember, and it must be attested to all by experience, that both I and your Majesty will think about those who have helped us. Therefore, let us not neglect to promote their advantages and honours, who need to be recognized and with great rewarded. Hence, I cannot but earnestly recommend my most trusted and beloved chamberlain, the illustrious and magnificent Count Francis of Carlingford.

He was made to undergo many crises in exile from his native Ireland on account of his being Catholic until he had begun to act before the Majesty of the late, beloved father of my lord, and after the death of this most blessed Ephebus[41], and was freed from dangers. He was then cultivated in letters to the admiration of all. Due to his thoughtful prudence, learning, and piety, he proved himself to be turned to higher fortune, and the sphere of his duties, and gave him the name of military service. He also entrusted to him the care of the Duke of Lorraine the Elder, who succeeded him with great success, not to mention his family nobility, renown of an ancient race, and whatever virtue he could have desired in condescending to as a man.

Your Majesty, therefore, has done a most pleasing service, if he has indulged so much in this intervention, that the insignia of the golden fleece, which are wont to be distinguished by the higher offices of the ministers of the halls, are to be conferred on him as soon as possible. As for the future, I most earnestly pray to your Majesty for the everlasting security.

Histoire Angleterre (21)

par M. Bapin de Thoyras, 1769, T. XI, p. 519. (Guillaume III.)

Le Comte de Carlingford tue aupres du Roi Jacques a la journée de la Boyne, avait laisse un frère, qui des sa jeunesse s'était extrêmement distingue au service de I'Empereur en plusieurs rencontres, jusque la qu' il avait été fait Comte de 1' Empire sous le titre de Comte de Taaffe. L'année dernière lorsque le Koy était a Loo en Gueldre, on introduisit dans sa chambre un vieux Seigneur d' une taille haute et portant ses propres cheveux. II se mit a genoux devant le Prince et le pria de lui donner la main a baiser. Guillaume lui de- manda son nom. Sire, dit-il, je suis le Comte de Taaffe, et si Votre Majesté le permet; Comte de Carlingford. Le Roi le releva gracieusement. II lui dit qu' il I'estimait depuis longtemps sous le nom de Taaffe, et qu' il le reconnaitrait avec plaisir sous celui de Carlingford. II lui tint parole, et le Parlement con- sentit que ce brave General recouvrât ses terres en Irlande.

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40 In 1698 this would be Charles II. More…

41 *Ephebus,* in ancient Greece, referred to any many who had attained the age of between 18-29 years old, training to become full citizens of Athens. They would swear an oath in the temple of Aglaurus: "I will never bring reproach upon my hallowed arms, nor will I desert the comrade at whose side I stand, but I will defend our altars and our hearths, single-handed or supported by many. My native land I will not leave a diminished heritage but greater and better than when I received it. I will obey whoever is in authority and submit to the established laws and all others which the people shall harmoniously enact. If anyone tries to overthrow the constitution or disobeys it, I will not permit him, but will come to its defence, single-handed or with the support of all. I will honour the religion of my fathers. Let the gods be my witness, Agraulus, Enyalius, Ares, Zeus, Thallo, Auxo, Hegemone."

Translation: History of England by M. Bapin de Thoyras, 1769, T. XI, p. 519. (William III.)[42]

Theobold, 1st Earl of Carlingford, was killed while with King James in the Battle of the Boyne, left a brother, who from his youth had been extremely distinguished in the service of the Emperor in several encounters, until he had been made Count of the Empire under the title of Count de Taaffe. Last year when the KIng was at Loo in Gelderland, an old lord, tall in stature and wearing his own hair, was brought into his room. He knelt before the prince and begged him to give him his hand to kiss. William asked his name. Sire, he said, I am the Earl of Taaffe, and if Your Majesty permits it, Earl of Carlingford. The King raised him graciously. He told him that he had long esteemed him under the name of Taaffe, and that he would recognize him with pleasure under that of Carlingford. He kept his word to him, and the Parliament consented that this brave General regained his lands in Ireland.

Charles Duke of Lorrain (22)

to Mr. de Henkelmann, Counsellor of His Highness at Luneville. Osnabrugh the 21, August 1704.

L'amitié et la tendresse que j' ai toujours pour feu Monsieur le Maréchal Comte, de Carlingford que Dieu aye en sa gloire, lui a été acquise par trop de raisons, pour qu'elle puisse expirer dans mon coeur par sa mort. J' aurai toute r attention que je dois pour ses derniers souhaits, qu'il m'a adressé par vous en faveur du Comte Theobald son neveu, de mon Envoyé D. Ponte et de son secrétaire Meinders. Vous pouvez en assurer tous les trois de ma part, et que je leur en ferai ressentir les effets dans les occasions. Ce sont les memes sentimens que j'ai pour vous, et je suis Monsieur

Votre affectionné, Charles.

Translation: (French)
Charles Duke of Lorrain

Translation: to Mister de Henkelmann, Counsellor of His Highness at Luneville. Osnabrück, 21 August 1704.

The friendship and tenderness I have always have for the late Marshall and Count of Carlingford, which God has in his glory has granted me for many reasons, touches my heart at his death. I will have you attend to his last wishes, which he addressed to me in favour of Count Theobald his nephew, by way of my Envoy D. Ponte and his secretary Meinders. All three of you can assure me, and that I will make them feel the happen. These are the same feelings I have for you, and I am, sir.

Your loved one, Charles

Original-Operation-Journal des Prinzen Eugen, v. Savoyen. Über—fall auf Cremona, 1. Februar 1702. (23)

Bei dieser Action seynd von unss ethliche brave Offiziers geblieben, alss in Specie der Oberst Graff von Leiningen, welcher zu Anfang dieses Kriegs auss denen Spanischen Diensten herüberkommen ist.

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[42] William III of Orange-Nassau (1650-1702) was governor of several provinces in the Netherlands and would become King of England and Scotland in 1689. He was grandson of King Charles I and married to his cousin, Princess Mary of England. He was Catholic, and therefore unpopular with many of the anti-Catholic forces in England.

Der Taaffe, Oberstlieuthenant Baron von Freiberg nebst 2 Rittmeistern von gedachten Regiment und noch anderen Offiziers.

(Mil. Zeitschrift, 1813.)

Translation: Original Operation Journal of Prince Eugene v. Savoy. Battle of Cremona,[43] 1 February 1702.

A number of our good officers remained in this action, in particular Colonel Graff von Leiningen, who came over from the Spanish services at the beginning of this war. Taaffe, Lieutenant Colonel Baron von Freiberg together with 2 Rittmeisters[44] of the regiment in question and other officers.
(Mil. Magazine, 1813.)

John Taaffe in 1762 (24)

married Mary[45], daughter of the High-Chancellor Count Chotek. Lord Nicholas on this occasion divided his fortune between his two sons, reserving but a small annuity for himself. John, before his journey to Spain, had made a will according to which his whole property was left to his widow. Upon his return, at Gorz[46] in the fullest bloom of his youth, he was overtaken by a death which for its suddenness led some people to believe that it was caused by poison.

His widow then presented a petition to the Empress Maria Theresa, requesting her to be appointed as a guardian over the remnant of her children's property. Lord Nicholas, regretting the act of donation made at a time when he could not foresee the premature death of his eldest son, opposed an administration by which his grandchildren at the time of their majority might be left without a penny. A lawsuit ensued between Lord Nicholas and his daughter in law, and the latter supported by her father's influence at court, carried her point, notwithstanding all the former's exertions in favour of his grandsons. She immediately after this married Count Canal, an officer, with whom she had several children, leaving those she had with John Taaffe entirely to the care of their paternal grandfather.

Rodolphus the Seventh Viscount. (25)

He served in the Imperial cavalry. At the time of his majority[47] he left the Austrian service and became a member of the newly established Irish Yeomanry.[48]

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[43] The Battle of Cremona occurred during the Ware of Spanish Succession between the French and Austrian/Imperial soldiers. The forces of Prince Eugene, who had been sent by Emperor Leopold to capture the city, initially had the upper hand when they superstitiously enters the city with the help of a Catholic priest. But a second attack at another city gate did not go off as planned and the French rallied with the help of units from the Irish Brigade, who were under the employ of the French. Prince Eugene and his troops were forced to withdraw.

[44] *Rittmesiter.* Title for a German Cavalry Master, a military officer in charge of a squadron of about 100 soldiers.

[45] Marie Quidobaldina Brigita Chotková von Chotkov und Vojnín (1738-1810)

[46] *Gorz* or *Gorzia* is a town and county located in northeastern Italy at the foot of the Julian Alps near the border with Slovakia.

[47] *Age of majority* is the legal definition of adulthood. In Rodolphus case, this would be age 21.

[48] The *Irish Yeomanry* was a part-time militia, citizen volunteers recruited by local wealthy landholders and judges, who would be mobilized in case of invasion. Their purpose was to free the standing army from tasks such as guard duty and domestic peacekeeping chores. More…

John Taaffe in 1814 (25)

Again joined the army with the rank of a Colonel leading the country-militia (Landwehr) against the French. Seized by sudden illness before the end of the last campaign, he died in the full vigour of his age and on his deathbed received the Patent of a General and the Grand-cross of St. Leopold.[49] He left issue: Josephus, who married in London the daughter of…Lucas Esq., and Mary, a lady of the most accomplished beauty, who by an unhappy accident in her childhood had remained deaf and dumb for her whole life; she was married to Baron Minkwitz. an officer in the Austrian army. Josephus, who had inherited a considerable fortune, when he came of age, spent it in a most extravagant way and 1836 died in London, in reduced circumstances and without an issue.

Francis, the Second Son (26)

of Lord Nicholas Taaffe, partly fascinated by the uncommon beauty of his sister in law and partly to end an unnatural lawsuit, had asked her in marriage; he was accepted at the time and finally even got her father's consent, but the union was refused by the Pope.—Five years after this refusal he married in London Clementina, daughter of Lord John Bellew, with whom he led a happy life, but had no issue. He was the favourite son of Lord Nicholas, against whom he always behaved with filial devotion. After Lady Clementina's decease he donated his whole property in favour of his nephew Lord Rodolphus Taaffe, established himself at Budweis, a small town in Bohemia, where he had previously built an observatory, and there spent the rest of his days in practising astronomy, his favourite study.

Francis the Eighth Viscount (26)

at the age of sixteen entered the Austrian army during the French campaigns. He commenced his military command at the head of fifty men with whom he was ordered to pass the town of Landshut, then in the hands of the enemy, which he accomplished in a most gallant way; thirty of his men, by a desperate fire from the windows were killed and he, with a musket-ball in his hip, made his way to the army with the rest, most of whom were also wounded.

He was accordingly promoted to the rank of a Captain and his military career might have been a brilliant one, if he had not abandoned it as soon as the campaigns were over.

In the further course of this war, he was named Aide de Camp to the Archduke Charles and numerous were the services rendered by his valour and bravery. At the battle of Wagram he saved the life of General Wimplfen[50] who was defending himself on foot against several French dragoons by running head-long into the midst of the latter, he freed the General and presenting him with his own horse soon enabled him to regain his brigade.

During the unhappy affair of Austerlitz[51] he was sent to join the troops under command of the Archduke John to urge them for greater haste. Seeing the impossibility of their arriving in time to

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[49] The Order of Leopold was established by the Parliament of Belgium in 1832 and named in the horror of Leopold I. It remains the highest-ranking decoration in Belgium since its creation and is conferred on Belgian citizens and foreigners in recognition of brave military service and other meritorious services rendered to the nation.

[50] Probably Maximilian von Wimpffen (1770-1854).

[51] Battle of Austerlitz, aka the Battle of the Three Emperors, occurred 2 December 1805, in Austerlitz, now located in the Czech Republic. More…

decide the battle, he in full speed ran back to the army, thereby killing his favourite horse, and thus was the first who informed the Archduke of the large distance that separated him from his reserve-troops.

When the allied forces had entered Paris, he was ordered to escort the Empress Maria Louisa and her son through Switzerland to Vienna, and soon after his arrival left the service.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF THEOBALD TAAFFE

EARL OF CARLINGFORD
1665-1667 (29)

PREFACE

Theobold's letters constitute the largest section of the Memoirs, reflecting the importance of his position in the English court, the world-changing events of the time, and his wide-ranging responsibilities. His leadership style appears to one of a puppet master, but one separated in time and space from his marionettes, a frustrating position I would guess given when communication with underlings could take weeks or months.

Theobold himself had to travel but was sometimes loath to do so given his affliction with painful gout, a common ailment of the time that affects joints. With his travel thus restricted, there was even more need for his appointees to do work efficiently for him in far-flung places.

He was the eldest son of John Taaffe and Anne Dillon, one of fifteen children. He began his career in civil service as a member of parliament in 1639 and was then appointed to lead one of Ireland's armies in 1647. He was an unimpressive general, lost to Irish anti-Royalists, and fled with King Charles II from Ireland to the continent where he would largely remain even after Charles's return to England.

He was twice married, first to Mary Weld with whom he had a son, John Taaffe, whose correspondence is also included in these Memoirs. He later married Rose Lambert and they did not have children. He allegedly had an illegitimate daughter with Lucy Walter named Mary Crofts. Such liaisons were common at that time among nobility, but definitive proof of his fatherhood is lacking.

Theobold's major role was to represent King Charles to the Holy Roman Empire (HRE). The HRE was a political/religious entity that existed from about 862-1806 in western Europe. In 1665, it was controlled by the Hapsburg family and its two branches, headquartered in Spain and Austria. King Charles supported the HRE politically, theologically, and militarily and, for the most part, HRE and its member states supported Charles. On March 4, 1665, King Charles II of England declared war on the Netherlands, marking the start of the Second Anglo-Dutch War over control of the ocean and trade routes and simmering political and religious rivalries within English leaders. The Dutch eventually won that war, no doubt aided by domestic catastrophes in England including the Great Fire of London and outbreak of Plague. But this was but one of a series of conflicts that would take place between members of the HRE, France, and the Ottoman Empire during the 17th century. This blend of religion, war, and politics was a recurrent theme throughout much of Europe for centuries and, in some respects, continues through to the present, sometimes in military conflicts but more often in less violent culture wars.

Frequent correspondents include Lord Arlington, the Bishop of Münster, and William Temple, each of whom is briefly described below:

- *Henry Bennet, 1st Earl of Arlington (1618-1685). As a young man he was a scholar and budding poet, but was sidelined by the civil wars in England and Ireland and, like Theobald, fled with others to Europe. Prince Charles recommended Bennet to his father, and he became secretary King James, a position in which he would, of course, be handling much of the letter writing for the Crown. His standing within the court increased over time, gaining both power and genuine friendships within the royal household. He married well, to Elizabeth van Nassau-Beveresweed of the Dutch House of Orange, a strategic partner with England. But he was also a conniver, and among his targets would be William Temple. He did not reciprocate the trust and loyalty shown to him by Charles and his schemes and lies failed to sustain his influence and good will. Over time his reputation tarnished, and he held on to certain titles, but lost influence.*

- *Christoph Bernhard Freiherr von Galen (1606-1678) was Prince and Bishop of Münster. Though born to a Lutheran family, he was raised by an uncle in the Catholic faith and ordained as a priest. Holy orders were not an impediment to a military career, however, and he was involved in several battles, becoming a leading figure in the forces of the Holy Roman Empire (HRE). He would gain the nickname of "Bombing Bernhard" for his use of artillery in the siege of Gronigen in the Netherlands, which contributed to the Strasbourg Agreement of 1675, the first international arms treaty to ban the use of chemical weapons.*

- *Sir William Temple (1628-1699) was an English diplomat and, for a period, a close advisor to Charles II. Born in London, his father was a leading Irish jurist. He helped to negotiate the Triple Alliance of 1668 (which earned him greater acclaim than that of Bennet, thus earning his enmity) as well as the marriage of Mary, daughter of King Charles I to the Prince of Orange. In his later years he would become known as an essayist, writing about subjects as diverse as gardening to government reform and the people of nations. His secretary was a young Jonathan Swift, who would gather and edit his essays and publish them after Temple's death.*

I found that some of the letters between people were so oddly phrased that they made little sense to me. Perhaps the writers were referencing earlier conversations or communications, or simple speaking in the code of their respective royal courts. Some writers tend to refer to others not by name but by title or nickname, shared no doubt amongst those in the know. I wish you better luck than I in deciphering these mysterious communiques.

You will find that his letters, and those of others, are in some way formulaic. They often start and end with all sorts of praise to whomever they are writing and end with expressions of fealty and love. In the middle they often will gently complain about needing more money, give excuses because their tasks are not proceeding very quickly, blame others for delays, and make witty comments about enemies or the latest gossip.

Theobald's loyal service to King Charles II of England and Emperor Leopold I of the HRE would gain him and other members of family Taaffe additional titles, influence, and possessions—as well as the associated burdens of bills to pay and stewardship that comes with castles, mansions, and farmlands. As a statesman, he often found himself in the uncomfortable role as middleman in negotiations over the important and the petty. He occasionality expressed frustration with the slow pace in problem resolution but was tenacious in following things through to the end. Upon his death in , many would write to extoll his virtues, especially those of the English and HRE nobility. Yet I would guess that diplomats from enemy states the admiration may have been that of a worthy foe rather than one of a close friend.

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Instructions for the Earl of Carlingford. Going Extraordinary Envoy to the Emperor[52] 22 August 1665. (31)

Before you depart from hence you shall instruct yourself entirely in the treaty we have made with the Bishop of Münster[53] and (on your way to the Emperor) in all the Princes Courts you are to pass through, as well as in that of the Emperor support, and do all good offices to the said bishop by your discourse, and otherwise, with all the dexterity and skill you have for the promotion and improvement of his undertakings against the Hollanders, according to which taking your way to Brussels you shall deliver our letter to the Marquis Castel-Roderigo and after your compliments upon the esteem we have of his person and satisfaction in his government of those countries and the fair way we are in of making a stricter union and alliance with the court of Spain, towards which we assure ourselves of all possible concurrence on his part, you shall expose to him how that encouraged much there unto by a letter from him the Marquis to our dear cousin Prince Rupert brought by Mr. Gloxin[54] the last winter, we have entered into a treaty with the Bishop of Münster, and sent him a considerable sum of money to enable him to invade the Hollanders by land whilst we are fighting them at sea, and consequently that we promise ourself from him all good offices and support to the said bishop, as far as it will consist with his instructions from Madrid, and the temper of the affairs of Spain, in those parts, particularly that he suffers the Duke of Bourneville[55] to go and serve the bishop in his military expeditions according to the promise made him.

You shall let him know that We have received his letters and Compliments by Dr. Bernardo de Salinas esteeming them as We ought to do, and hoping that the orders coming favourably from Madrid upon the proposition We made him of opposing the French troops passing through those countries to molest the Bishop of Münster, he will execute them with all advantage to the said bishop, and his designs, since the King his Master's service is not less concerned therein than Ours, their design being rather to take advantages upon Flanders, than to help the Hollanders or annoy the bishop, and that time will certainly show it, if he lets them into those countries.

But before you seek this audience with the Marquis, you shall inquire there, and on the way whether Mr. Temple Our Envoy to the bishop be in those parts, and if so, instruct yourself more particularly from him, what, and how far it will be fit for you to open yourself to the Marquis, Mr. Temple being prepared to discourse freely with you in all things relating to the undertaking of the bishop, who will also be able to tell you what progress there is made for the bishop's second payment which you are to encourage Alderman Backwell[56] in making good with all speed (whom you will also find in those parts), with all possible warmth and earnestness, assuring him of the care We take here to secure and indemnify him therein, and if it shall so happen, that a quantity of tin which We are sending over to the said Alderman arrive at Ostende,[57] you shall in your way press the Governor Dr. Pedro Savally to suffer it to be landed, if it be not done before you arrival, preparing him not to apprehend any

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52 The emperor being referenced is Leopold the I, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

53 The Bishop of Münster at this time was Christopher Bernhard of Galen, both a religious and secular ruler.

54 Possibly David Gloxin (1597-1671), a German politician who attended the treaty talks that ended the Thirty Years War and at various times in the employ of Ferdinand III, Archduke of Austria.

55 Probably Alexander von Bouranville (1616-1690). He was a Field-Marshal for the Holy Roman Empire and later in his career, served in the army for the King of Spain.

56 Edward Blackwell (1618-1683), considered the "founder of the British banking system." He was an alderman in the Bishopsgate neighbourhood of London, now the home of several prominent banks and found in the lyrics of the Beatles song "Being for the Benefit of Mr. Kite."

57 *Ostend* is coastal city in Belgium.

infection[58] can be communicated by such a commodity, though brought from London, the mariners and merchants accompanying it, not entering into or visiting those of the town of Ostende, in which you must also use the credit and recommendation of the Spanish ambassador here to the said Governor which he hath already sent, and also hope he hath received orders to that effect from the Marquis.

After having performed this, and all as is about said to the Marquis Castel-Roderigo, you shall go straight from thence to the bishop Prince of Münster, and delivering to him your Letters of Credence after having spoken with Mr. Temple and directed yourself by him in what manner you shall speak to the said bishop, enter and discourse with him upon his whole undertaking, assuring him of Our punctuality in the performance of all that is stipulated betwixt Us, and that though the contagion unhappily falling into London may have a little retarded Our payments, yet that they shall be exactly made good to him, letting him know in what state you left them, as you passed through Flanders, informing yourself likewise from him what progress he hath made in his levies and undertakings against Holland, and pressing him not to lose the advantage of this season for fear the foul weather come too fast upon him, discoursing farther to him upon the strength of Our Naval Force, and inward constitution of Our affairs here at home, happy in all other circumstances, but this one of the contagion, which God divert from Us.

Whit this you shall open to the bishop how We have sent you to the Emperor's court by the Spanish ambassador's advice here not only to perform Our compliments there, but more especially to do all good offices to and support him in his undertaking against the Hollanders, to which purpose you shall ask his advice, recommendations, and instructions to guide yourself better thereby as well with relation to the Emperor's court as that of any other Princes through whose territories you are to pass or of whose assistance and concurrence he shall have need in his present enterprise, and more particularly you shall enquire of him whether for Our personal friendship with him and the acquaintance you have with him it will not be fit for you to go straight to the Duke of Newbourgh to endeavour to engage him to concur in the undertaking and accordingly delivering your credentials, framing your discourse to the said Duke as the bishop shall direct you. We supposing your application to him will be of more efficacy than Mr. Temple's, who yet hath a dormant credential for him, not omitting to awaken him to a conjunction with the bishop by all fitting reflections and considerations upon his own interest, but the personal friendship and esteem We have a long time retained, and yet have for him of which he cannot give Us a more seasonable evidence, than by concurring in what We propose to him upon this conjunction of affairs; but if by the bishop's advice it shall not be thought fit for you to open yourself thus far with him at least you shall endeavour to prevail with him to keep himself neutral, and not mention any thing of a treaty with the bishop or money sent to him only, that sending you with compliments to the Emperor's court we had enjoined you to wait upon the bishop taking him to be Our friend, that is an enemy to the States, and under that notion hoping that at least he will do nothing to molest him in an undertaking, that cannot but be profitable to Us; but if on the other side you shall find him tractable towards a conjunction with the bishop then you shall assure him of and offer him all possible advantages therein according as the bishop will direct you, with a promise on Our part never to make a peace with Holland but acquainting him therewith, and including all his interests and indemnifying him as much as in us lieth[59] towards all other Princes, especially France by whom We hope he will not be wrought upon to molest the bishop or diverted from making use of so happy a conjuncture to assert the interests of the Princes of the Rhine and rendering his own territories considerable by obliging the Hollanders to live like good neighbours towards him and them; but before

[58] At this time England was suffering from an epidemic of deadly Plague cause by a bacteria carried by rodents. In the modern area it is treated with antibiotics, greatly reducing the fatality rate. There is no vaccine against it. More…

[59] "Lieth" is the old form of the verb "lie," pronounced as in "lie-eth."

you make yourself known in his court you shall do well to have him sounded by some confident of his, your acquaintance, to know whether he will be content to see you publicly in your way to the Emperor's court without opening yourself any further towards that acquaintance.

In the like manner you shall advise with the bishop concerning your going to the elector of Brandenburgh[60] though being so much out of your way We can in no wise think it fit, you should yet still submitting it to the opinion of the bishop and therefore you carry a letter of credence, and after all fitting compliments you shall represent to him the value and esteem We have always had for his person, endeavour to engage him likewise in a conjunction with the bishop by all those arguments which will occur to you or he will furnish you with. showing him more especially this opportunity he now hath of delivering himself and his places from the usurpations and injustices of the Hollanders and obliging Us seasonably according to all his former professions of friendship. But because your going to this Elector may as was said put you too much out of your way and delay too much your going to the Emperor's court, you shall advise with His Highness the bishop whether it will be more proper to have this Embassy performed by Mr. Temple, who hath a dormant credential and instruction to this effect to his Electoral Highness and whom for the reason above said, We wish were sent to him.

Likewise you shall advise—with His Highness the bishop concerning your going in the like manner to the Elector of Mentz,[61] to whom having delivered Our letters of credence and complimented him upon the particular esteem and friendship We have always had for His Electoral Highness, you shall let him know that sending you to Vienna and having taken the bishop in your way you were commanded expressly to wait on him, to give him an account of all Our transactions with the bishop for whose performances We depend much upon his friendship both to Ourself and the bishop, having led Ourselves into this undertaking by the countenance We assured Ourselves he would give to it, and were encouraged therein not only by Mister Gloxin but by the Baron of Wreden[62] who told Us he was privy to all his Master's the bishop's proposals, and that he the Elector would second and support them to the utmost of his power, not only with the Emperor, but with all the other neighbouring Princes, accordingly that We conjure him by all ways possible to further and encourage the bishop's undertaking something prevently before the season of the year prevent it, assuring him that all promised on Our part to the Bishop shall be exactly made good and opening yourself to all particulars with him you shall endeavour to learn how far the neighbour princes (especially those to whom you have credentials) may be depended on, desiring him to instruct you how you shall apply yourself to them, and more especially how govern yourself in the Emperor's court, and how far speak of this undertaking of the bishop, and by what Minister there receiving from him such credentials and instructions of all kinds as he shall be pleased to give you.

NB.[63] This must be delivered carefully and with cautious expressions, because the Elector (how true so ever) will not perhaps admit it shall be so fastened on him, since at the best it was done by him with all secrecy.

After having performed this and visited such other princes in your way, to whom you shall have Letters of Credence, and performed towards them Our compliments and what the Elector of Mentz and Bishop of Münster shall have instructed you in, you shall make all possible haste to the Emperor's court where obtaining your audience in the accustomed public form used there, you shall deliver Our letters of

60 Frederick William, (1620-1689) was the Elector of Brandenburg at this time.
61 Johann Phillip von Schönborn was the Archbishop Elector of Mainz at this time.
62 May refer to the town of Vreden in Germany, neath its border with the Netherlands. An abbey was located there that would have reported to the ArchBishop of Münster.
63 *NB*. Short for "nota bene" (Latin), a notation meant to draw attention to what is written.

credence thanking him for the several expressions of his friendship and kindness since Our happy restoration, congratulating his marriage with the Infanta of Spain[64] and peace with the Ottoman Emperor, as likewise condoling the death of the Archduke of Insprough, in fine desiring to the degree We do the prosperity and happiness of the Illustrious house of Austria, that We cannot but entirely concern Ourself in all the good and bad that may befall it, hoping that the strict union and alliance We are now making with Spain will dispose his Imperial Majesty to the same concernement for Us and, the good of Our affairs. At this first audience or any other that shall be more conveniently afforded you, you shall offer the exposing to him a state of Our affairs with relation to all Our neighbours, and more especially Our quarrels now with the states of the united Provinces, remarking to him more particularly the opportunity now offering itself of reducing them to a condition of living well towards all their neighbours and respectively towards his Imperial Majesty, which we know they have hitherto been much failing in and much to his dissatisfaction, though for more ponderous reasons he hath hitherto been contented to dissemble it, and farther open yourself with the relation to the Bishop of Münster and his undertakings, according as the bishop and the Elector of Mentz shall have instructed you but because all this discourse may be a matter of more length than he will give you occasion to expose, you shall offer His Imperial Majesty the delivery of it to any of his Ministers he shall please to appoint you, marking out such a one, if you think he will approve of it, as the bishop or Elector shall have more particularly recommended you to, and to him recommending with Our express compliments the execution and performance of all those things which you shall be instructed to demand in that court. Of all which transactions and the precedent ones towards the Princes above mentioned you shall give Us a particular account from the time of your first landing in Flanders, with all occurrences worthy of Our knowledge, by the hands of one of Our Secretaries of State, and make no longer stay in the Emperor's court, than you shall judge requisite to Our service in the performance of those things wherewith you are trusted and instructed, reserving to yourself such a latitude for your stay as upon representation to Us of your business We shall here-after authorize you in.

In this court you shall perform all fitting compliments to all foreign Ministers residing there, especially those from Princes best affected to Us and most concerned for the good of Our affairs.

Your several credentials to the other Princes, the Electors of Cullen and Triers, the Princes of Hesse, Luneburgh etc…you shall keep by you to deliver upon emergencies as they lie in your way, or you shall be directed by the Bishop of Münster to make use of them and be instructed by him in what manner to frame your respective discourse to them. Given at Our Court at Sarum the 22, day of August 1665 in the seventeenth year of Our Reign.

Carolus Rex, By His Majesty's Command, Arlington

Eminentissimo et Reverendissimo Principi Domino.

Carolo Casparo Archiepiscopo Trevirensi etc… 26 August 1665 (38)

Carolus Dei Gratia Magnae Britanniae, Franciae et Hiberniae Rex, Fidei Defensor etc… Eminentissimo et Reverendissimo Principi Domino Carolo Casparo Archiepiscopo Trevirensi Sacri Romani Imperii

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[64] *Infanta* in this context means *daughter*, and more specifically not the eldest daughter and who would be titled "princess." In 1666 he married Margaret Theresa of Spain (1651-1673), daughter of King Philip IV of Spain. She would bear six children in six years, four children lived, and she had two miscarriages. Weakened by non-stop childbearing and grieving for the two she has miscarried, she would die four months into her seventh pregnancy.

per Galliam et Regnum Arelatense Archi cancellario et Principi Electori Consanguineo et Amico nostro charis-simo Salutem. Eminentissime et Reverendissime Princeps, Consanguinee et amice Clarissime. Cum nihil prius aut antiquius libeamus, quam ut vetus ilia amicitia quam Antecessores Vestri ingenui Nostri mutuo coluerunt sancta semper atque illaesa maneat, arctiori (si fieri potest) affectu et sinceritate adhuc augenda. Perquam fideli ideo ac predilecto Consanguineo Nostro Theobaldo Comiti de Carlingford ad Caesaream Suam Majestatem Ablegate Nostro Extraordinario in mandatis dedimus ut Celsitudini Vestrae sensa mentis Nostrae aperiat tam de summa existimatione quam de Celsitudinis Vestrae Persona concepimus quam de rebus ad arctiorem necessitudinem et bonum Utriusque Nostr. spectantibus Cui ut fidem plenam et integram adhibeat in omnibus quae ex parte Nostra exposuerit amicissime rogamus. Deum Optimum Maximum precamur ut Celsitudinem Vestram quam diutissime conservet sospitetque.

Dabantur e Civitate Nostra de Sarun 26. die Mensis Augusti Anno Domini 1665.
Reverendissimae Celsitudinis Vestrae, Bonus Consanguineus et Amicus, Carolus Rex, Arlington

Translation: Most Eminent and Most Reverend Prince to Charles Casparo, Archbishop of Trier[65]

Charles by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith etc... To the Most Eminent and Most Reverend Prince Charles, Archbishop of Treveri, the Sacred Roman Empire in Gaul and the Kingdom of Arles, Arch Chancellor and Prince Elector to our dear cousin and friend, greetings. Most Eminent and Most Reverend Prince, Cousin and Friend Most Clear.

Since we may offer nothing before or later than to share in that old friendship, your ingenuous predecessors of ours have always worshiped one another, holy and unharmed. We have been extremely faithful and therefore entrusted to our dear Cousin Theobald, Earl of Carlingford, to his Imperial Majesty Ablegate,[66] our Extraordinary Person, to disclose to your Highness the sentiments of our mind, both of the highest esteem and of your Highness.

To him, we ask most cordially to the audiences to use his full and complete faith in all that he has explained on our part. We pray to the supreme and greatest God that he will keep your Highness safe, and safe for as long as possible.

They were given out of our city of Sarun[67] on 26th August in the year of our Lord 1665.

Your Most Reverend Your Highness, Good cousin and friend, King Charles, Arlington

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65 The Archbishop of Trier was Charles Casper of the Leten. His reign most focused on reconstruction as the area had been destroyed in the Thirty Years War. *Trier (*formerly known in English as *Treves)* is a town in southwest Germany near the border with Luxenbourg. It is considered Germany's oldest city. The Archbishop of the city was one of the electors of the Holy Roman Empire.

66 *Ablegate* is an envoy for the pope, charged with representing the papacy in different countries. The duties are to carry out orders of the pope such as promoting archbishops into Cardinals. cf Papal Nuncio,

67 This may be a reference to the medieval English town of Sarum. It is only about 8.5 miles (13.6 km) from Sarum to Clarendon, and Edward Hyde the 1st Earl of Clarendon was good friends with Kings Charles I and Charles II of England. However, by 1665 Sarum was mostly abandoned. Perhaps the vicinity was still referred to by that name as it continued to have a seat in parliament until the 1800s, and had once occupied an important place in British history.

Copy of Carlingford's Letter to The Bishop of Münster. October 1665. (38)

Monsieur,

Je suis venu jusqu'ici avec dessein d'aller trouver Votre Altesse par ordre du Roi de la Grande Bretagne, mon maître. Lundi matin je prendrai une escorte d'ici et me rendrai auprès de Votre Altesse en tel lieu qu'elle m'ordonnera, comme étant

De Votre Altesse, Le plus humble serviteur.

Translation: Copy of L. Carlingford's letter to the Bishop of Münster. October 1665.

Sir,

I have come here with the intention of going to your Highness by order of the King of Great Britain, my master. On Monday morning I will take an escort from here and go to Your Highness in such a place that she will order me, as if to be From Your Highness,

The Most Humble Servant.

Excellentissime Domine Comes. 14 October 1665 (39)

Dum heri non procul Covardia in hostico festinabundus hue irem, Excellentiae Vestrae litteras recepi, et simul statim ex aliorum litteris percepi Eandem se mox itineri ad me commisisse; summopere de ejus quidem adventu gavisus sum. Dolui tamen non minus quod Eandem ob absentiam pro dignitate et merito excipere non potuerim. Cum vero necessitas et Communis foederis utilitas me urgeat hic aliquantisper commorari gratum mihi erit, si Excellentiae Vestrae placuerit hue ad me properare, et mitto pro securitate Equitum turmas trés, quae Eandem hue adducent. Datum Meppenis, 14. Oct. 1665.

Excellentiae Vestrae, Ad officia paratissimus, (Bishop of Münster)

Translation: Most Excellent Lord Count. 14 October 1665

Yesterday I was not far from Covardia[68], in haste and near the enemy, when I received your Excellency's letter; I rejoiced greatly at his arrival. However, I was no less grieved that I could not properly receive you in the dignified manner you merit. As the necessity and common interest of the treaty are pressing on me, it will be gratifying for me to stay here for a while, and if your Excellency chooses to come to me, I will send for your security three cavalry companies to accompany him. Given at Meppen,69 Oct. 14. 1665, Your Excellency,

Ready for services, Christopher Bernard, (Bishop of Münster)

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[68] I do not think this is a reference to a geographical location, but rather the use of the old Portuguese term for "cowardice." Its use here suggests that the Bishop of Münster, "in haste and near the enemy" was about to turn tail and run for his life but that the letter lifted his spirits.

[69] *Meppen* was a fortress town in the northwest of Germany near its border with France. The fortifications were demolished following the end of the Severn Years War in 1762. As such, it would be safe place for a meeting.

Letter to the King from Meppen, the 22 of October 1665. (39)

Serenissime ac Potentissime Rex.

Ex redditis mihi per Dominum Comitem de Carlingford Regiae Majestatis Vestrae fiduciariis leteris et iis quae in vim earundarum ore tenus proposuit, satis perpexae, nihil aequae Regiae Majestatis Vestrae curae ac cordi esse quam praesentem meam expeditionem contra Hollandos et quod Majestas Vestra eo quoque fini voluerit mittere, ut sub praetextu inibi contestandorum officiorum Vestrae Majestatis erga domum Austriacam, et desiderii melioris cum eadem deinceps amicitiae, prout et apud alios Germaniae Principes eo commodius mea ibidem negotia sublevare possit. Quamobrem Majestas Vestra eum voluerit prius me adire, ut a me instructior de mea quoque sententia et consilio mandata sua exequeretur. Deinde ut me quoque certiorem redderet de eo statu solutionis, quem in Belgio reliquisset, tum quibus ilia difficultatibus aliquantulum retardata esset ultra quae insuper mihi commendaret ex parte Majestatis Vestrae ad efficiendum ante adhuc aliquid, quam me hiems praeveniat et dum Majestatis Vestrae Classis maritima Hollandos invitare satageret ad secundam pugnam, cujus sue cessus fortunatis fuerit magnum eo ipso statibis terrorem incisim, eosque brevi ad rationem et aequitatem quam Majestas Vestra ab iis requirit redacti iri, quemadmodum et dicitis Dominus Comes pluribus mentem Majestatis Vestrae aperturus esset, quo se remittere, ut et ego eidem in omnibus his praesertim cum me de Majestatis Vestrae perfecta amicitia erga me omnino securum faceret plenam ei iidem liberem, me requirere placuit. Cum in omnibus hisce dictus Dominus Comes Majestatis Vestrae voluntati satisfecerit, et tum a me informationem quandam agendorum tum in ipsa aula Imperiali, cum apud alios Imperii Principes acceperit, mihique statum solutionis in Belgio, et ex quibus difficultatibus ilia retardata sit, significaverit, tum me jam ante ipsius adventum in ipso opere quo Hollandos jam in integrum mensem lacesso ferventissime occupatum ad plura facienda impulerit intellexeritque a me tum damna jam Hollandis illata, quaeque inde ad Majestatem Vestram commoda redundassent praesertim quod copiis et mediis Hollandorum ad praesidium et terrestre bellum distractis classi Majestatis Vestrae navali jam optima occasio fuerit in mari praenitendi, ut si ea via pergatur, necesse sit, Hollandos brevi ad saniorem mentem, et eam, quam Majestas Vestra desiderat, venire. Ego similiter eundem de mea erga Majestatem Vestram fide et constantia certiorem feci, tum statum praesentem belli mei, laus Deo, hucusque prosperum, tum quasdam necessitates meas eidem sincere revelavi, super quibus omnibus me quoque ad pleniorem ipsius relationem refero, in qua et a Majestate Vestra ipsi vicissim integram fidem haberi, etiam atque etiam obsecro, ac maneo.

Majestatis Vestrae, devotissimus servitor, Christophorus Bernardus.

Translation: Letter to the King from Meppen. 22 October 1665

Most Serene and Most Powerful King,

From the letters delivered to me by the Lord Earl of Carlingford, your Majesty's Royal Trust, and those things which he proposed as far as violence against them, it is quite clear so that, under the pretext of attesting to your Majesty's duties towards his Austrian home, and the desire for a better friendship afterwards, he may be able to assist my business in that place more conveniently with the other princes of Germany.

Wherefore your Majesty wishes him to go to me first, that he may be well equipped by me to execute his commands also concerning my opinion and advice, he might inform me also of the state of the settlement which he had left in the Netherlands, and also by which those difficulties had been delayed a

little further, and which he also commended to me on the part of your Majesty to bring about some further action before winter should come before me.

He should endeavour to reach the second battle, of which his fortunate departure has been great, and you will stand by that very alarm, and will soon be reduced to the reason and fairness which your Majesty requires from them.

In all these things, especially since your Majesty's perfect friendship with you made me feel safe, it was decided that they should deliver me to him in complete freedom. When in all these things the said lord Earl has satisfied your Majesty's will, that before his arrival he had most fervently impelled me to do more than a whole month in the very work which I made for myself, and he understood from me the losses which had already been done to the Dutch.

There was already an excellent opportunity of foreseeing your naval forces in the sea, so that, if we continue on that road, it is necessary for the Dutch to come soon to a sounder mind, and to that which your Majesty wants. I likewise reinforce to your Majesty of my fidelity and constancy, both the present state of my war, the praise of God, hitherto prosperous, and some of my necessities I have sincerely revealed to him. Let your faith in turn be regarded as complete, yes and yes, I beg you, and I remain.

Your Majesty's most devout servant,
Christopher Bernard

Copy of the Bishop's Letter to His Majesty.

Sent by Mr. Cusack, Serenissime ac Potentissime Rex. 20 October 1665 (40)

Post conclusas recredentiales meas Domino Comiti de Carlingford Majestatis Vestrae ablegate a me datas sub ejus discessum traditae milii sunt literae Electoris Coloni ensis, quibus quemadmodum Rex Galliae pro sex equitium peditumque millibus ad assistendum Hollandis contra me mittendis transitum per fines dioecesis Leodiensis potierit, is vero eundam denegare non potuerit milii significatur; quartani exempla praedicto Domino Comiti statim communicavi. Cum jam exinde Majestas Vestra satis cognoscat, Regem Galliarum brevi contra me appropinquaturum et jam necessitatem exigere, ut Majestas Vestra vigor e milii appromissae guarantiae ex opposito talia consilia capiat, quibus Gallicae machinationes sufficienter cohiberi possint. Quando igitur eum in finem opportunum mihi videatur, ut indicto Galliae bello Hispania et tota domus Austriaca in societatem foederis trahantur, nec non conscripto exercitu terrestri Gallus contineatur, tum maxime milii per eum locum, quem Coloneus Cusack indicabit, suppetiae mittantur. Hinc bene memoratum Dominum Comitem de Carlingford instantissime rogavi ut haec consilia Majestatis Vestrae suggerere velit quemadmodum facturum se promisit, et nomine Majestatis Vestrae me certum ac securum reddidit. Quapropter et Majestatem Vestram denuo obnixe obsecro ut ei hac in parte et nomine meo vicissim fidem habere, meque ex foederis fide agentem potenter protegere velit, maneo interim.

Majestatis Vestrae, Dabam in Fortalitio meo, devotissimus servitor, Meppen 20. Oct. 1665,
Christophorus Bernardus

Translation: Copy of the Bishop's Letter to His Majesty. 20 October 1665

Most Serene and Most Powerful King,

After you completed my credentials to the Lord Earl of Carlingford, which your Majesty sent ahead of me dated at the time of his departure, letters of the assistance have been delivered to the Elector,[70] just as the King of France had for 6,000 cavalry and infantry to assist the Dutch in sending them over to the borders of the diocese of Liege, but the same assistance could not be denied the same. I immediately shared the example of the fourth Earl to the aforesaid Lord. Since your Majesty is now fully acquainted with it, and that the King of France will soon move against me, this now requires that your Majesty, contrary to the strength of the promised assistance may launch measures to sufficiently stop the French movement. Therefore, when it seems to me the time is right, that when a war with France had been declared, Spain and the whole Austrian family should be drawn into an alliance with the treaty. The Gauls[71] having raised an army, and not being kept together by land. From this I most earnestly begged the Lord Earl of Carlingford that he should bring forward these plans to your Majesty, and he promised he would do it, and in the name of Your Majesty, he rendered me certain and secure. For this reason, I urge your Majesty to have faith in him in this respect and in my name, and wish to protect me from the faith of the treaty, while I remain in the meantime. Given to Me in Meppen,[72] 20 Oct. 1665.

Your Majesty most devout servant, Christophorus Bernardus, Bishop

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Letter Written by the Earl of Carlingford. 3 Leagues After He Left Meppen, to the Bishop of Münster. 26 October 1665 (41)

Projectum literarum ad Celsitudinem Suam Monasteri ensem etc. etc.

Cum praesens apud Celsitudinem Vestram perceperim Dominum Lesseing cum mandatis sui Regis ad eandem appropinquare, non putassem ab ista corona Celsitudini Vestrae seu potius Regi meo, eidem contra quoscunque aggressores ad asse curationem sive guarantiam obligato adversi quid imminere, quin prius cum eadem amicabiliter communicatum et media pacifica proposita essent. Quia vero jam certior fio, Regem Galliarum non tantum in favorem Hollandorum contra Celsi-tuditem Vestram certum exercitum destinasse, sed et pro eo transitum per fines Episcopatus Leodiensis ab Electore Coloni ensi petisse et contra leges foederis Rhenani constiti itiones que imperii obtinuisse, Celsitudinem Vestram vigore commissionis a Rege et Domino meo Clementissimo mihi datae asse curare possem, quam primum altissime memorati Domini mei Regia Majestas intellexerit Regem Galliarum ad Celsitudinem Vestram offendendam militem e regno suo emissurum serio decrevisse, eundem Regi Galliarum bellum denunciaturum, ea quae Gallia nolet foedera initurum et porro ejusmodi consilia capturum effectuique daturum unde Galliam forte offensionis suae poenitere possit aut certe nullum inde emolumentum perceptura sit. Non dubitans interim Celsitudinem Vestram pro generositate sua forti animo futuram et pro prudentia ea acturum, quae foederi inito conformia sunt, proindeque auxilia Regis mei, quae Gallicis offensionibus haud minora fore scio, pro prudentia sua

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70 An elector was a person who helped choose the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

71 Gaul was an ancient region in Europe, roughly where France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and portions of Southwestern Germany and northern Italy overlapped, and its inhabitants referred to as Gauls. The Gauls and the legions of ancient Rome were fierce enemies, and a period called the Gallic Wars resulted.

72 Meppen is a town in the Emsland District, State of Saxony in Germany. It is approximately 70 miles (112 km) from Meppen to Münster, Germany.

expectaturum, ego officiis meis non deero, re tam Majestatis suae integerrima fide de omnibus referam quam ea faciam, quae ad Celsitudinis Vestrae utilitatem et securitatem a Rege mihi demandata sunt, Eandem Deo commendans etc….
Datae ex itinere meo in oppido Rhonen 26. Oct. 1665.

Translation: Letter written by the Earl of Carlingford

3 leagues[73] after he left Meppen, to the Bishop of Münster. Letters sent to

His Highness at H Monastery, etc, etc.…

When I learned that Lord Lesseing[74] was ordered by his King to come to your Highness, I should not have thought of that he would be there to make threats. But since I am already informed that the King of France has decided to support the Dutch, like the Roman Celsus, an opponent of Christianity, but also for him to have made provided safe passage through the territories of the bishopric of Liege to the Elector of Cologne75, and against the agreements of the treaty of the Rhine76. They were given to me by the king and my most gracious lord I could scarcely say for the first time that the Royal Majesty of the most high-named of my lord has understood that the King of France has decided to send an army out of his kingdom to war with your Highness, and to announce the same war to the King of Gaul. He can regret his action or at least gain no advantage from it. In the meantime, I do not doubt that your Highness will, on account of his generosity in brave courage and prudence, do those things which are in conformity with the treaty entered. I will report in the most honest faith of all those things which I will do for the benefit and security entrusted to your Highness by the King, entrusting the same to God etc….

Given from my journey to the town of Rhonen 1665.

The Duke of Newburg's Letter. Received at New, 2 October 1665. (42)

Monsieur,

C'est avec beaucoup de joie, que j'ai appris par la Votre que par ordre de Sa Majesté de la Grande Bretagne Vous désirez de me voir. Vous savez Monsieur le respect que je porte a Sa Majesté et la passion que j'ai d'exécuter ses commandements, je ne les peux aussi recevoir de personne laquelle je souhaite plus d'embrasser que Vous, ce que j'attendrai avec impatience.

Un mien gentilhomme se rendra après demain de grand matin auprès de Vous, qui a ordre de Vous conduire avec une escorte en ce lieu, qui est une maison de chasse ou Vous trouverez celui qui est et sera toujours

Monsieur; Votre, Tres-affectionate, Phillip Gulliame, Comte Pallatin, Bernsberg, ce 1 Oct 1665

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73 A league, in the English-speaking world of that time, was approximately 3 miles.
74 *Possibly* Johan Karl August, Count of Leiningen-Dagsburg-Falkenburg. The area he controlled is in the vicinity of Liege and Cologne, and Carlingford may not have known the exact spelling of the Count's holdings.
75 The distance between Liege in Belgium, and Cologne in Germany, is about 75 miles (120 km).
76 Probably the 1654 Treaty of Westminster between England and the Netherlands that brought an end to the first Anglo-Dutch war, which ceased hostilities, but also set the stage for further conflict which erupted into the second Anglo-Dutch war in 1665.

Translation: The Duke of Neuburg's[77] letter. 2 October 1665.

Sir,

It is with great joy that I learned from Yours that by order of His Majesty of Great Britain You wish to see me. You know, Sir, the respect I have for His Majesty and the passion I have to carry out his commands, I can also receive them from no one whom I wish to affectionately greet more than You, which I will look forward to.

A gentleman of mine will go after tomorrow early in the morning to You, who has orders to take You with an escort to this place, which is a hunting lodge where You will find the one who is and always will be, Sir

Your very affectionate,
Philippe Guillaume, Bensberg[78], 1 October 1665

A Monsieur le Comte de Carlingford. Cell, le 3 Novembre 1665. (43)

Monsieur,

C'est avec bien du déplaisir que j'ai appris la faute de mon secrétaire et c'est pour vous en faire des excuses que je vous envoye celle-ci en suppliant Votre Excellence de croire que je n'y ai point de part, et que je serais au désespoir si je ne la croyais assez clairvoyante pour juger qu'il n'y a personne qui ait plus de respect et de vernation pour le Roi votre maitre que moi, ni qui soit avec plus de vérité que je suis

de Votre Excellence, le très-affectionne serviteur, Ernest Auguste.

Translation: (French) To Count of Carlingford. 3 November 1665.

Sir,

I am relieved to discover that it was a mistake by my secretary and not me, begging Your Excellency to believe that I have no part, and that I would be in despair if I did not believe it clear enough to judge that there is no one who has more respect and veneration for the King your master than I do, nor who is with more truth than I am, by Your Excellency
Your loving servant, Ernest Augustus

Princess Sophia to the Earl of Carlingford. (43)

Monsieur,

J'ai toujours eu tant de respect pour le Roi et tant d' affection pour tons ceux qui sont a Sa Majesté que je ne saurais jamais témoigner assez a mon gré les sentimens de mon coeur sur ce sujet et je m' estime bien heureuse que vous avez sçu. connaître en quelque façon la vérité de mes sentimens; je vous puis assurer, Monsieur, que la franchise dont vous avez usé envers moi m'à oblige tout-a-fait, et qu'elle me

[77] Probably Phillip William of Neuburg, Elector Palatine (1515-1690). Neuburg was a territory of the HRE.
[78] Bergisch Gladbach, a city in Germany, and home to Phillip's Bensberg "hunting lodge," now known more accurately as Benserg Castle, serving as a luxury hotel.

fait souhaiter beaucoup la continuation de Votre amitié dont je ferai toujours une estime trés-particuliére.

Je suis bien fâchée de la bévue de nos secrétaires de Vous avoir donné des lettres fermées, j'espère que Vous n' attribuerez cette impertinence qu'a eux et que Vous serez toujours bien persuadé du zèle et du devoir que Monsieur le Duc mon mari et moi avons pour Sa Majesté et de l' estime que nous avons pour les mérites de Votre personne, je me flatte toujours que les conjonctures nous seront un jour si favorables de le pouvoir faire paraître par des très-humbles services au Roi Votre maître.

Mes fils Vous sont bien obligé que Vous êtes un des protecteurs du concubinage, en leur considération je Vous souhaite en récompense une plus belle maîtresse que la Princesse de Tarante et du meilleur vin que Vous en avez bû chez l' Evêque de Munster et que Vous puissiez perde Vos gouttes en chemin pour venir danser des contredanses avec moi à Ossenabrue, cependant je ne manquerai pas de Vous écrire souvent ce qui se passera et Vous me ferez beaucoup de justice de croire que je suis tout à fait, Monsieur,
de Votre Excellence, très-affectionnée amie et servante, Sophie Pa

Translation: Princess Sophia to the Earl of Carlingford

Sir,

I have always had so much respect for the King and so much affection for all those who are His Majesty's that I could never express enough to my liking the feelings of my heart on this subject and I consider myself very happy that know, in some way the truth, of my feelings. I can assure you, sir, that the honesty with which you have shown me has completely obliged me, and that it makes me very much wish to continue your friendship, for which I will always hold a very special esteem.

I am very sorry for the blunder of our secretaries to have given you sealed letters,[79] and I hope that You will attribute this impertinence only to them and that you will always be well convinced of the zeal and the duty that my husband, the Duke, and I have for His Majesty and the esteem we have for the merits of Your person. I always flatter myself that the events will one day be so favourable to us to be able to allow us to visit the King, your master.

My sons are very thankful that you are one of the protectors of concubinage.[80] in their consideration I wish you as a reward a mistress more beautiful than the Princess of Tarante along with best wine that you have drunk from it at the Bishop of Münster, and that you may spill some of on the way to come and dance contredanses[81] with me at Ossenabrue. I will, however, not fail to write to you often what will happen and you should believe that I am completely, sir,

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79 Letters were sealed with wax and sometimes intricate folding to prevent people other than those to whom it was addressed from secretly opening them, prove the authenticity of the letter as each seal bore the insignia of the sender. In this letter, Sophia seems to be stating that the letters were sent sealed, which one would think would be a good thing for private correspondence between royals. I wonder if a there's a missing negative prefix, and that she was embarrassed that they were delivered unsealed. On the other than, perhaps a sealed letter between a man and a woman not married to one another would seem suspicious to court gossips.

80 *Concubinage,* was the practice of having a mistress, sometimes living in the same household as the man. It differentiated women who were married to the man from those who were not, but often cohabitated with him. Princess Sophie seems to approve of such arrangements, and seems to be ready to send him another maiden for his pleasure.

81 *Contredanse,* a popular dance form for couples, sometimes performed with two lines of men and women or in groups of four, popular in Europe Britain at this time. Consider the formal balls featured in many period films.

of Your Excellency, most affectionate friend and servant, Sophie Pa

The Duke George William of Brunswick's Letter to the Earl of Carlingford. Cell, 7 November 1665. (44)

Monsieur,

J'ai appris par Monsieur le Comte de Waldec qui est revenu ce soir, aussi bien que de Madame ma belle soeur a qui Vous avez écrit, l'imprudence qu'ont eu mes gens de vous envoyer la lettre pour le Roi fermée; je supplie Votre Excellence de ne m'en pas attribuer la faute, mais plutôt ar ignorance de mon secrétaire; elle recevra ci-joint une autre lettre pour leRoi du même contenu, quand j'aurai la résolution de mes allies, je pourrai lui dire quelque chose de plus positif; je la prie de me faire en attendant l'honneur de me croire, Monsieur,

de Votre Excellence, le très-humble et très-affectionne serviteur, George Guillaume,
Due de Bronsvig et Luneburg

Translation: The Duke George William of Brunswick's letter to the Earl of Carlingford. Cell, the 7 of November 1665.

Sir,

I learned from the Count of Waldek[82] who returned this evening, as well as from Madame my sister-in-law to whom you wrote, of the imprudence my people had in sending you the closed letter for the King. I beg Your Excellency not to attribute the fault to me, but instead to the ignorance of my secretary; she will receive enclosed another letter for the King of the same content, when I have the resolution of my allies, I will be able to tell her something more positive. I beg her to do me while waiting for the honour of believing me, Sir,

Of Your Excellency, the very humble and very affectionate servant, George William,
Duke of Bronsvig and Luneburg

The Duke George William of Brunswick's Letter to the King, 26 October 1665 (45)

Serenissime ac Potentissime Rex Domine Consan, guinee plurimum honorande!

Postquam singularem Regiae Vestrae Serenitatis erga Nos affectum, sinceramque amicitiam, quam antiquitus Serenissimi Magnae Britanniae Reges cum Majoribus nostris sancte coluerunt, non conservandi tantum, sed arctiori nexu augendi desiderium e Regiae Vestrae Serenitatis per illustrem Dominum Theobaldum Comitem de Carlingford, Regiae Vestrae Majestatis ad Sacram Caesaream Majestatem Ablegatum, traditis gratissimis Literis lubentissime percepimus, nec non ex ipso quae insuper nomine Regiae Vestrae Majestatis de ineundo foedere vel saltem non jungenda armorum societate contra Dominum Episcopum Monasteriensem in praesenti Foederatis Belgii Ordinibus sua

[82] Probably John II Graf zu Waldek (1623-1668), a German count serving in the Swedish army.

directione illato bello nobis exponere in commissis habuit sufficienter intelleximus. Prae primis de Regiae Vestrae Majestatis constanti animi voluntate impense nobis gratulati, nec minus Regiae Vestrae Serenitatis integra valetudine felicissimo rerum omnium successu ex animo laetati sumus nihil magis in votis habentes quam ut exoptata diu de Regia Vestra Majestate bene merendi observantiam nostram re ipsa contestandi occasio et facultas nobis suppetat. Caeterum cum ea quae de foedere vel neutra litate proposita sunt tanti ponderis atque momenti sint, ut de his non nisi communicato prius cum Agnatis Foederatis nostris consilio, aliquid certi statuere nobis integrum sit, Regiam Vestram Majestatem aliquantam moram quam hujus negotii gravitas exposcit, haud aegre esse laturam plane confidimus. Cui quid habita cum amicis matura deliberatione ad conservandam publicam tranquillitatem consilii capietur illico confestim per Literas significabimus. Reliquum, quod Domino Ablegato in praesens responsi dedimus Regiae Vestrae Majestati procul dubio ex fide referet quam Divinae protectioni ex voto omnigenae felicitatis devote commendamus.

Dabam in residentia nostra Cellensi, die 26. Oct. Anno 1665, Regiae Vestrae Majestatis Studiosissimus consanguineus,Georgius Wilhelmus, Dux Brunsviciensis et Luneburgensis

Translation: The Duke George William of Brunswick's letter to the King. 26 October 1665

Most Serene and Powerful King Dominic of Royal Blood, Congratulations!

After the unparalleled devotion to your Royal Serenity and the heartfelt friendship which in ancient times the King of Great Britain and our ancestors him for preserving and increasing his fealty to the Sacred Heart, our Jesus Christ, we received with great pleasure the letters the Imperial Majesty stating the rejection of the treaty, or at least not joining in an alliance of arms, against the Lord Bishop of Monateria in the present united provinces of the Netherlands,[83] we have understood sufficiently to explain to us his direction in the war entrusted to the Orders of the provinces of the Netherlands.

We earnestly congratulate your Majesty on his steadfast will and sound health, and wish him success of all things. We heartily rejoice in our wishes, having nothing more to do with our wishes than the long-awaited event of your Majesty's well-deserved respect for our Royal Majesty opportunity is available to us.

Since those things which have been proposed in the treaty or in either interest are so important and important, that if we decide on these matters, unless we first communicated with our Agnates our neighbouring states, we have complete certainty, Your Majesty, after some delay, which the seriousness of this business demands. We are confident that it will be passed. We will immediately inform him by letter. The rest, which we have given to your Royal Majesty's abrogating Lord for the present reply, will undoubtedly return with faith, which we devoutly commend to the divine protection from the vow of every kind of happiness.

I was at our residence in Cellensis on 26th October in the year 1665, The Royalty of Your Majesty

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[83] This and other letters concerning the Dutch, Spain, England and France are best understood within the political, economic, and religious context of the Eight Years War, a good summary of which may be found here: https://dutchreview.com/culture/history/what-was-the-eighty-years-war-the-dutch-war-of-independence-explained/

The Bishop of Cologne to the Earl of Carlingford, 4 October 1665 (46)

Monsieur,

Je viens de recevoir Vos lettrés, qui m'avisent de la commission que Vous avez de la part du Roi de la Grande Bretagne pour Vous rendre auprès de moi, comme Vous désirez de le pouvoir faire en assurance. Je ne crois pas que sur mes terres il y ait chose qui soit a craindre au contraire, néanmoins pour y pourvoir à Votre satisfaction selon que Vous m'en requérez, je Vous envoye une escorte de quelque cinquante fantassins et je demeure, Monsieur,

Votre, trais-affectionne, Maximilien Henri, Electeur de CologneArnsberg, le 4. Oct. 1665.

Translation: The Bishop of Cologne to the Earl of Carlingford. 4 October 1665

Sir,

I have just received your letters, who inform me of the commission you have from the King of Great Britain to come to me, and you wish to be able to do safely. I do not believe that on my land there is anything to fear. Nevertheless, to provide assurance to you according to Your request, I will send you an escort of some fifty infantry and I remain, Sir,

Your loving servant,
Arnsberg, Maximilian Henri, Elector of Cologne

The Bishop's Letter to the King. 9 October 1665 (47)

Serenissime et Potentissime Rex Domine Consanguinee honorandissime!

Singulari favori acceptas fero quas Majestas Vestra benevoli sui erga me affectus demonstrationes Domino Comiti de Carlingford, Suo ad Caesaream Majestatem Ablegate exprimendas commisit: et vero quemadmodum hic partes suas in eo perquam officiose explevit, ita nec est quod dubitem quin pari futurus sit ratione, ut quae a me excepit continuae in Majestatem Vestram observantiae indicia et sinceri correspondentis animi sensa referat, eritque obligationum mearum incremento, si ilia benigne, uti confido, susceperit Majestas Vestra, nec non quae addere pergam vota ut eam Deus Optimus Maximus quam diutissime sospitet et prosperis rerum eventibus felicitet. Arensbergae, 9, Octobris, Anno 1665.
Majestatis Vestrae, deditissimus consanguineis et servitor, Maximilianus Henricus
Archiepiscopus et Elector Coloniensis

Translation: The Bishop's letter to the King. 9 October 1665.

Most Serene and Most Powerful King, O Most Honoured Cousin!

I bear a special favour which your Majesty has entrusted to express the affection towards me to the Lord Earl of Carlingford, to his Imperial Majesty, at Ablegate, and just as he has performed his parts in him very dutifully, so there is no reason to doubt that which has received from me your Majesty's continued evidences of respect and sincere sentiments of corresponding sentiments, and it will be the increase of my obligations, if your Majesty will receive them kindly, as I trust; be happy with the outcome. Arensberg, 9 October, 1665

Your Majesty, most devoted to his kinsmen and servant, Maximilian Henry
Archbishop and Elector of Cologne

The Duke Frederic's Letter to the King. 26 October 1665 (47)

Serenissime et Potentissime Rex Domine Consanguinee plurimum colende!

Ex Regiae Majestatis Vestrae literis die 26. Mensis Augusti scriptis quae Octobris Die 25. nobis redditae sunt, intelleximus tanti aestimari eam amicitiam quam Regiae Majestatis Vestrae antecessores cum nostris coluerunt, ut conservare eam cupiat, si fieri possit etiam augere eaque de caussa prae illustri Domino Theobaldo Comiti de Carlingford suo ad Majestatem Vestram Ablegato extraordinario in mandatis dedisse ut Regiae Vestrae Majestatis animi sensa de rebus ad arctiorem necessitudinem spectantibus plenius nobis exponeret.

Longe gratissima sane nobis fuit tam honorifica Regiae Majestatis Vestrae erga nos benevolentiae declaratio, quia necessitudinem quae cum Regiae Majestatis Vestrae antecessoribus intercessit, magni facimus et cumprimis Regiae Majestatis Vestrae cum summo semper studio prosecuti sumus. Nullam igitur moram interposuimus quin dictum Dominum Comitem et Ablegatum extraordinarium statim atque ad nos accesserat audivimus, cumque is mandata sibi data cum singulari prudentia et solertia exposuisset sic vicissim ei mentem nostram declaravimus, prout sine dubio Regiae Majestati Vestrae pluribus ipse referet, quam proinde officiose rogamus, ut plenam ei fidem adhibeat sibique omnia studia et officia nostra semper credat addicta. Deum Optimum Maximum precamur ut Regiam Vestram Majestatem quam diutissime sospitet atque incolumem servet omniaque Regia cumulet felicitate. Dabam ex arco nostra Hannovera die XXVI. Octobris Anno 1665.

Johannes Fredericus, Dei Gratia Dux Brunsvicensium et Luneburgensium.

Translation: The Duke Frederic's[84] letter to the King. 26 October 1665

Most Serene and Most Powerful King, Respect to You Lord Cousin
From your Royal Majesty's letter written on 26th August, which were delivered to us on October 25th. Theobald, Earl of Carlingford, had given orders to your Majesty's Extraordinary Abrogate to explain to us more fully the sentiments of your Royal Majesty concerning matters related to a closer relationship.

We are the most grateful to your Royal Majesty for such an honourable expression of goodwill toward us. We are extremely proud of the relationship we had with your Royal Majesty's predecessors and especially with you, your Majesty, who have always enthusiastically obeyed. Therefore, we acted immediately when we learned that the said Lord Earl and special negotiator had arrived. When he had explained the commands given to him with extraordinary prudence and skill, we in turn made clear our minds to him: that he may give him full support and be always devoted to him in all our pursuits and duties. We beseech almighty God to keep your Majesty perpetually safe and fill you with happiness. Given from our protection to Hanover on the 26 October 1665

John Frederick, By the grace of God, Duke of Brunswick and Luneburg

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[84] Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg (1620-1688), aka "the Great Elector." He is credited for laying the foundation for a portion of Germany to turn itself into the Kingdom of Prussia in 1701. Though a protestant himself, he supported the HRE, and did not discriminate against Catholics or Jews in areas under his leadership.

The Duke of Brandenburg's Letter to the King. Hamburg, 1 November 1665. (48)

Monseigneur, mon très-honoré Cousin.

Êtant compris en voyage pour mon pays de Clèves, le Sieur Comte de Carlnigford m'a rencontré en ces quartiers-ci, et aussitôt qu'il m'a fait tenir la lettre de Votre Majesté, je lui ai donné audience, la oil il m'a proposé avec beaucoup dextérité ce, dont Votre Majesté l' a chargé, sur quoi je lui ai fait savoir mes sentimens, lesquels il saura expliquer à Votre Majesté plus amplement, l 'assurant au reste, que je ne manquerai point a contribuer tous les moyens possibles, tant pour I'entretien d'une sincère amitié avec Votre Majesté que pour le rétablissement de la paix si désirée de toute la Chrétienté souhaitant qu' elle se fasse au plus tôt au contentement de Votre Majesté, de laquelle je serai toujours etc…

Translation: The Duke of Brandenburg's letter to the King. Hamburg, 1 November 1665

Monsignor, my very honoured Cousin.

Understanding that on a trip to my country of Cleves, the Count of Carlingford met me in these quarters, and as soon as gave me Your Majesty's letter, I granted him an audience, where he carefully proposed to me of what Your Majesty charged him to do. I informed him of my feelings, which he will more fully be able to explain to you, assuring him to the rest, that I will not fail to contribute all possible means, both for the maintenance of a sincere friendship with Your Majesty and for the restoration of the peace so desired by all Christendom, wishing that it be done as soon as possible to the satisfaction of Your Majesty, of which I will always be etc…

The Duchess Hedwig Sophia's letter to the King. November 16, 1665 (48)

Serenissime ac Potentissime Rex Domine Consanguinee plurimum observande.

Adfuit Nobis illustris Theobaldus Comes de Carlingford Regiae Majestatis Vestrae Extraordinarius ad Caesaream Majestatem Ablegatus, qui Regiae Vestrae Majestatis animum mentemque et quae in mandatis habuit singulari dexteritate nobis aperuit. Prout autem inprimis Regiae Majestati Vestrae gratias habemus pro insigni isto honore, quod praedicto Ablegate Suo ut ad nos quoque deflecteret et iter suum dirigeret mandare voluerit, ita vicissim ex parte nostra nihil eorum praetermisimus quae eidem testatum facere possint quanti amicitiam benevolumque Majestatis Vestrae erga nos affectum aestimemus, qua item observantia et sinceritate eandem vicissim colamus et veneremur, de rebus quoque fidei ejus concreditis mentem nostram in eam eidem aperuimus sententiam, quam prae memoratus Comes Regiae Majestati Vestrae prolixius exponet. Deum Optimum Maximum enixe precamur ut Regiam Majestatem Vestram quam diutissime servet, omnique felicitate totius Christiani Orbis bono cumulet. Dabam ex arce nostra Casellis; 16 die mensis Novembris Anno 1665.

Hedwigis Sophia, Dei Gratia nata ex Electorali stirpe Marchionum de Brandenburg in Prussia, Magdeburgi, Juliaci, Clevae, Montii, Stettini et Pomeraniae Dux, Hessiae Landgravia, Princeps Halberstadii, Mindae et Hersfeldii, Comitissa Catimeliboci, Diecii, Ziegenliainii Xiddae et Schavinburgi, Marchae et Ravensburgi, Domina in Rauenstein, vidua Tutrix ac Princeps regens etc. etc…
Regiae Majestatis, Vestrae observantissi , Hedwigis Sophia.

Translation: Duchess Hedwig Sophia's[85] letter to the King.

I met the illustrious Theobald, Earl of Carlingford, Your Royal Majesty, the Extraordinary Abbot of Caesarea Majesty, who has related to us your Royal Majesty's thinking, and who has had his commands with extraordinary care. In the first place, we thank Your Royal Majesty for this remarkable honour that he wished bestowed on us and direct his Majesty to our aforesaid Ablegate. Let us judge with what respect and sincerity we in turn worship and venerate him, and concerning matters entrusted to his faith, we have shared our thoughts, which the above-mentioned Earl will relate will more fully to you. We earnestly pray to the greatest God, that he may preserve your Royal Majesty for as long as possible, and heap on the good fortune of the whole Christian world. I was giving from our citadel to the cottages; November 16, 1665.

Hedwig Sophia, by the grace of God born of the electoral lineage of the Marquess of Brandenburg in Prussia, Magdeburg, Juliacus, Cleva, Montius, Stettini and Pomerania, duke of Hessia Landgravia, prince of Halberstadt, Minda and Hersfeld, Countess of Catimelobes, Diecii, Ziegenliaini, and Xiddae and at Ravensburg, the lady in Rauenstein, widowed tutor to the regent prince, etc…

Your Royal Majesty, most observant, Hedwig Sophia

Copy of the Elector of Brandenburg's Letter to George William of Brunsvic.

2 November 1665 (49)

Ham the 2/12 of Nov. 1665. Unser Durchlauchtiger Hochgeborner Fürst, freundlicher lieber Vetter und Gevatter.

Es ist der englische Envoyé Graf Carlingford, dessen Euer Liebden neulich in Dero jüngsten Schreiben Erwähnung gethan, allhier bei Uns angelangt und hat unter andern sich vernehmen lassen, wie dass Euer Liebden, als er Dieselbe wegen Suspendierung Ihres Vorhabens im Namen seines Königs ersucht, ihm darauf zu verstehen gegeben, dass weil Wir in dieser Sache mit implicirt, Sie ohne Unsern Consens darinnen für Sich nichts resolviren oder sich erklären konnten: dergleichen dann auch der Graf von Waldek noch deutlicher von sich vernehmen lassen. Nun wissen Euer Liebden, dass Wir von dem in Haag geschlossenen Tractat das Geringste nicht gewusst, auch davon mit uns nichts communicirt worden, Wirvielmehr gebeten, dass damit eingehalten und Uns allerseits die Mittel zur Wiederbringen des Friedens überlegt werden möchten; dahero Wir schliessen müssen, dass der englische Envoyé die Sache etwan von Euer Liebden odor den Ihrigen, so mit ihm conferirt, nicht recht müsse eingenommen haben. Damit Wir nun diessfalls bei dem Könige von England nicht in unverdienten Verdacht gezogen werden möchten, so ersuchen Wir Euer Liebden hiermit freundvetterlich, Sie wollen besagten Envoyé, wenn sich derselbe bei Euer Liebden etwan wieder einfinden möchte, oder durch andere Gelegenheit diesen Scrupul und ungleiche Meinung und Gedanken benehmen, damit solches bei dem Könige von England nicht ungleiche Gedanken wider uns verursachen möge. Seind Euer Liebden hinwieder angenehme Freundvetterliche Dienste zu erweisen geflissen. Gegeben zu Ham etc…

[85] Princess Hedwig Sophie of Brandenburg (1623-1683), married to William VI, Langrave of Hesse-Kassel in 1649. After his death, and with their sons not yet of age, she ruled as Queen Regent until they grew older. The eldest son, William the II would die and early death in 1670, so she took over again until 1766, a little longer than the son next in line, Charles I, preferred. She would ally with her brother against France in 1673.

Translation: Copy of the Elector of Brandenburg's letter to George William of Brunswick. Hamburg, 2 November 1665

Our Serene Highborn First, friend, dear cousin and father.

The English envoy Count Carlingford mentioned in my Lord's most recent letter, told us, among other things, that when he was negotiating in your name to understand that because we are specifically mentioned in your plans, you could not resolve anything for yourself or explain anything without our consent. The Count of Waldek also said something like that even more pointedly.

You should know that we don't understand the slightest thing about the document concluded in Haag. Nothing has been communicated to us about it as means of restoring peace for our consideration. Therefore, we must conclude that the English envoy must not have taken the matter seriously from you or your family, assuming they conferred with him.

Therefore, in this instance we are not with the king of England. If you want to avoid suspicion, we kindly request that your envoy, if he wants to meet you again, or by other means, express these careful and dissimilar opinion and thoughts, so that the king of England will more fully understand our position.

Are to be rendered to my Lord as pleasant friends and counsellors in your service. Given to Ham etc…

À Stockholm 23 September 1665. (50)

La résolution que Monsieur d'Boisbriand a prise de quitter cette cour en ayant eu la permission de Messieurs les États, me fait Vous prier Monsieur d' obtenir qu' il reste ici et qu' on lui envoye même les ordres nécessaires pour ajuster les différents, car autrement les choses s'aigriront de manière qu'il n'y aura rien qui puisse empêcher la Suède de se lier encore plus avec I'Angleterre; il me semble, qu'il serait de l'intérêt commun de rétablir l'amitié entre ces deux nations, et que les États devraient au moins tâcher de dégager en quelque façon la Suède de ce qu'elle a fait avec leurs ennemis. J'écris au Roi que je vous donne avis de ces choses et que je vous prie même d'apporter tons vos soins pour y donner remède. J'ai eu mes audiences comme je crois vous avoir déjà écrit et j'entrerai dans peu de jours dans les affaires; je suis de tout mon coeur entièrement et parfaitement a Vous signé

Le Chevalier de Terloon m.p.

Translation: At Stockholm 23 September 1665.

The decision that Sir d'Boisbriand has made to leave this court, having had the permission of the States, makes me ask You, Sir, to request that he remain here, and that we even send him the necessary orders to make changes. Otherwise, things will sour so that there will be nothing to prevent Sweden[86] from bonding still more with England. It seems to me, that it would be in the common interest to re-establish the friendship between these two nations, and that the States should at least endeavour to extricate Sweden in some way from what she has done with their enemies.

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[86] Three years later Sweden would indeed tighten its relationship with England by joining the "Triple Alliance," the third member being the Netherlands. The alliance was created in response to the occupation of Spanish Netherlands and Franche Comté, and area contended over by the Holy Roman Empire. Germany, Austria, and Spain at various times.

I write to the King that I give you notice of these things and that I even beg you to take all your care to remedy them. I had my audiences as I believe I have already written to you and I will enter into business in a few days; I am with all my heart fully and perfectly signed to You

The Knight of Terloon m.p.

Letter of the General States to the King of Britain, Le Haye, 11 December 1665 (51)

Sire,

Pour témoigner en toute évidence la disposition, que Nous avons a, la paix, Nous avons fait continuer jusqu'ici le séjour de Notre Ambassadeur en Votre Cour depuis la guerre. Car bien que Nous avons satisfait, ou par des raisons invincibles, ou par des offres justes et raisonnables, à toutes les plaintes, que le Seigneur Downing a voulu faire ici, lorsque Nous ne pouvions pas encore croire ni apprendre ce que Nous voyons aujourd'hui, Nous avons fait quelque chose de plus, quand Nous avons laisse en Angleterre Notre Ambassadeur, bien que Ton eut pris sur Fêtât des places dans des pays du choix de I'un ou de r autre monde, dessaisi et confisque les navires des habitants de ces provinces, a la vue de toute la Chrétienté, sans aucune déclaration précédent, Nous n' avons pas même révoque Notre Ambassadeur âpres que Votre Majesté a fait partir Son Ministre d'auprès de Nous, dans l' esperance que Nous avions qu' Elle serait enfin touchée des maux, qui affligent I'une et r autre nation, et des calamites, dont toute l' Europe se voit menacée. Nous ne voulons point d' autre témoin que Votre Majesté même, des avances, que Nous lui avons faites, ou fait faire des conditions sous lesquelles 1' on pouvait faire une paix bonne et équitable. Nous lui avons offert de la faire, ainsi qu'il lui plaisait, a la condition que Ton restituerait tout ce qui avait été pris de part et d' autre, ou bien si I'Angleterre n'y croyait pas trouver son compte que Ton retiendrait d'un cote et d'autre tout ce qui avait été pris, et de même avant que Ton put savoir ici ce qui pouvait être pris de Notre cote des quartiers éloignes, de sorte que Ton ne pouvait pas dire aussi que Nous y cherchions Notre avantage, non plus que la compensation des frais et pertes, qui sont sans comparaison bien plus grandes de Notre cote que de V autre. Néanmoins non seulement Votre Majesté n'a pas voulu agréer ces offres des avances, qui ne lui peuvent pas permettre de douter de Notre inclination a la paix, et ne s'est pas même trouvé satisfaite par les avances que les Ambassadeurs Médiateurs ont faites d'eux memes, des conditions très - avantageuses a I'Angleterre et préjudiciables aux intérêts de Nos États, auxquelles aussi Nous n'avons jamais donne Notre consentement, mais aussi jusqu'ici ni elle ni personne de Sa part n'a fait aucune ouverture ni fait connaître à quelles conditions Elle voulait faire la paix de Son cote et quoiqu'il lui ait plu de protester a Notre Ambassadeur qu'Elle la désirait néanmoins. Elle n'est jamais sortie de ces termes généraux, et n'a jamais paru être portée a parler ni a lui ni aux médiateurs, a quelles conditions Elle la voulait faire. Nous croyons de tous les Princes Chrétiens qu'ils profèreront tou- jours la douceur d'une bonne paix aux mailleurs d'une guerre, quelque juste qu'elle puisse être, et Nous avons cette opinion particulièrement de Votre Majesté, qui fait profession d'une même Religion avec Nous, mais de la manière qu'il lui a plu en user, en n' agréant pas même les propositions si avantageuses a I'Angleterre et si préjudiciables a cet Etat, que les Médiateurs ont faites, et en ne faisant pas la moindre proposition, sur laquelle Nous puisons seulement entrer en négociation, Nous avons cru que Notre Ambassadeur ne pouvait plus demeurer en Angleterre, sans faire grand tort a la réputation de cet Etat, et Nous avons juge nécessaire de le faire revenir, puisque aussi bien que H Votre Majesté en révoquant Son Ministre a bien témoigne qu'Elle le désirait ainsi. Nous ne laisserons pas pourtant de conserver une inclination entière et parfaite pour un accommodement raisonnable, que Nous pourrons faire de concert

avec Nos Allies, et Nous attendrons que bientôt le bon Dieu inspirera a Votre Majesté les mémos mouvements, et qu'on voudra bien Nous faire part des conditions, sur lesquelles Elle les désirera, afin que par ce moyen 1' on prévienne I'efFusion de tant de sang, dont une bonne partie de la Chrétienté va être inondée. Nous n'en pouvons pas être responsables puisque et devant et depuis la rupture Nous avons fait plus que 1' on ne pouvait légitimement désirer de Nous, et que Nous sommes encore prêts d'y donner la main, au lieu que jusqu' ici Nous n'avons pas pu savoir les intimes intentions de Votre Majesté sur ce sujet. Nous attendrons le jour qu'Elle aura les memes pensées pacifiques, mais Nous sous-traiterions qu' elles y vinssent devant qu' dies lui fussent suggérées par les imminentes calamites publiques, don't Nous voyons toute la Chrétienté menacée. Nous prions Dieu qu'il lui plaise les détourner et tenir, Sire, la Personne de Votre Majesté en sa Sainte et Digne Garde. A la Haye le 11. Décembre 1665.

De Votre Majesté, bien humbles serviteurs, Les États Généraux des Provinces Unies, des Pays Bas

Translation: Copy of General States to the King of Great Britain. The Hague, 11 December 1665.

Sire,

We attest that all the evidence proves that we want peace. We have required that our ambassador remain in your court from the cessation of the war until now. Even though we had satisfied all your justifiable and reasonable requests and complaints which Lord Downing87 has argued here, we cannot yet believe what here happened today. We left our ambassador in England, and though we had taken on the responsibilities of other countries, in the sight of all Christendom and without any prior notice, the ships of the citizens of these provinces were both confiscated or sold. We did not even recall our Ambassador after Your Majesty took his own back to England, in a hope not to threaten all of Europe.

We want no other witness than Your Majesty itself, of the peace overtures we have made to him, or caused to be made conditions under which a good and equitable peace can be made. We offered him to do it, as he pleased, on the condition that you would restore all that had been taken on both sides, or else if England did not think it would be worth it, that you would retain on one side and on the other all that had been taken. Likewise, before you could don't know what could be taken from our side in the more remote areas, how can you accuse us of looking for our gains above compensation of costs and losses, which are without a doubt are much greater on our side than on yours?

Nevertheless, Your Majesty not only did not want to accept these offers of advances, which leaves no doubt that we are want peace. You were not even satisfied by the advances that the Ambassador Mediators made to themselves, conditions very advantageous to England and prejudicial to the interests of Our States. We hadn't even formally agreed to these, nor even discussed them, or let it be known under what conditions we wanted to make peace on our own side. Even then it pleases you to protest to our ambassador that you wanted something you didn't know about. You never departed from these general terms, and never seemed inclined to speak either to your ambassador or to the mediators, on what conditions you wanted to do so.

We know that all Christian Princes will always talk of the sweetness of a good peace to the gentlemen of a war, however just the conflict may have been, and we have this opinion especially of Your

87 Sir George Downing (1623-1684), an English diplomat who was among the first to graduate from Harvard College in Cambridge, Massachusetts. He served in the English parliament, and was a supporter of King George II. He would become the first commissioner of the English treasury commission. The home of the British Prime Minister is located on Downing Street, named after him, in London.

Majesty. You professes to the same religion as us, but in such a way that you define it it, not even agreeing to mediated proposals so advantageous to England and so bad for that us, and not making the slightest counteroffer, about which we can parley. Finally, we concluded that Our Ambassador could no longer remain in England without doing great harm to our reputation and judged it necessary to bring him back.

Since Your Majesty in recalling His Minister as well proved that you wanted it like this.

We will not, however, fail to maintain an entire and perfect inclination for a reasonable accommodation, which we will be able to make in concert with our allies, and we will wait until the good Lord will inspire Your Majesty with the same decision, and that we will be good enough to announce the conditions on which she will make them. By this means we prevent the shedding of so much blood, with which a good part of Christendom would be be inundated. We cannot be responsible for it since and before and since the rupture we have done more than could be legitimately desired of us, and we are still ready to lend a hand to it, whereas up to now We have not been able to know Your Majesty's personal intentions on this subject.

We will wait for the day when you have the same peaceful thoughts, but we will also hope that they come before they are suggested to her by imminent public calamities, with which we see all Christendom threatened. We pray God to divert them and hold, Sire, Your Majesty's Person in His Holy and Worthy Guard. At The Hague on December 11, 1665.

From Your Majesty, very humble servants, The States General of the United Provinces

From the Netherlands

Les Propositions des Ambassadeurs de France au Roi de la Grande Bretagne (53) touchant un accommodement avec les États,

Pour terminer les différents qui sont entre Sa Majesté et les États Généraux des Provinces Unies, le Roi très – Chrétien se chargera de porter les États:

À céder la Nouvelle Belgique, dont le Seigneur Roi de la Grande Bretagne demeurera en possession à l'avenir.

À restituer au dit Seigneur Roi l' Isle de Pouleron conformément a la disposition du Traite fait et conclu en l' année 1662 entre Sa Majesté Britannique et les dits États.

À céder le Fort Cormentri situe sur la cote de Guinée condition que celui de Capo Corco sera rasé. Ou bien si Sa Majesté Britannique I'aime mieux, elle retiendra le dit Fort de Capo Corco à condition que les dits États demeureront aussi en possession de celui de Cormentin.

Que les dits États céderont pareillement a Sa Majesté les Forts de St. Andre et de Buva Veste situes sur la rivière de Gambia.

Pour ce qui regarde les vaisseaux nommes le Buonaventure et la Bonne Espérance, que les États remettront á 1' arbitrage du dit Seigneur Roi bons-chrétiens 1' interprétation de ces mots litem inceptam prosequi. Et que, s'il trouve que les États ayent tort, il décidera de la réparation qu'il jugera être raisonnable pour le dédommagement des Anglais.

Pour ce qui concerne les vaisseaux, dont le Commerce a été traversé sur les côtes de Malabar et de Guinée, que les dits États se remettront aussi à 1' arbitrage du dit Seigneur Roi bons-chrétiens pour 1' estimation de ce qui sera dil aux intéressés.

Et qu' il sera nommé des Commissaires de part et d' autre pour convenir promptement d'un règlement de Commerce à Londres.

Translation: The Proposals of the Ambassadors of France to the King of Great Britain Concerning an Agreement with the States

To end the differences between His Majesty and the States General of the United Provinces, the Most Christian King will take care agreeing to the States:

To cede New Belgium,[88] of which the Lord King of Great Britain will remain in possession in the future.

To restore to the said Lord King the Isle of Pouleron[89] in accordance with the provision of the Treaty made and concluded in the year 1662 between His Britannic Majesty and the said States.

To cede the Fort Cormentri located on the coast of Guinea if that of Capo Corco will be razed. Or if His Britannic Majesty likes it better, he will retain the said Fort of Capo Corco on condition that the said States will also remain in possession of that of Cormentin.

That the said States shall likewise cede to His Majesty the Forts of St. Andre[90] and Buva Veste[91] situated on the Gambia River.

As regards the ships named the Buonaventure[92] and the Good Hope,[93] that the States will submit to the arbitration of the said Lord King, good Christians, the interpretation of these words prosecute the action begun. And that, if he finds that the States are wrong, he will decide what reparation he deems to be reasonable for the compensation of the English.

As regards the vessels, the Commerce of which was crossed on the coasts of Malabar[94] and Guinea, that the said States will also submit themselves to the arbitration of the said Lord King good Christians for the estimation of what will be due to the interested.

And that Commissioners will be appointed on both sides to agree promptly on a settlement of Commerce in London.

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88 *New Belgium,* also known as New Netherlands, was a colony along the northeast coast of North America. These areas were the subject of ongoing disputes between the English and the Dutch, both in Europe and in North America. More…

89 Possibly the Isle of Oléron off the west coast of France, then in the hands of the Dutch.

90 Probably Kunta Kinteh Island, formerly called St. James and St. Andrew's Island, and the Atlantic mouth to the Gambia River. The Dutch briefly has a fort there, built in 1659 and then captured by England in 1661. The island in listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site due to its importance in west African slave trading.

91 Possibly a fort of Dog Island, a low tide island about 9 miles (14.5km) upriver from Kunta Kinteh Island. The English had a small a fort there in 1661. The island is currently uninhabited.

92 Several ships with this name in the British navy. There's a good chance that this is the one that was blown up by the Dutch in the Battle of Leghorn, near Livorno, Italy, on 14 Mar 1653.

93 The HMS Good Hope was built in 1664 and captured by the French in 1665. But wait, a second British ship with that name, a much smaller "flyboat" was launched in 1665 and captured by the Dutch the same year. The former was a lot more valuable, and one would think the British would want it back. However, records show that the Dutch sold the latter Good Hope in 1667, perhaps to pay war reparations. In either case, Good Hope was an ironic name.

94 The Malabar cost is located on the south-eastern coast of India. During the period of European colonization, the English, French, Spanish, and the Dutch competed with one another globally and well as regionally.

Réponse a la proposition de Messieurs les Ambassadeurs.

Extraordinaires de France Faite au Roi de la Grande Bretagne, 21 October 1665 (54)

Sa Majesté a déjà témoigné en plusieurs rencontrés par les réponses a Messieurs les Ambassadeurs Extraordinaires de France sur le sujet des leurs propositions, comme elles lui paraissent peu propres a établir une ferme paix entre lui et les États des Provinces Unies, après une si sanglante guerre, et n'a jamais cru inique a présent que même les dits Ambassadeurs les considérassent comme le fondement d'une paix, mais plutôt comme un acheminement a un traite.

Pour ce qui est des vaisseaux nommes le Buonaventure et la Bonne Espérance, la justice est évidente du cote de Sa Majesté, étant notoire qu'il y a une somme considérable d' argent comme en dépôt a Amsterdam destinée au dommage ment des Intéressés et le traite ayant laisse cette affaire par ces mots litem incoeptam prosequi à être poursuivie par la même voye dans laquelle elle était acheminée et bien acheminée lorsque le dit Traite se signa.

La haute estime que Sa Majesté fait de l' amitié du Roi très-chrétiens est assez connue de tout le monde et avec quelque réflexion de partialité a son égard et quoique Sa Majesté suivant les mouvements de ses inclinations ait agréé la médiation du dit Seigneur Roi, Elle ne se peut empêcher de remarquer que le Roi bons-chrétiens passera pour trop intéressé dans la décision de ces affaires ayant toujours déclaré qu' il est engage par un traite secret d' assister les Hollandais.

Néanmoins si Sa Majesté très-chrétienne peut disposer les Hollandais a entrer dans les memes sentimens qu'Elle témoigne avoir pour 1' établissement d'une bonne paix, le Roi de la Grande Bretagne nommera des Commissaires do sa part et tachera de disposer la couronne de Suède, Monseigneur I'Evêque de Munster, comme aussi ses autres allies, a faire de même, sans la participation desquels il n' est pas juste que Sa Majesté entre en aucun traite de cette nature, et cela d'autant plus que les États Généraux n'y témoignent pas avoir la moindre disposition, vu que les bonnes inclinations de Sa Majesté a un bon accommodement n'ont jusqu'a présent servi qu'a allumer de la jalousie parmi les confédérés, comme si Elle n'avait aucune considération de leurs intérêts la ou selon toutes les apparences la méthode maintenant proposée mettra avec I'aide de Dieu une heureuse fin a cette grande affaire si les dispositions de tons cotes sont également sincères.

Translation: Response to the proposal of the Special Ambassadors of France made to the King of Great Britain, October 21 1665.

His Majesty has already testified in several meetings by the replies to the Ambassadors Extraordinary of France about their proposals, as they seem to him little suited to establishing a firm peace between him and the States of the United Provinces, after such a bloody war, and never thought it iniquitous now that even the said Ambassadors regarded them as the foundation of a peace, but rather as a conveyance to a treaty.

With regard to the vessels called the Buonaventure and the Good Hope, justice is evident on the side of His Majesty, being well aware that there is a considerable sum of money supposedly deposited in Amsterdam intended for the damages to the interested parties and the treaty having left this affair by these words let the prosecution be continued by the same way in which it was routed and well routed when the said Treaty was signed.

The high esteem that His Majesty has for the friendship of the Most Christian King is well enough known to everyone and with some reflection of partiality towards him and although His Majesty,

following the movements of his inclinations, has approved the mediation of the said Lord King She cannot help noticing that the Good Christian King will pass for being too interested in the decision of these affairs, having always declared that he is engaged by a secret treaty to assist the Dutch.

Nevertheless, if His Most Christian Majesty can dispose the Dutch to enter into the same sentiments of Sweden, the Monsignor the Bishop of Münster, and his other allies, to do the same, without whose participation it is not right for His Majesty to enter into any treaty of this nature, and this all the more so since the States General do not testify that they have the slightest disposition to it, seeing that Her Majesty's good inclinations to a good accommodation have hitherto only served to kindle jealousy among the Confederates, as if She had no consideration of their interests where, or to all appearances, the method now proposed will, with God's help, bring a happy end to this great affair if the dispositions of your sides are equally sincere.

Lord Carlingford's copies. (55)

In my last from Cassel I signified the Bishops not being in a good condition, nor capable of securing a winter there in Freese,[95] which renders the design proposed by Colonel Cusack[96] impracticable, there being no security for landing, whilst a considerable part of his army were prepared to receive and join with our forces. I hear all his horse are retreated from Frees into Münster and that some few places are left fortified and well manned to secure an interest and an entry into Frees, when a fit opportunity appears. But it is probable that the forces now marching thither of Dutch and French will quickly free that country, nor can I imagine how the Bishop can either provide or preserve his army this winter, there being no forage in his own country, nor can he keep the field against the French, the Dutch and the Brunswick, who are ready to march with 8,000 men. Were you punctual in payment, which the Reverend complains you are not (it's the opinion, of the Elector of Mayance,[97] that money could not preserve him, all the forage being already spent. So, as he advises the endeavouring a peace and offers to interest himself in a reconciliation. If the King pleases, it is certain there is not a Prince in Germany that will join with the Bishop, though many wish him well in consideration of the King and hatred to the Dutch, so as if you cannot persuade the King of Sweden to oppose the States, it is impossible the Bishop can do more than to force them for some time to keep an army, which infallibly is very chargeable; they have already given a £100,000 to the Brunswick and Valdeck to make their levies; in fine if you will not or cannot make a peace, there is no way to engage the Emperor nor any else, but by making an alliance offensive and defensive with the Spaniards, in that case, I believe many may concern themselves.

When I was sick at Cassel, Langrave Ernestus of Hess[98] came to see me. A person well known to prince Robert, he showed me two letters from the King in forty nine and fifty; sent by one Colonel Hunter to engage him with the Marquis of Montroe,[99] to carry forces into Scotland, which he would have undertaken, but for Montroe, he is willing to engage for the King, but will expect money, if any such person upon such terms be thought useful, this man has reputation and interest enough, he will not serve by any commission but the King's; if you have received my last, you'll find the result of my

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95 I believe this refers to an area of the Netherlands and NW Germany inhabited at that time by Frisians.

96 Possibly George Cusack, an Irish privateer, working for England during the Anglo-Dutch wars. A pirate as well as a mercenary, he would be arrested, tried, and on 18 January 1675, executed with 13 members of his crew.

97 Johnann Philip von Schönborn (1605-1673) was the Elector of Mainz at this time.

98 Ernest, Landgrave of Hesse-Rheinfels (1623-1693). A Landgrave was like a Duke.

99 Probably James Graham (1631-1669), 2nd Marquess of Montrose.

proposals to the Duke of Brandenburg, who resolved to interest himself in a reconciliation. I believe he will be your friend, if you solicit him kindly and correspond frequently with him.

Since my last by Colonel Cusack of the 26th of October I went to Iburg[100] the residence of Ernestus Augustus the younger brother of the house of Brunswick bishop of Osnabrück,[101] and married to the Princess Sophia, to whom having made proposals according to my instructions, he told me that they were of that consideration that he could not give a resolution, until he had consulted his brothers and others his friends, whereupon he rode post to Cell where his lady was, and I hearing that they

had troops ready to march for the assistance of the Hollanders, made as much haste as a man that had the gout, and was carried in and out of his coach both night and day was capable of, and although 20 Dutch miles arrived there at the fourth day, and that night had audience for George William the eldest brother, to whom I represented the seasonable opportunity he had of obliging the King my master by a conjunction with him in opposition to the Hollanders, which he declared hazardous to his interest, whereupon I proposed a neutrality and that he would permit no levies nor other assistance to be sent to the services of the States, whereunto he replied that he must consult some of his friends about it and that he would send two of his counsel to debate the matter with me, which within an hour came to my chamber and having made a long Latin oration in commendation of the King my master and of the honour their Prince had of being allied to him, repeated the discourse which I had with him, declaring how ruinous it would be to their Prince to make war against the States, but as for a neutrality, that he and his brother would consult their friends and give a resolution according the answers they receive from them. I desired to know who those friends were and what time it would take up to have that answer, they could not give me the time, but named the King of Swede and the elector of Brandenburg their chief advisers, I prayed that until their opinion was known they would promise a neutrality, which they refused, but told me that the Princes would write to the King referring themselves to the representation I should make, which I told them was to declare them his enemies and therefore bid them not trust to that point, at which they seemed to be startled and parted. Next day I waited on the duke from whom I could get no answer. Then I applied myself to the Princess Sophia to whom I expressed my dissatisfaction, and she very concernedly spoke to her husband, from whom no other answer could be obtained, whereat she seemed as much troubled as I, though her husband be chiefest in the engagement, having heard since that he is to command his own and the Holland forces and Count Waldek under him, who was then at Celle, and having made me a visit expressed great service for the King and said he was sorry he did not know three or four months before the King's being engaged in an alliance with the Bishop of Münster, which perhaps might have hindered him from capitulating' with the States, for whom he was raising forces, but not with intention of ever employing them against the King: but I answered, that opposing the Bishop of Münster was the same thing and that he very well knew it. Many compliments passed, but he acknowledged irrevocably engaged, but that he believed the family of Brunswick will do as the King of Suede and the Elector of Brandenburg will advise them. Next day (although my gout was very bad) I went to Hannover, where I found that Prince of another temper, though I could not engage him to a conjunction with the Bishop against the Hollanders, yet he assured me of a neutrality and what private service he could do the Bishop both for his own and the King my master's sake, to whom he made great profession, he certainly is a very considerable person

The Duke is very proud of the honour the King has done his Envoy to the King of France, he has no proposals towards a conjunction with him on any term, he desires the King of France's consent to make use of this conjuncture to obtain from the Dutch, what they detain from him, without which he dares

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[100] *Iburg,* also known as *Bad Iburg*, is a town in the northwest part of Germany. "Bad" is a prefix meaning, "bath," applied to towns known for their spas and healthy natural resources.

[101] Ernest August (1629-1698) was Elector of Hanover and, in 1662, was appointed to rule the Prince-Bishopric of Osnabrück, a town in northwest Germany. He was an ally of HRE Emperor Leopold I.

not attempt anything against them having no sincere protection, but the King of France, who if offended by him, may, as things now stand, possess himself of his countries without opposition. I represented to him the danger that he and the rest of the Princes of Germany were in, if they should permit the French to oppose the Bishop of Münster, which though the pretext for raising and marching with an army, was not the great design, but, before his return, to make himself master of Flanders and perhaps in his way of Cologne, Liege and maybe Dusseldorf and Juliers; the ambition of that King being unlimited and his friendship of no longer continuance than sorted with his interest. I gave him some knowledge of my master's kindness to the King of France since his restoration and of the ungrateful returns made in fine such a character I gave of him, as it has taken up much of the duke's time to consider what he was to do.

My Lord, (59) 30 November 1665

My journey so far though through the worst country and the nastiest houses and entertainment that ever I saw (except the persons of quality) was pleasant to me, considering it for the King's service, wherein it I have not succeeded according expectation, I hope there will be no ground for attributing it to my want of diligence or industry, but now me thinks after having travelled above thousand English miles, several hundred whereof with gout, and having from all places given Your Lordship an account of my negotiation, I find myself forgot, as if neither my person nor business deserved consideration, for though I could not hope for letters in the unknown countries through which I passed, yet at my arrival here (being three months absent) doubted not of meeting some marks of your memory of me; but not a word from anybody, was terrible, considering my condition having had but a £1,000 pounds at parting, which I then believed could not have brought me hither — but my apprehension of my being thought unwilling to have undertaken so difficult an employment made me silent. At my arrival at Brussels I signified to Your Lordship and were it not for the assistances I received of carriages and entertainment twice the funds would not have brought me hither, I am now forced to send Mr. Loving to let Your Lordship know that I do not have the wherewithal to carry me to Vienna, he will show an account how my stock was disposed of, which will not appear extravagant; my pretence for delaying my journey is the gout, but my greatest agony is at heart, yet if additional instructions or any new letters be thought fit to be sent, spare me not, for notwithstanding my ill usage, I am not rebutted. I send three letters from the Brunswick, a letter from the Duke of Brandenburg,[102] and one from the Princess Dowager of Cassel;[103] I sent a letter to Hamburg to be conveyed to Your Lordship by Mr. William Swan, wherein I mentioned the effect of my negotiation with all those Princes, whereof I send a copy; I hope diligence will be used in disposing of My Lord,

Your Lordship's, Most faithful humble servant, Carlingford

Copie de la Lettre de Monsieur de Lionne a Monsieur. L'Ambassadeur de France 25 December 1665 (60)

Depuis toutes les dépêches ci-jointes écrites, le Roi m'a envoye quérir, pour m'ordonner d'y ajouter qu'ayant juge que rien ne pouvait plu stot porter Monsieur I'Evêque de Munster a rechercher et conclure 1' accommodement aux conditions que Ton peut désirer, que de lui continuer la guerre pendant I'hyver, son sentiment serait, qu'au lieu de mettre les troupes en quartiers d'hyver, on leur

[102] Possibly Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia, and brother of Princess in footnote 72.

[103] Possibly Princess Hedwig Sophie of Brandenburg (1623-1683) whose husband was William VI, Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel who has passed away in 1663.

donnât lieu d'entrer dans le pays du dit Évêque, le plus avant qu'elles le pourraient, et d'y assiéger quelques places, a quoi Sa Majesté croit, qu'on aurait bien plus de facilite de réussir présentement, que la terre est ferme, qu'on n'en a dans le temps de pluies, ou I'on n'a pas laisse de prendre Lockem, que si néanmoins Messieurs les Etats n'approuvaient pas cette pensée de faire un siège pour des raisons qu'on ne peut prévoir de si loin, on pourrait au moins rendre a I'Evêque, ce qu'il leur a prête, c'est a dire en lui faisant les memes déprédations, en ravageant son pays le plus qu'on pourrait. Sa Majesté désire done, que vous proposiez la chose a Messieurs les Etats, et en pressiez la résolution, a quoi vous ajouterez qu'elle mande a Monsieur Bradel que quand les Etats ne prendraient pas la résolution dont je viens de parler et de laquelle Monsieur de Tellier lui fait aussi part, elle désire qu'il occupe son corps des troupes a battre la campagne, bruler les villages, et faire toutes les hostilités qu'il pourra dans le pays de Munster.

Translation: Copy of the letter from Sir de Lionne to the French Ambassador from December 25, 1665.

Since all the attached despatches written, the King has sent for me, to order me to add thereto that, having judged that nothing could sooner lead the ü to seek and conclude an accommodation to the conditions that one can desire, that to continue the war to him during the winter, his feeling would be, that instead of putting the troops in quarters of winter, one gives them reason to enter the country of the known as Bishop, the more before they could, and to besiege a few places there, in which His Majesty believes, that it would be much easier to succeed now, that the ground is firm, than we have at the during the rainy season, or we did not fail to take Lockem,[104] that if nevertheless Gentlemen the States did not approve of this idea of laying a siege for reasons that cannot be foreseen from so far away, we could at least render to the Bishop, what he lent them, that is to say by doing the same depredations to him, by ravaging his country as much as possible. His Majesty therefore desires that you propose the matter to the States, and urge their resolution, to which you will add that he asks Mr. Bradel that when the States do not take the resolution of which I have just spoken and of which Mr. de Tellier[105] also informs him that she wants him to occupy his body of troops to beat the countryside, burn the villages, and do all the hostilities he can in the country of Münster.

Lord Arlington to the Earl of Carlingford. Oxen, January 11. 1665. (61)

My Lord,

I have been passing this Christmas in your country with my Lord Crofts[106] where our entertainment was so good that I dare say you would have been glad to be with us as well as your Excellence entertains yourself at Vienna where your letters of the 26th and 29th past make us conclude you are already, and I hope Mr. Loving had long before this time overtaken you with your recruits we sent you. I see by Princess Sophia's letter how welcome your Excellence hath been to your rank in Germany and I hope you will be no less so to a superior one at Vienna and you will set on foot my correspondence againwith father Donellan[107] from whom I have not heard in a long time, not since I wrote to him. By

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[104] *Lochem (*styled Lockem by the Earl) is a town in the Netherlands, often besieged and burned down in the 17th century by various factions.

[105] Francois Michel Le Tellier, Marquis of Louvois (1641-1691) and French Secretary of War.

[106] Probably William Crofts, 1st Baron of Crofts (1611-1677), a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles II.

[107] Possibly Murtough Donnellan a priest, son of Nehemiah Donnelan, Bishop of Tuam and brother to James Donnella an Irish lawyers and politician. A Murtagh (Maurice) Donnellan would become Bishop of Clonfert in County Galway, Ireland in 1695.

what I wrote to Your Lordship by M. Loving you will see how inclinable his Majesty is to a peace with Holland if he may have a good one, which opinion you are to impress in your court as effectually as you can, because they are full of jealousy that the King would dissolve the Government of Holland and consequently throw it into the hands of France, and by the way you are not to take offence at the Prince of Munster offering to be friends with Holland excluding His Majesty from the mediation, we are so confident of that Prince's honour and generosity that we cannot entertain a jealousy of it, but in the meantime your Excellence will do him and the King an acceptable service if you can divert the Luxenburgh troops from falling upon him which ought to be the Emperor's business as well as ours for twenty reasons that will easily occur to you. Your Excellence will find a little increase in the Plague-bill this week which as little as it is troubles us, because it delays our going to London. I am with all friendship and affection.

My Lord, Your Excellence, most faithful humble servant, Arlington

P.S. You will find at Vienna, that Sir Richard Fanshaw hath concluded our treaty with Spain, notwithstanding which His Majesty continues his resolution of sending My Lord of Sandwich thither and His Lordship had been dispatched before this time if we had not expected your particulars by an express from Sir Richard Fanshaw of what he hath done, which is not yet come to us.

Lord Arlington to the Earl of Carlingford. Oxen, 18 January 1665. (62)

My Lord,

Your Lordship's of the 6th of November, just at your arrival at Vienna is the only one I have received from you since those Mr. Loving brought us, who I hope is with you long before this and hath given you some ease in your melancholy. I have little to add to my last, neither if I had have time for it, Your

Lordship's letter just at the post is going away. The ill weather and the concourse of people to London have increased the Plague-bill[108] to 158 which is sad news to us here. My Fanshaw is not yet come away from France, a sharp fit of the gout keeps him there, but Sir Richard Fanshaw, is gone from

Madrid to Lisbon with hopes of agreeing those two courts, I pray God send it. My humble service to father Donellan shall end this with my continued assurances of being with all truth and affection My Lord etc.

Lord Arlington to the Earl of Carlingford Whitehall. 5 March 1665. (62)

My Lord,

I have received Your Lordship's of the 11th and 21st past with copies of your memorials and replies, notwithstanding all which His Majesty still persists in the resolution of having you come away, for after the complimental passed and completely over and all the good offices performed to the Bishop,

he cannot see your continuance there will be of much use, since that court can afford us little benefit by any alliances; when all the points of that at Madrid are cleared then the work will be easy if necessary, and perhaps at that time they will not be averse to the sending somebody hither to requite your Embassy. Neither doeth his Majesty foresee any use of your seeing the Princes in your return, they are resolved all of them to play crafty games and according as it shall seem their occasions take their parts with France or Spain. I had proposed to his Majesty the sending Mr. Loving to the Bishop of Münster

[108] The official report of the number of deaths caused by the plague in each locale.

but His Majesty's opinion is a man more versed in military affairs would be properest for the post; we have little news at home, but what comes from those parts where you will hear it fresher than we, this joined with the uncertainty of this letter finding actually your Lordship whom I conclude upon your way home makes me not lengthen it more than to assure your Lordship of my being with all truth and affection My Lord etc…

Lord Arlington to the Earl of Carlingford. Whitehall, 16 March 16 1665. (63)

My Lord,

I have before me unacknowledged of your Lordship's yours of February 25th and March 4th and a later as it seems to me, but without date, all of your Lordship's say, you are not only willing but ready to come away being at the end of your instructions, but withal that the court there seems to wish you would stay and propose something in order to a union betwixt the King our master and His Imperial Majesty, upon which notwithstanding the positive orders I sent you some time since to return, his Majesty is content, I hazard this letter to revoke that order and to enjoin you to stay in case it come time enough yet to find you there, and if accordingly it do so I will lose no time in pressing His Majesty to send you a new supply of money and new instructions, though we shall have much ado to compose them till we know certainly the success of My Lord of Sandwich's negotiation, but in the meantime if you can draw the court to make you any proposals to the effect they expressed, you may assure them they will be most welcome to His Majesty, to whom for the present they cannot do a more acceptable thing than in protecting and assisting the Bishop of Münster. We hear from Portugal, Sir R. Fanshaw is come from them who profess a readiness to comply with all the King's desires towards a Treaty of peace with Spain, so they may obtain that one single point for which they have fought and from which no misfortune shall divert them viz, the acknowledging him to be king, in a little time we shall see what Spain will say to this, if they be wise they franchir de pas [take this step]. This day the Bishop of Münster's agent has given His Majesty notice of a meeting designed whereunto the Princes of the Westphalia country are to send their deputies in order to the preserving the peace of those parts and offering something to him for the accommodation with the Hollanders, to which His Majesty hath made no answer yet, I should have added that the Bishop desires the King would send a Minister of his there to be witness of the transactions. Mr. Coventry keeps us in hopes that Sweedland[109] stand firm to us, which country is immediately dispatching 2 Ambassadors hither. I will not be more particular in this or any other matters to your Lordship till I hear where you are, but where it is I beseech you be assured no man can be with more truth than myself My Lord etc…

Lord Arlington to the Earl of Carlingford. Saxum, 23 September 1665. (64)

Your Lordship's of the 8/18 brought me the good news of your arrival at Ostende, and those of the 12/22 especially the long one in Cypher the conference you had with the Marquis Castel-Rodrigo which his Majesty read with great care and content, and by your success there we augur a good progress in all your negotiations towards which My Lord Sandwich hath reasonably well furnished you by his good success es of which the News Books will tell you the particulars and though the foul weather disappointed him of the possibility of lighting with the Dutch Hoot of Warr got the booty he hath made upon that and the Marchand Hoot also is equivalent to the success of a good bataille [battle] and when the Hollanders shall make up their accounts of this year's losses and expenses I believe they

[109] Sweedland, Sweden.

will not go with any heart to the undertaking of another. We heard the Bishop of Münster hath but a trumpet and a letter of France to the States, I suppose he would not make that stop without being ready to strike as soon as he shows h teeth if he be so we shall hear a brave noise in Holland. Nothing occurs to me worth the directing your Lordship beyond the instructions you carried with you. As for your supplies as soon as we come to Oxford and have My Lord Treasurer by us, I will mind the King again of doing better for you therein, then is yet done, and towards it I could not do you a better office for you presently than to let the King read what you said upon that subject yourself, who could not keep himself from smiling at your kind remembrance of Miss, which he says is a continuance of that farce you have long played. On Monday his Majesty removes to Oxford. I am with all truth and affection My Lord etc…

Lord Arlington to the Earl of Carlingford. Oxford, 7 October 7 1665. (65)

My Lord,

Our remove from Sarum hither and the leave I got from His Majesty to make a step into the country for my divertissement[110] hindered me from repeating to your Lordship again the satisfaction his Majesty, his Royal Highness and his principal ministers here had in your dispatch of the 22nd since when I have also had a later of the 25th past, asking how you shall comport yourself towards the Nuncio and the Turkish Ambassador. With the former's master, your Lordship knows His Majesty neither hath nor can have any communication, besides it is fit you should so behave yourself to him in your own particular as not to encourage a scandal raised upon His Majesty by the artifice of the Hollanders: that his treaty and alliance with the Bishop of Münster hath something of Religion mixed with it, not only to asperse him here at home, but to discourage Protestant Princes in a conjunction with the Bishop which you must work against most industriously in all places and with all persons where you think there shall be need of it in court, where I hear it hath taken much ground. Towards the latter it will be fit your Lordship do all things corresponding with your character since His Majesty hath an Ambassador in the Grand Seigneurs Court[111] and did two years since receive a more signal mark of his esteem in the ratification of the treaties made betwixt him and the Kingdoms of Tunis[112], Tripoli,[113] and Algiers,[114] and if to this you can oblige to pledge you to the best in Christendom you will get the reputation of such a victory over the Turks as hath not of late been had.

Since your Lordship's last was written to me, I have recommended to Mr. Temple the sending you all the news we have had here worth your knowledge, so I make no repetition of it, the most considerable of which was the death of the King of Spain,[115] not formally notified yet to us here, though I suppose it will be tomorrow, because I hear the Conde de Molina[116] hath received his new credentials, and this I suppose will oblige the French to take new measures towards us, though yet they continue speaking the same language, that if we will not through their mediation presently enter into a treaty with Holland they must of necessity help them, particularly against the Bishop of Münster, to which effect we hear the King of France is sending 6000 of his choicest troops too few in our opinion, either to force their

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110 *Divertisment;* diversion, entertainment

111 A *grand seignerur* is a great man or nobleman. It's not clear to who Arlington is referring to.

112 *Tunis,* capital city of Tunisia in northern Africa, and part of the Ottoman Empire. At his time the Tunis Kingdom would be controlled by Hammuda Pahsa Bey, who would die in 166t to be succeeded by hist son, Murad Bey II.At the time it was part of a territory called the Maghreb, the other two partners being Tripoli and Algiers. The are also fell within what was called the Barbary Coast, a haven for pirates that preyed on ships in the Mediterranean Sea.

113 *Tripoli* is the largest city in Libya and a major seaport, and the colonial capital of the Ottoman Empire.

114 *Algiers,* Capital and largest city on Algeria.

115 Phillip IV, (1621-1665)

116 Possibly Fernando Joaquin Fajardo de Zúñiga y Requesens (1635-1693)

passage, or to annoy the Bishop, with whom we now avow we have a treaty subsisting, and that we will help him to the utmost of our power, according to which frankness your Lordship may frame your discourse wherever you are and notwithstanding the misfortune befallen what we sent for his succour to Ostend, there is care now taken to furnish the Alderman in a more effective manner all that he is to pay, which you may confidently answer for.

Since my Lord Sandwich's return to our ports, we suppose he hath sent out some part of his fleet again but whether such a number as may meet with what the Hollanders say they have yet abroad we cannot tell till my Lord's arrival here which we expect every day. In your next we expect likewise what you have done with the Duke of Newburgh …

(Chiffres) [Figures]

In my next I hope to send you word the parliament (which meets here on Monday next) is in good humour, the success of this year having greatly inflamed the kingdom with a desire of prosecuting the war vigorously …

(Chiffres)

and seems very well content with what is done for the satisfaction of his master, and doeth not dissemble with us — the infusion from France that we are treating with Holland…

(Chiffres)

which takes no effect with him, and he seems not to doubt at all the reality of all his Majesty's professions which I hope you are by this time interring…

(Chiffres)

we hear the Bishop of Münster is upon his march in the enemy's country and hath taken some places there, but not so distinctly as to be confident of the good news. I hope therefore for the future your Lordship will establish for Mr. Temple so good a correspondence in the Prince's army that he may know all that passes there and transmit it hither to us; and he seeming to wish it. His Majesty is inclined to establish him his Resident at Brussels,[117] through whose hands your Lordship's letters shall be conveyed. I know not very well whether I sent by your Lordship a letter to Father Donellan a man of much esteem in the court of Vienna, if I did not, I ought to have done it, and I will supply it now in my answer to 2 letters of his which I received this week, he is your countryman and as I am told as well worth your acquaintance as anybody in those parts.

Sir Thomas Clifford[118] is arrived at Copenhagen but little satisfied with the temper he finds that court in, and the truth is they have dealt (if a man may say so) unworthily with His Majesty, and our old friend Hanni Scliestedt hath the reputation of having contributed much thereunto by his partiality to France and Holland; which I thought fit to advertise you of, that you may beware how you correspond

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[117] *Resident* is a mid-level diplomatic rank, below that of Ambassador and Envoy. However, they often played important roles in representing a country and in negotiations. The rank could be used in cases of real differences in power between two countries, or to signal a perceived difference in such status, or the opening move towards establishing a higher-level exchange of diplomats between estranged countries.

[118] Sir Thomas Clifford (1630-1673), an ally to Lord Arlington, member of Parliament, naval officer, and diplomat. In 1665, he was named "Ambassador Extraordinary" to Sweden and, as mentioned above, travelled to Denmark in 1665. He would retire from public office in June 1673 and retire from among the living in October of the same year, possibly by self-strangulation in bed. He had been a member of "the cabal," a group of advisers to Charles II who last names (Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale" spelled the apt word. His nickname was the "Bribe Master." They were reputed to have been behind the ouster of the Lord of Clarendon from Charles II government. Collectively, they were a powerful, ambitious group, feared and distrusted by many, but influential with the King.

with him; Sir Thomas Clifford is not like to make any long stay there but to take his way straight to Stockholm where we are much better used, and it will add to your welcome at Vienna to tell how confident we are of the friendship of that court, according to which it will be good you begin presently your correspondence with Mr. Coventry who hath eminently served the King there. I have not yet had time to adjust with my Lord Treasurer the supplying you, which I will be mindful of and neglect no occasion that may confirm the profession I make of being with all truth My Lord etc…

Lord Arlington to the Earl of Carlingford. Oxon,[119] 26 October 26 1665. (68)

My Lord,

My last letter from your Lordship was at your parting from the Duke of Newbourgh to whose kind letter and expressions to you His Majesty makes an answer this post in his own hand to the said Duke.

Mr. Temple hath sent us a letter written by the Prince of Münster to him of the 15/5 1st which is of much satisfaction to his Majesty not only for the assurances it gives us of his good progress and success from his own hand, but for the many good advises and counsels therein expressed of all which His Majesty will make the best use he can, and in the meantime is stirring every stone to enable Alderman Backwell to comply punctually with the post and future payments, towards which there was a good quantity of money embarked some days ago, but the Dutch fleet coming upon the coast, we were forced to put it on shore again which fleet is still hovering by there with no benefit to themselves or damage to us hitherto (God be thanked) and we cannot see how they could have lain easily there these 3 days passed, so tempestuous and fowl the weather hath been.

God be thanked the plague is exceedingly abated in London, the bills this week exceed not 1,800 in all. The Parliament hath voted and passed the bill giving His Majesty £1,250,000, to which they have added another of £120,000, which they beseech His Majesty to bestow upon the Duke for his good services. Among those good ones, they have stirred a troublesome one forbidding the importation of any high cattle; but His Majesty is not likely to consent to it, since it will be the destruction of that kingdom.

In the Bishop's letter he says he expected you in a few days, so that we daily expect an account from you of the conference with him, and of your farther progress in your other negotiations, towards which, according to your desire, I herewith send Your Lordship a credential for the Duke of Baviere[120].

If Your Lordship shall have to meet any letters from me any week, Mr. Temple is charged with supplying them from Brussels, where he is now constituted His Majesty's Resident.

I am sorry I can say nothing comfortably to you yet, as to your farther supply. My Lord Treasurer declaring his disability to do it and remembering me that being fond of the employment you professed yourself satisfied with the sum he gave you. But as there is an occasion I shall solicit him anew, in the meantime recommending to you all possible thrift, which is a counsel your nature hath need of.[121] I am with all truth and affection My Lord etc…

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[119] *Oxon* may refer to the English city of Oxford or its surrounding county, Oxfordshire.

[120] George William, Count Palatine of Zweibrüken-Birkenfeld, Duke in Bavaria, and Count of Veldenz and Sponheim. (1591-1669)

[121] Arlington in telling Carlingford that he needs to be more thrifty.

Lord Arlington to the Earl of Carlingford. Oxon, 2 November 2 1665. (69)

My Lord,

In my last of this day sennight [seven days and nights; a week] I sent Your Lordship a letter for the Duke of Bavaria, as I do to others here enclosed for the Duke of Luneburg for whom you have already credentials, but the Duke George William having given His Majesty an account by letter of the agreement made with his brother and His Majesty reflecting upon the practises used by the Hollanders to gain the troops of the two brothers to their services writes to them both conjuring them by all the good reasons he can allege not to give them to the Hollanders but the Bishop of Münster, and I hope these letters will come seasonably to be delivered by your Lordship. Yours to Mr. Temple of the… past saying you were straight going to that court which is all the news we have had of you since you left the Duke of Newburgh's.

Our Parliament is dismissed to meet again if need be, in February if not in April next, the Dutch ships are likewise gone of our coast without doing anything but waste their provisions, disabled their ships in their readiness for the next year and shamed themselves towards the world, for having raised an expectation of something that is not done. The plague, God be thanked, is decreased this week to 1031 and 33 parishes are clear of it, this is all our news, and I am with all truth and affection, My Lord etc…

Lord Arlington to the Earl of Carlingford. Oxon, 9 November 1665. (70)

My Lord,

Colonel Cusack is arrived with us and hath delivered to His Majesty the Bishop of Münster's, the Elector of Coulen's[122] and Your Lordship's letters much to his satisfaction, one thing I will not dissemble with you that I was a little surprized to find the Bishop's propositions relating to his own interests and undertakings to be performed by us came all open in his hands,[123] your Lordship will remember whether you delivered them so to him, however I cannot but declare to you they were very acceptable ones and that His Majesty hath taken them with his most serious consideration and will farther prosecute them according to his ability and power, I much long to hear what success you have had with the Duke of Luneburgh and the Elector of Brandenburgh, of whose inclinations to us the French do disperse many jealousies here as if they should have much more credit with him than we, for which reason His Majesty hath thought fit to send Sir Walter Vane[124] to reside some time with the Elector to give us a more particular information of his proceedings in this quarrel. The French ambassadors are yet with us persuading and as far as good manners will suffer them threatening us into an agreement with Holland which yet hath had no effect more than what you saw at your being amongst us. Denmark hath totally failed in all our expectations of them, so that Sir Thomas Clifford is now at Stockholm and Sir Gilbert Talbot[125] recalled home and if we will believe the French, we must

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122 The Elector of Cologne currently was Maximilian Henry of Bavaria (1621-1688).

123 Arlington seems to be implying that someone, probably Cusack who, after all, was a pirate, had opened and read the letters. Carlingford would have sealed them, as was the practice for all diplomatic correspondence. But Cusack was not one to follow rules, even those of his royal employers. This being the case, Arlington could also be warning Carlingford to not use Cusack in the future.

124 Walter Vane was a son of Henry Vane the Elder, an English politician. Walter was a knighted soldier in the Dutch army and used by Charles II as an envoy to the elector of Brandenburg. In 1674, he would be killed at the Battle of Seneffe.

125 Sir Gilbert Talbot (1606-1695), was at that time "master of the jewel house" and a special envoy to Denmark. As Master of the Jewel House he protected the Crown Jewels of the King, an officer within the Royal Household. He was also a member of parliament. His nephew was Sir John Talbot, a frequent letter writer in this document. He was never wealthy, being never repaid for some work done in his early years. He seemed to have as many detractors as admirers.

look for no better success in Sweedland, but Mr. Coventry being of the contrary opinion we believe him. I am sorry to hear from Mr. Temple that most of the letters I have written to your Lordship since your departure are yet in his hands, he not knowing whether or how to address them. I am labouring what I can, to get some more money sent you and I hope I shall get a bill of exchange for you by that time you arrive at Vienna. I am with much truth, My Lord etc…

Lord Arlington to the Earl of Carlingford. Oxon, 23 November 1665. (71)

My Lord,

Your Lordship's last told us of your going towards the Princes of Luneburgh, too late I fear to divert those Princes from a conjunction with Holland, though the last letters told us, they were not finally agreed, the same jealousies we have of the Elector of Brandenburgh, if your Lordship hath not in the like manner diverted him here Sir Walter Vane will be immediately after your departure at least to improve those good dispositions you shall have formed there, Mr. Temple will daily send your Lordship all the news of the Prince of Munster and Holland with more dispatch and certainty than we can do it from hence.

This day the French Ambassadors take their leave of the King and lose no time in their journey, because of the late Edicts in France, forbidding all ships of that kingdom to come into the ports of any of ours and even into the channel, letters likewise say they have embarked the English Men's goods in S. Males and that there is a general disposition towards a present rupture with us, which all the Holland letters do likewise confirm, and I hope we shall not be surprized with it, since we have been so long warned by our own jealousy therein.

This week hath brought us a considerable decrease of the plague as you will see it in the bills of mortality. We talk much of going towards London the distance of which is of infinite prejudice to us in our affairs, especially the raising of money towards our preparations for the next spring, whatever discourses you hear about treating with Holland, be assured you shall be informed thereof as soon as there is any grounds therein. I am with all truth and affection, My Lord etc…

Lord Arlington to the Earl of Carlingford. Oxon, 21 December 1665. (72)

My Lord,

Some few days after we were possessed of Your Lordship's of November 23rd from Hess-Cassel Mr. Loving arrived here with yours of December 5th and the other enclosed upon which the return could not be dispatched till this day, though Mr. Loving hath not been wanting in his diligences to call daily and earnestly upon us, minding us of your Lordship's lying sumedbound[126] by your way for want of money, to supply which he carries you bills for £900 and hath another £100 to defray his own charges with which it is hoped your Lordship will be enabled to return to us, it not being foreseen that after you have been at Vienna you can have much more business than the seeing the Elector of Mentz and Bishop of Münster in your way homewards, unless you can think it to be of moment to give the Duke of Newburgh a second visit or that the Bishop should earnestly recommend to you any other, to whom I suppose you will write as soon as you know the mind of the Emperor's court towards him.

[126]Could not find a definition for "summebound," but it's clear that it means indebted.

Here enclosed your Lordship receives His Majesty's answer a Latin paper to your dispatch which was so ordered that the Elector of Mentz might see it, to which purpose His Majesty sends it in his own letter to the Elector and recommends the effects of it with all the kind and confident expressions in his own hand to His Electoral Highness, and according to the Latin paper you must frame your discourse to the Ministers in the Emperor's court after your complimental ones and those you are instructed to make in the behalf of the Bishop of Münster are over, and when the occasion shall be given you of speaking His Majesty's mind with relation to the war of Holland which the States-General and the French have with much artifice diffused much contrary to His Royal intentions, as if they were to dissolve the Government of Holland, to affect some part of their territories, abhorring and rejecting all overtures of peace, to convince which His Majesty hath likewise commanded me to send your Lordship the States-General's late letter to him upon the revocation of their ambassador here, whom the French importuned them to recall upon the going away of that Ambassador for fear he should enter into any negotiations of peace in their absence, and by this showing the world it was not peace they aimed at but the making it themselves, another proof of which is that they are endeavouring in Holland to obtain a promise that it shall never be made without their concurrence and approbation, which all the sober part of Holland do oppose to the degree that it is not believed they will be able to obtain their public and avowed consent therein, especially when they shall perceive by His Majesty's letter how inclinable he is to a fair and reasonable peace. In the meantime the King of France is making vast preparations against the spring for forces superior to any he ever had, which he colours only with the appearance of a breach with us who are not like to give him occasion of making use of, and I dare say you easily believe Holland would be sorry to borrow them of him, in conclusion it is plain they are designed against the house of Austria and yet not to omit any occasion of giving us trouble here at home if they can do it, but in this they will remember, they have a sea to pass and a good fleet to beat upon it. In the meantime we are at work in concluding our treaty with Spain, in which Sir Richard Fanshaw hath made great advances and by the permission of the crown sent a gentleman into Portugal, but to secure his transactions better on both sides His Majesty is sending away My Lord of Sandwich with all possible speed to Madrid as His Excellency's Ambassador and hath already dispatched Sir Robert Southwell into Portugal to correspond with him from thence.

In the Emperor's court your Lordship will perhaps have the opportunity of learning the minds of all the Princes of Germany than we have at this distance, we take ourselves to be reasonably secure of Denmark and Sweden, though at the same time we know what pains is taken from France and Holland to disunite them from us. I told your Lordship in my former of His Majesty's sending Sir Walter Vane to the Elector of Brandenburgh, but the letters from Holland would persuade us we do but lose our labour in it and that he is already agreed with them, which you will better know in Vienna than we can here. Your old friend Hannibal Sestedt is likewise at the Hague making great demands for his master to which the letters likewise say the States will assent, if they do not we are bid to look for him presently here, the same letters also say that the Dukes of Luneburgh will not only complete their number of 12,000 men in the assistance of the States, but also increase that number, which will much distress the Bishop of Münster, but if he be able to hold out the winter we may hope new changes in Christendom will give him some ease, and we on our side are preparing a greater force at sea than we had the last year, which will be commanded by My Lord General and Prince Robert if he can recover his health to which purpose he hath shut himself up now, and we hope that the plague ceasing at London His Majesty may go quickly back thither to take care of the business of the spring. Sir Jeremy Smith is gone with a good squadron into the Spaits[127] to give our merchants ease and countenance, these also

[127] I could not a reference for *Spaits*, but about this time Sir Jeremy would have been in the Mediterranean Sea. Perhaps this is a reference to the Straights of Gibraltar.

have been much molested and abused by Mister de Beaufort.[128] What other news we have here your Lordship will understand with more delight and ease from Mr. Loving, in whom I hope your Lordship hath a great deal of satisfaction since you do not complain to me of him and that I can observe no cause you have to do so.

We have had no news out of Ireland these 3 weeks, the last letters told us the Great Bill was ready to be engrossed.[129]

Since your Lordship's letter by Mr. Loving I have received a fresher from you of the 15th, the answer to which you will find in this long one, enough so to repair all my omissions which I hope will not appear so many to you when you have received all of the letters I sent you by Mr. Temple who hath often complained he knew not how to address them. I cannot conclude this without bewailing your Lordship's great indispositions, which being only of the gout gives us yet that comfort that they will both justify and necessitate you to a regular diet, which you ever loved. I am with all truth and affection, Mv Lord etc…

Mr. W. Temple to the Earl of Carlingford. 3 December 3 1665. (75)

My Lord,

I have been long in extreme pain how to convey all the packets of letters I have received for Your Lordship, and expecting every day to receive from you some command and address to that purpose but being hitherto disappointed of that hope and not imagining by any calculation how you can defer your approach to Vienna longer than this will be coming to you, I resolved at a venture to send there four packets to entertain you with a little pamphlet that circulates here of late with very much vogue. I have three packets more which I intend shall go by the Marquis Castel Rodrigo's conveyance upon Monday next, resolving like a very merchant not to venture all in one bottom; there never was less news stirring there at this instant or at least I never was more out of the way of hearing it, for I am newly returned from Bruges, where the Prince of Munster's pay rents called me to receive a dispatch arrived on Sunday last at Ostend for his supply. I had letters there from Munster of the 19th November, whereby I was assured of his courage and constancy, holding good in spite of all the confidence and strength the Dutch forces have received from the French supplies, some of the Luneburgh's troops and all their marine company being drawn ashore he gives me hope of a good account of Bourbony in a little time and all the rest is the style of men that want their money. Sir Walter Vane is newly arrived here upon his journey as Envoy to the Duke of Brandenburgh who is come already to Cleve. So soon as I have any certainty of Your Lordship's arrival at Vienna I shall acknowledge a letter of Mr. Taaffe's from Meppen, which was the last word I heard of any of your company, for Colonel Cusack would not do me the favour to see me as he passed; but I hear from Sir Walter Vane that My Lord Arlington has received a packet of your Lordship from Berlin, which way it went I know not.

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[128] *Beufort's* name will appear several times in this document. His full name was François de Vendôme, Duke de Beaufort, of France. Readers should not confuse him with Henry Somerset, first English Duke of Beaufort who will be appointed by Charles II in 1689. François was a leading figure in a series of French civil wars, called (Le Fronde) and later in sea battles in the Mediterranean. The illegitimate son of King Henry IV of France, he was somewhat of a scoundrel, and lived fo awhile in England, exiled for conspiring against the powerful French Cardinal Richelieu. Upon the Cardinals death, he would return to France and be caught up in another conspiracy which landed him in prison, from which he escaped in 1648. He was a hit among Parisians for his populist sentiments, but presumably unpopular with his sister after he killed her husband, Charles-Amédée of Savoy, in a duel in 1652 Exiled again, he was eventually allowed back into the French navy where fought pirates and warred with the Turks, only to be killed by them in the 1669 Siege of Candia. He appears as a character in one of Alexandre Dumas sequels to the Three Musketeers.

[129] *Engrossed,* refers to large print or script such as in a legal document.

Anything from you will find me constant here, where His Majesty has pleased to establish me his Resident about three weeks since my credentials came, and I have had my audience upon them, while I am here Your Lordship may reckon upon at Brussels a most humble servant.

Mr. W. Temple to the Earl of Carlingford. Brussels, 7 December 1665. (76)

My Lord,

I received this morning Your Lordship's from Cassel, which I imagine is in the Landgrave of Hesse's territories though you give me not so particular an information as I could wish in that nor what parts you met or left the Duke of Brandenburgh in, nor (which more troubles me) where Your Lordship would have me address my next letters, in this ignorance I am forced to use Mr. Bedingsfield's favour to send this to a correspondence he has at Frankfort with a desire to deliver it safe in case it finds you still there which I suppose must be by the help of the gout, or in case that should have given you liberty of advancing your journey, he is to send it after you to such place as upon enquiries he shall find your next way lies. I will assure Your Lordship you are so far from being forgotten either here or in England, that I know nothing has so much perplexed me since my coming over as the ignorance I have been so long and so perfectly in how I might either myself entertain you, or convey to you any of those packets which have been every week increasing since you went, but you promised from Munster to direct me where you would expect your next letters, and instead of that only told me you were going to Luneburg and there to find the Elector of Brandenburgh but you knew not where and from there God knows whither, so that from that time having every post day expected Your Lordship's commands, I knew not one pace I could make in the dark towards renewing our correspondence; but last week finding I had nine packets, as I take it for you, from court and imagining 't was not possible but you must be by this time approaching Vienna, where I was sure your journey was to end, and fearing to make you attend letters there till you could send after your arrival and receive an answer from me which is seldom done in much less than a month's time, I resolved to send four of your packets enclosed in one of mine directed for Your Lordship at Vienna, which I knew would be address enough to find you out upon your arrival there, and the rest I then resolved to send this week by the Marquis Castel Rodrigo's conveyance to the same place, which I should have done without Your Lordship's that I now received. I have been since in doubt whether I should send them with this or no, but the other being already out of your reach, and Your Lordship promising me farther accounts of your health and motions from Frankfort, I shall keep them till I receive that favour and in it I hope those directions for writing to you, which I suppose your pain and indisposition made you forget in this, besides they all being directed for Vienna, I know they must be calculated for that climate and cannot be meant to give you any intelligence or orders of use in your passage. I shall attend your farther commands with much impatience but beg of Your Lordship that they may be particular and cast the best you can for supporting your correspondence from hence and consequently from England without which your business will be much lamer and in worse humour than it needs.

I hope our affairs in Munster are not in so ill posture as you believe them there, I have had assurance from the Prince that the bridge over the Morass was perfected, and that the approach both of the French or the Luneburg troops did neither abate his courage nor constancy, what the misfortune of our unhappy disappointment may add to the rest I know not, I have been this last week at Bruges about a late dispatch made to Ostend, but 'tis small and disproportioned to what he wants or we owe.

From England we have little new, especially two posts being now due by ill weather. The effect of last session of Parliament was £1,250 to His Majesty for the war and £120,000 as a present to the Duke and adjourned till February. The French have made us many overtures of peace, but so little satisfactory,

that His Majesty's answer upon the last was that he thought the French king a very incompetent arbiter in these differences having shown so much partiality to the Dutch. I received two hours since a letter from My Lord Holles by which I find all the French ambassadors in England have demanded their audience of congé130 upon which His Lordship suddenly expects orders to do the same so that our peace that way looks very short lived. I cannot give Your Lordship much account of our treaty with Spain being much ripened at late, though so in order to it as well as to establish a centre of intelligence here (which is like to be a sieve131 of the greatest actions and counsels), that His Majesty has pleased about 3 weeks since to establish me his Resident at Brussels where Your Lordship's command will now find me more fixed and at all times. My Lord etc…

I send Your Lordship a pamphlet yet new, here in great vogue from an unknown hand. I am Mr. Taaffe's servant and beg his pardon till my next which will be (and beg of Your Lordship it may) more correctly addressed.

Mr. W. Temple to the Earl of Carlingford. Brussels, 10 December 1665. (79)

My Lord,

I wrote at large upon last Monday by an address from Mr. Bedingsfield and to his correspondent at Frankfort, who I hope has found a way of conveying it to Your Lordship, since that I have received one by Mr. Jovain and by it an address by which I may hereafter send to you, being the first possibility I have had of doing it since you parted from Munster, and I believe upon the consideration of that, in which I was more large by my last, Your Lordship will be of the same opinion that Mr. Jovain was, when I discoursed with him, that it was much stranger that you should have forgotten to give me an address, and yet should expect all that time to hear from me, than that I should never write; but this I leave to your own reflexions, and will only desire Your Lordship to be confident, that while I have the honour of serving His Majesty, I shall never be guilty of the least neglect, either to any person who bears his royal character as Your Lordship does, nor in any matter of the smallest as well as greatest moment wherein I am interested, and shall consequently use the same care and speed in all your conveyances that you can wish yourself, provided you please to give me a possibility of doing it, which must be upon the foresight of all your removals. Your Lordship's part and care. I am not a judge of the posture our Bishop of Münster is in, at this distance and in such variety of opinions and uncertainty of reports, but would very like believe him not so desperate as I find Your Lordship does, I know he is like to have very great forces drawn upon him both from Luneburgh, France and Holland, but last night arrived a gentleman from him here, who assures me he left the Prince and his army in great heart and courage, and upon his march against the Luneburgh troops, resolved to fight them before they joined the French against whom he has left de Pleuren with another army in front to make head, the Prince has very safely and commodiously retired his whole force, canon and baggage over the bridge out of Friedland and left a fort guarded at the end of the pass, having been forced to leave Winschot by the plague, which now got into it and swept away three hundred of his men that were there in garrison, besides that he considered he should have use of his whole forces to oppose this effort that the Dutch are making at this time against him.

When Your Lordship does me the favour to write, I should be glad to receive some intelligence of the state of affairs in all parts where you pass, which will give me light in my business here. My Lord

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130 *Congé,* French for "leave or holiday."

131 *Sieve* (spelled "seeve" in the original) could have two meaning here. One meaning is to refine and smooth out issues and problems; the other is to imply that information about negotiations will not be kept secret.

Holles writes me word his stay in France is very uncertain and like to be short, the French having in England demanded their audience of Congé, which he believes will produce such another with His Lordship; no letters these ten days from England, which gives me occasion of saying no more at present but that I am Your Lordship's etc.

The Bishop of Münster to the Earl of Carlingford. 13 December 1665 (80)

Excellentissime Domine Comes.

Quatriduo abhinc accepi Excellentiae Vestrae longe gratissimas liter as Francofurti 31. Nov. datas, accepi et alias priores de successu negotiationis cum Principibus Luneburgicis et Electore Brandenburgico me certiorem facientes, quas arbitror eas esse, quas Baroni de Heiden commissas fuisse postremo testantur. Fateor mihi satis molestum fuisse quod ob incertitudinem loci, ubi Excellentia Vestra degeret, litteras nullas, ob metum ne in alienas manus inciderent, ad eandem transmittere hactenus licuerit, quam culpam liberaliore scriptione cum jam Viennam sperem appulsam deinceps compensabo. Caeterum satis grave fuit, intelligere ex prioribus litteris Principes Lunaburgicos nullis argumentis moveri potuisse ut salterm se neutrales declararent, et ante tres hebdomadas celebrato-exercitus sui armilustrio ad Visurgim prope arcem Heoburgensem in ditionem meam interrupturi et cum Hollandis se conjuncturi erant, nisi exercitu meo ex Provincia Groningensi novo ponti mico cis paludes turi ob grassantem pestem turi ad occurrendum Luneoburgicis (relictis interim tribus adhue praesidiis, nempe in fortalitio pontis prope Winschotum, in castro Wedde et monasterio Apel) ad fines dioecesis Osnabrugensis educto eosdem certamen mecum detrectantes cohibuissem, quam ob rem in ditone sua hucusque se continuerunt, commodiore alias tempore cum vires suas magis auxerint, inde egressuri, quando interim legatus Senioris Principis Augnsti Wolffenbutelani intervenit cum sui Principis excusatione et interpositionis oblatione, et Hollandi cum Gallico auxilio, et navalibus suis copiis, item cum veterano suo equitatu magno profecti exercitu Isolam transisse nunciabatur, peditatusque mei stipendii et subsidii tarditate, contagioneve et laboribus ultra medietatem diminuti debilitatique reliquias ad hybernandum in praesidiis collocare cum equitatu vero non parum quo- que labefactato ad fines hostiles me convertere coactus sum, cum interim hic intelligam hostem intercluso hinc inde aditu per angusta paludum et dejectis pontibus, unde succurrere possem, imprimis urbem Lochemium arctissima obsidione cinxisse et Gallico furore jam ultra octavum diem pluribus assultibus urbem tentasse. Ego quidem quantum potui, progressui hostili obstiti, et imprimis per Gorgassum cum mille lectissimis equitibus ad improvisam alicubi irruptionem faciendam emissum sexcentos circiter lectissimos equites Hollandicos cum aliquot centenis peditibus usque ad oppidum Enschede progressos fudi et occidi ut vix quinquaginta evaderent duce eorum Colonello Haren et plerisque occisis et Comite de Warfuse, Domino de Hennivoet Equitum Centurione Anglicae nationis homine qui consulis alicujus Amsterodamensis filiam uxorem duxit, item pluribus aliis praecipuae conditionis viris, cum ducentis circiter gregariis captis, hostis nihilominus magna providentia ne a tergo sibi noceri possit, castris munitis, et cum magno impetu in oppugnatione Lochemensi pergit, ut periculum sit, quia obsidionem solvere non possumus, ne brevi voto potiatur, quia obsessi sub auspicio Colonelli Elverfeldt boni quidem militis aliquot assultibus heroice repulsis et multis hostium occisis ob loci debilitatem tandem ad resistendum erunt impares, ut timendum sit, ne hostis alia vicina loca aggrediatur et ab Oriente, milite superior tum Limaburgicis ab occidente instantibus, brevi ditionem meam pervagetur et undiquaque devastet, ut vel sic Exercitui meo alendo omnia media eripiat, prout certo mihi constat illud hostis esse consilium praeter morem Hollandicum hyemali tempore quiescente in mari Rege Angliae et dum nullae diversiones fiunt, me destruendi, ut circa aestatem a me e terra liber contra Regem Angliae tanto potentius resistere possit, quamobrem cum res in eo statu sit, prout Excellentia Vestra satis meminit quemadmodum eidem jam praesenti demonstravi, ut nisi Regia sua Majestas contra auctos ubique hostes potentem aliquam coronam, Hispanicam vel Suecicam excitet, quae una mecum

Hollandis terra negotium faciat, et subsidia pecuniaria, sine tanta mora ex quo mihi primi termini cum omnibus interim cessis subsidiis menstruis nondum plane soluti sunt, prompte et justo tempore in parata moneta solvantur et proportionatum aliquod adjutorium accedat, ut mihi soli impossibile sit, Brandeburgico praesertim vacillante et si ipsi concedantur quae ab Hollandis desiderat, ad eorum foedus prono, quemadmodum et in publicis comitiis Imperii voto suo mihi summopere adversatus est, ac alios in sinistram sententiam pertraxit, Regis Franciae et Hollandorum maritimas copias cum terrestribus, ac insuper Lunaburgensium vires excipere, iisque resistere, Quamobrem cum Sacra Caesarca Majestas per legatum suum Baronem de Goës, interpositionem suam me et Hollandos inter, una cum Electore Brandeburgico et Ducibus Augusto Seniore Brunswicensi nee non Joanne Friderico Catholico, mihi offerat, Egoque ne rebus sic stantibus omnino peream, tum etiam respectus causa illam declinare non possum, Idcirco visum mihi est Caesareae Majestati suadere, ut dum Rex Galliae per subsidium Hollandis submissum a mediatione exclusus est, jamque Legatum suum Londino avocavit, ut ipsa Regiae Majestati Suae mediationem suam offerre velit, quemadmodum et Ego non intermitto per certum hominem in Britanniam missum id Regiae Majestati suae una cum necessitatibus meis proponere, idque urgere, omnino sperans Regiae Majestati hanc interpositionem nec ingratam nec inutilem fore, maxinie si Caesarea Majestas durante tractatu simul insinuet, nisi Hollandi aequas conditiones admittant, se et armis suis ad nostras partes accessurum, id quod Ego simul suadeo, et per Dominum Legatum me persuasurum existimo, insuperque Excellentiam Vestram obsecro, ut si prima vice, quod vereor, Imperatorem ad sumenda mutua arma mihique statim armis assistendum flectere non possit, saltern Majestas sua durante Tractatu ita partes nostras promoveat, ut tempus lucrari, Ego regi fidem servare, et utrinque aut aequam pacem protinus obtinere, aut potentibus armis Hollandos ad aequitatem compellere possimus, gratum quoque mihi Excellentia Vestra fecerit, si et haec consilia relationibusque suis ad Regiam Majestatem simul promovere et urgere, tum necessitates meas certe majores, quam eas ab inimicis credi velim, Regiae Majestati significare placuerit, proxime ad hasce responsum expectans Eandem divinae bonitati pro meliori valetudine et omni prosperitate commendans maneo

Excellentiae Vestrae, Ad officia paratissimus, Cbristopliorus Bernardus, in residentia mea Set

Ludgeri 13. Dec. 1665

Translation: The Bishop of Münster to the Earl of Carlingford.

Most Excellent Lord Count,

Four days ago I received your Excellency's most welcome letter from Frankfurt and I have received the dates, and the other former ones who inform me of the success of their dealings with the Princes of Lunenburg and the elector of Brandenburg, which I consider to be those which they testify at length to have been entrusted to the Baron of Heiden.

I admit that it had been quite troublesome for me, because of the uncertainty of the place where your Excellency was staying, and for fear lest I should have been allowed to transmit no letters into the hands of others, to the same extent that I will compensate for the fault with a more liberal writing, when I hope I will come here to Vienna.

It was quite hard for them to understand from earlier letters that the Lunenburgian princes could have moved without any proofs that they would at least declare themselves neutral. The Province of Groningen with a new bridge on either side of the flash marshes is likely to attack the Lunenburgians on account of the ravaging pestilence (in the meantime having left three more guards, namely, at the fortification of the bridge near Winschot, in the castle of Wedde and the monastery of Apel), having led off the frontiers of the diocese of Osnabrug, I would have prevented the same conflict. They remained

in their territories hitherto, at a more convenient time, at another time, when they had increased their forces more and more, and departed from thence, when in the meantime the lieutenant of the elder Prince Augustus Wolffenbutelani intervened with the apology and interposition of his Prince.

Having advanced with his own cavalry, it was reported that Isola had passed with a great army. I will understand that the enemy had been cut off from this and the entrance through the narrow marshes, and the bridges thrown down, from which I could succour, in particular, that Lochemius had surrounded the city with a very close siege. As far as I could, I hindered the enemy's progress. I first place, sent forth by Gorgassus with a 1,000 very choice cavalry to make an unexpected incursion. The Earl of Warfuse being slain, the Lord Hennivoet, (a centurion of the horse of the English nation, who married the daughter of some consul at Amsterdam) proceeds with great impetuosity in the siege of Lochem, so that there may be danger.

Because we cannot solve the siege, lest he gain a short promise, they will be unequal. We fear should the enemy should attack other adjoining places, and from the east, a better army then at Limburgh, pressing on from the west, will soon wander through my dominions, and lay waste on every side.That there was a plan, contrary to the custom of the King of England, to destroy the Dutch in winter's season, and while no diversions were made, that a free man from the land of summer might be able to withstand so much more powerfully against the King of England.

As I have already pointed out to him, unless his Majesty's Majesty recruits up some mighty crown, Spanish or Swedish, which, together with the Dutch, may assist me, and timely financial aid, and release them quickly, promptly it may be impossible for me alone, especially when Brandenburg is vacillating. If what he desires are granted to him by the Dutch, he will favor their treaty, just as he strongly opposed me by his vote in the public elections of the Empire, so he can receive the forces of the Dutch by sea, with their land, and also with the forces of Lunenburg, to resist them.

And so with the Sacred Majesty, through his lieutenant Baron de Goe, his interposition between me and the Dutch, together with Elector Brandenburg and Dukes Augustus the Elder of Brunswick and John Frederick the Catholic let him offer it to me, lest I perish at all under these requirements, and with these reason I cannot help but accept it. For this reason, it seemed to me to persuade the Imperial Majesty that while the King of Gaul submitted to the Dutch for assistance, he was excluded from negotiations. That a man sent into Britain should propose to his Royal Majesty together with my necessities, and that he should urge on, in the hope that this intervention would be neither unacceptable nor useless to the Royal Majesty. That he would approach the parties, which I at the same time recommend, and think that I would persuade the Ambassador through the Lord.

I beseech your Excellency, that if, for the first time, as I fear, the emperor could not bend over to take up arms by mutual arms, and immediately assist me in arms, at least his Majesty during the Treaty could not turn these parts to promote our country, in order to gain time, to keep the faith of the king. Further, for both sides, either obtain an equal peace immediately or force the Dutch to equity by powerful arms. Your Excellency would also have obliged me if he would both promote and urge these plans and their relations to the Royal Majesty at the same time. Please indicate to your Royal Majesty, just waiting for an answer to these questions, I remain commending the same divine goodness for better health and prosperity.

Your Excellency, Set in my residency. Ready for service, Ludger 1665, Cristopliorus Bernardus

The Earl of Clarendon to the Earl of Carlingford. Oxford, 17 December 1665. (83)

My Lord,

I thank you for your favour by this bearer, and for another I received before, you have been in so quick a manner, that it was not easy to know where our letters should find you, I hope Mr. Loving (who in truth hath been as solicitous to return to you as you could wish) went with all things to your satisfaction nor in truth are your friends here unmindful of you. I doubt not my Lord Arlington send you the copy of what is said to the Elector of Mentz, in answer to so much of your papers as retalk[132] to his advise. I am sure it hath not been our fault that the brawn Bishop of Münster hath been disappointed in any things he would expect from us, the plague and storms were not under the jurisdiction of Kings, and we repair the omissions, which have been made, but I am confident the good Bishop hath reason to complain of other manner of disappointment, nobody can imagine that he would have begun such a war, barely upon the promise of so much money from us or that we would have engaged upon so shallow an undertaking; and if those Princes who first tricked that glorious design, shall now, suffer him to sink under the weight of it, and will have cause to repent it, and the whole Empire be ashamed of losing the occasion. I wish Your Lordship a happy progress in your journey and a late return and shall execute all your commands as My good Lord.

Your Lordship's, Most Affectionate Servant, Clarendon

Lord Lesly to the Earl of Carlingford. 4 January 1666 (84)

My Lord,

Your merit and virtues being better known to me than your person, make me bold to wait upon you with this letter to assure you, that I suffer not a little, that a person of your qualities is sent by the king our Sovereign to the Emperor and I not in person there, to wait upon him, much more you My Lord, whom in my heart I have many years ago honoured and loved as a person full of worth and who hath been still so constant for the Royal family, as Mr. H. Howard, whom we all treat as Earl of Arundel[133], a great honourer of Your Lordship, will show you at his return; truly he is a very worthy person, and one to whom Your Lordship has much obligation for the good character he has given to all, and everywhere of your worth. After I had ended all business and taken leave of all at the Ottoman court, I parted the 21st of the last, arrived here the 4th of this, where we were forced to rest three days, all our people and horses being in disorder, to recover of the evil way, tomorrow we set forward towards Philipoli and Belgrad,[134] but shall hardly before the beginning of March be at Vienna, where I wish I may be so happy as to find Your Lordship and your son to whom I remember my best respects; in my absence I hope my nephew will in some way supply my absence, and wait upon you both as good as he can. My Lord if you know my person qualified to promote[135] His Majesty's interest, or your own, in particular, I beseech you without compliment or ceremony to dispose of me freely, then you shall always find me to be, My Lord, —

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132 *Retalk;* to discuss a matter a second time

133 In 1666, the Earl of Arundel was Henry Howard, 6th Duke of Norfolk.

134 *Belgrad;* Belgrade, now part of Slovakia, was at that time controlled by the Ottoman Empire. At this time the Empire was beginning an era of decline.

135 Promove; promote

Adrianople,[136] 4 January 1666. most humble faithful servant, Leslie

Mr. W. Temple to the Earl of Carlingford. Brussels, 5 January 1666. (85)

My Lord,

I have received Your Lordship's of Dec. 23rd from Prague and am very glad to find by it the advance of your journey, and to guess the continuance of your health by the adventures I find you engaged in, which I wish may be happily finished as they are honourably begun. I send this at a venture to father Donellan at Vienna with the enclosed, newly come to my hands, by which I suppose Your Lordship will find that Mr. Loving will be suddenly dispatched back to you as My Lord Arlington assures me; in the mean time since you desire my opinion of affairs, it is in short this: I think all action between Munster and Holland ended for this sharp season, the French being retired into Wesel, Emmerik and Rees, the Dutch into their old quarters and Münster having drawn into his own country all those troops which are not garrisoned in six places of the twenty and four of Freesland,[137] which he keeps still as the fruits of his late invasion. That which makes me apprehend no farther action from the Bishop till toward spring is that I find his infantry is much diminished and harassed by the last season's action, and has been in some danger of revolt for want of pay, but he is making new levies at this time in Liege, has all quiet now in their quarters and will I hope this winter amass a good treasure to begin the next spring with better strength and heart, if our payments continue their march, the second being passed and the third begun, which I expect the progress of every post.

From Brandenburgh, Sir Walter Vane is full of ill presages and fears, but I cannot persuade myself to apprehend a breach of their neutrality, or anything more than their being persuaded or bought of from the pursuit of their pretensions upon the States in this dangerous conjecture; if they should have worse intentions, their awe of the Swede and respect of the house of Austria, will I believe, repress them while we are well with the first and upon the point of a strict league with Spain. Colen grows better Austrian than he was, and the Luneburgh troops have done us no hurt, being as I imagine awed by the fear of breaking the peace of the Empire, for preserving of which the Baron of Losens has been there and in Münster and is now at Cleve from the Emperor.

Our treaty with Spain advances and theirs with Portugal, which the Marquis here believes will be an article of the league between us and Spain, that it may that way look like a condescension rather to His Majesty than to Portugal or the necessity of their own affairs. My Lord Sandwich is going suddenly to

Madrid upon it, Mr. Godolphin Secretary of the Embassy and our new knight Sir Robert Southwell Envoy to Portugal, to labour in it, as Sir Richard Fanshaw does in the meantime, being gone down to the borders for that end. I imagine Your Lordship may much advantage this design by pressing the

Emperor to use all the instance he can towards it in the court of Spain, and persuade them to relash[138] at present those points of Jamaica and Tangier and either leave them untouched, or else to the decision of an equal number of Commissioners after the peace is concluded, if this were once done my opinion is we are not only safe but give…?…to all the world besides are not like to be troubled with any pretensions or ambitious designs upon one another, which makes me, I confess, extremely wish it concluded, and so far I hope My Lord you think me a good Catholic. We look here upon the war with France as begun, they have taken some of our ships in the Mediterranean, and we now lately some of

[136] *Adrianople;* now known as Erdine, located in Turkey, has been called the "most frequently contested spot on the globe" More…

[137] *Freesland* or Frieseland, was histrionically known as Frisia, is a province in the northern part of the Netherlands.

[138] *Relash,* to confirm a previous agreement.

theirs in the Channel, as French. My Lord Holles is I believe upon his way back and refuses his presents.

Sir Jeremy Smith set sail for the straights with a squadron of 17 good ships and conveyed forty good merchant men besides, so that the Duke of Beaufort will leave off his being *valiant quant il fallait ctre sage* [it was necessary to be wise]; and rather grow *sage quant il fallait etre vaillant* [wise when it was necessary to be valiant] which Rochefoucaut you know lays of old to his charge.

The Dutch grow supple, and adversity has taught them good breeding and civil language as you will know by their letter to His Majesty upon revocation of their Ambassador. My opinion is it will fall into a treaty this winter, and that the Dutch will not make much scruple of leaving out the French, with whom alone a war will be sport for next summer.

Your Lordship will not complain of want of length or freedom in my letters, I take it to be service to our Master and to his business to be of as much aid as we can one to another, though Sir William Vane's great wisdom made him of another mind as he passed here. I am Mr. Taaffe's humble servant to whom I wrote by my last and have conveyed all his letters I received. I hope by Your Lordship's and his means to grow acquainted with the persons and dispositions at the Court at Vienna and to deserve your opinion of my being. My Lord, etc.

Mr. W. Temple to the Earl of Carlingford. Brussels, 11 January 1666. (87)

My Lord,

I could not let Mr. Loving pass without this ill company, for so an empty letter may very well be called. All I had to say, I sent Your Lordship last Saturday enclosed to father Donellan at Vienna since which time I will only tell you that I have reason to assure you, we may reckon upon our treaty with Spain as a thing done, or to speak more plainly, though 'tis yet thought fit to be kept secret, yet this last week an express from Spain carried it into England this day, signed by our Ambassador in Spain, and to be ratified by His Majesty in England; in which I cannot foresee a difficulty, nor that much will now be left for My Lord Sandwich besides the presence, nor for Sir Robert Southwell in Portugal, since a truce between Spain and that crown for thirty years is included in our treaty.

We have this morning a report again here of Bourbony[139] being taken, and of great embroilment arisen in France, which has made that King call all his troops about Paris with resolutions to disarm the Parisians, I give little credit to first and flying reports but send them Your Lordship as I receive them.

Mr. Loving has made so great speed in his affairs that I cannot but rejoice with Your Lordship, and is a man of so great a diligence that he will not stay to let me say more than that I am, My Lord, etc…

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[139] *Bourbony* or *Bourbon* is a small town in central France, origin of the noble House of Bourbon, and know for its spas.

Sir William Swan[140] to the Earl of Carlingford. Hamburg, 11 January 1666. (88)

My Lord,
I hope this will find Your Excellency at Vienna, as likewise my answer to yours dated the 24. of Dec. from Prague…Letters from Cleve of the 12. Jan. tells me that our Envoy Sir Walter Vane receives now of late a smiling countenance from that court, and they would fain make him believe that they intend something of good really, but a little time will make him see more, in the meantime he hopes well.

The last post out of France brought the Hollanders a letter by the which that king does endeavour to make them take the field again, either to besiege some considerable town, or else to burn or plunder their country, and has commanded Mes. Praedell in case the Hollanders will not march, that he with his troops shall enter the bishop's country to burn and destroy what they can thinking by that means to bring the Bishop to a peace.

Out of the Hague 'tis written that the Deputies of the States General have accused Prince Maurice and the Reingraff to the States General as authors of the ill success of the last Campaign, Prince Maurice is there and has demanded Commissaries to have it in writing what they have said against him, and it is thought for certain will speak very high when he comes to his defence.

'Tis said that Mr. Mountagew[141] is gone out of France into England with some proposition to hinder the rupture and that My Lord Hollis though he has taken his leave of the King, yet he stays a while upon pretence of his wife lying in. From Paris of the 8. instant it is written that those of Orleans have refused

10 Companies of the King's Guards to come into their town, who had order to lay a take upon that town from the King.

I am with all respect, My Lord etc…

The Bishop of Münster to the Earl of Carlingford. 22 January 1666 (89)

Accepi diversas Excellentiae Vestrae litteras iisque tum ob incertitudinem loci, tum ob interceptionis periculum Viennam latius rescripsi quo Excellentiam Vestram feliciter appulisse gaudeo, Eamque non dubito meis interea litteris, quas per meum istic agentem Doctorem Meier tradi jussi, de statu mearum rerum certiorem factam esse. Ex eo tempore Hollandis cum auxiliis Gallicis capto Lochemio et illatis quibusdam Dioecesi meae damnis in hiberna discesserunt, nec deinceps praeter vehationes, in quibus mei ut plurimum victores fuere, quicquam actum, captis in Frise Venne quadringentis et in Emmen in Drenthia octoginta peditibus Hollandis, et pluribus trucidatis, et quanquam Consilium fuit per concretas frigore paludes arduum quid tentasse, id tamen resoluta glacie irritum fuit, nihil vero tam hei quam alibi fortunae belli obstitit, quam nervi proni issi defectus. Nunc vero cum Hollandis ad instantiam Regis Galliarum juxta accusum extractum, metis etiam Luneburgicis gravem in terras meas irruptionem minantur, Excellentiae Vestrae summopere non minus rei pecuniariae accelerationem in Anglia, quam ibidem in aula Caesarea subsidia Imperatoria re commendo lit in iis procurandis pro sua prudentia oinne opera eniti velit, ad quas jam eo proniorem fore Caesarem non dubito; quod certis ad me ex Belgio datis litteris de inito Anglium inter et Hispaniam foedere relatum sit, de quo Excellentiae Vestrae certius constare arbitror ad quam Secretarium ex Anglii citis veredis advolasse intelligo.

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[140] Son of Henry Vane the Elder, he was a knight in the Dutch army and an envoy for King Charles II. Eight years later, in August of 1674, he would die at the Battle os Senneffe. His remains are buried at the Hague.

[141] Probably Edward Montagu, 2nd Earl of Manchester (1602-1671). Among other things, he accompanied Charles II to Spain to help negotiate Charles' marriage to Infanta Maria Ann of Spain, the so-called "Spanish Match."

Caeterum ex litteris Excellentiae Vestrae gratissimum fuit percipere, quanto boni publici studio Excellentia Vestra rem communem egerit, de cujus bono successu et effectu eo magis mihi polliceor, quo magis sensim se prodit consideratio novi foederis duorum potentissimorum Regum. De Caesarea mediatione mihi per legatum de Goës oblata prioribus litteris memini, et quanquam eandem ob respectum Caesareae Majestatis declinare non potui, de eo tarne en Excellentiam Vestram hisce securam reddere volui, eam, ut sine armis Caesareis inefficax futura est, ita mihi ad lucrans- dum tempus percommodam, me vero in exactissima foederis observantia et fide immotum fore. Ego interim desiderio teneor cognoscendi quid ex Anglii allatum sit, et quid de auxilio Caesaris Excellentia Vestra sperandum judicet, maneoque cum divina protectione.

Excellentiae Vestrae, ad officia paratissimus, Christophorus Bernardus

Dabam ex urbe mea Monasterii 22. Jan. 1666

Translation: The Bishop of Münster to the Earl of Carlingford.

I received several letters from your Excellency, and both on account of the uncertainty of the place, and also on account of the danger of interception, I wrote at length to Vienna, in which I am glad that your Excellency has successfully landed, and I do not doubt that in the meantime my letters, which I have ordered to be delivered by my agent there to Dr. Meier, have been informed of the state of my affairs. From that time the Hollanders, with the capture of Lochemius with the Gallic auxiliaries, and having inflicted some damages to my diocese, departed into winter quarters; nor afterward, except the conveyances in which mine were most victorious; several were butchered, and although the design was made through the cold concrete of the marshes, it was difficult to ascertain what had been attempted; but he stopped him both in war and in other parts of his fortune, as well as the lack of sinews on his face. But now, when the Dutch, at the request of the King of Gaul, drawn up by the accuser, and you reap even a severe incursion into my lands at Lunenburg, are threatening your Excellency, no less an acceleration of financial affairs in England, than there in the imperial court of the Imperial subsidies I commend he wanted to do their best to accomplish their task, to which Caesar would no longer be more overlying I doubt that it was reported to me by certain letters from the Netherlands, concerning the treaty being made between the English and Spain, concerning which I think your Excellency may be more certain, to which I understand that the Secretary truly had flown from the citie of England. Furthermore, it was most pleasing to receive from your Excellency's letter how much good

Your Excellency's zeal for the public interest has brought about a common interest, concerning the success and success of which I promise to me the more, the more gradually the consideration of the new treaty of the two most powerful kings reveals itself. I remember earlier letters of Caesarea mediation offered to me by the lieutenant of Goe, and although I could not decline the same for the respect of the Imperial Majesty, I wished to render your Excellency secure in regard to this while the time was convenient, but that I would be unmoved in the most exact observance of the treaty, and in good faith. I am in the meantime bound by the desire to know what was brought from the English, and what your Excellency decides concerning the aid of Caesar to be hoped for, and I remain with the divine protection.

Your Excellency, I was sent from my city to the monastery ready to serve, 22 January 1666, Christopher Bernard.

The Earl of Carlingford to the Bishop of Münster. 18 February 1666 (90)

Celsissime Princeps,

Ex ultimis Celsitudinis Vestrae 22. Jan. datis cum gaudio intellexi Celsitudinis Vestrae arma hactenus prospera fuisse, neque jam quidquam magni momenti expectandum usque in proximum ver. Nullus dubito quin tum Celsitudo Vestra potentibus auxiliis sit sublevanda, cum jam tractatus Anglium inter

et Hispaniam sit conclusus, et tam hic quam in Anglia particularia tractatus in dies expectentur. Aula Caesarea ad foedus cum Anglia ineundum plurimum propendet neque jam aliud ad id concludendum expectari videtur nisi particularis eorum articulorum notitia qui in Hispania sunt subscripti. Et sub hoc praetextu Sua Caesarea Majestas differt ultimatum responsum ad ea quae ego in favorem Celsitudinis Vestrae proposui. Nimirum ut Sua Caesarea Majestas Celsitudinem Vestram vel palam milite vel clam pecunia adjuvaret (idque sine ulla interposita mora), cujus impetrandae spem aliquam milii dederunt Princeps de Lobkowitz et Comes de Lamberg quos Sua Caesarea Majestas ad propositiones meas excipiendas deputavit. Non difficile mihi fuit invenire argumenta quibus demonstrarem quantum intersit non tantum Regis mei sed totius Domus Austriaca ut Celsitudo Vestra perservetur. Neque despero de aulae hujus favorabili resolutione quamquam eam lentam in negotiis inveniam. Hodie conquestus sum apud Suam Caesaream Majestatem de tergiversatione Principum Brunswicensium, non obstante Caesarea inhibitione ne quid contra Celsitudinem Vestram attentarent, et respondit Sua Majestas cum ilia non suffecerit excogitaturam se alia media quibus in officio contineantur.

Non dubito quin Vestra Celsitudo jam intellexerit bellum contra Anglium Parisiis summa cum ceremonia fuisse declaratum de quo plurimum invenio hanc aulam laetari, imo et summe propendere ad arma nobiscum in hac causa conjungenda. Unde expectare possumus bellum gloriosum, praesertim cum neutra litas adeo futura sit periculosa ut omnes Germaniae Principes se sine dubio sint declaraturi. Nescio quamdiu hic moraturus sim. Interea tamen vellem a Celsitudine Vestra instrui quo modo mihi agendum erit cum Electore Moguntino Duce Neoburgico, aliisque Principibus quos mihi in reditu videre contigerit. In omnibus meis ad aulam nostram literis apud Regem omni cum fervore institi ut Sua Majestas Celsitudini Vestrae necessaria subsidia pecuniaria punctualiter transmittat. Residens Celsitudinis Vestrae eamdem informabit quanta cum cura Celsitudinis Vestrae interesse in hac aula sollicitem, et quanto cum fervore in omnibus occasionibus appaream

Celsitudinis Vestrae, Feb. 18. 1666. humillimus servus, Carlingford

Translation: The Earl of Carlingford to the Bishop of Münster.

Most High Prince,

From the last of your Highness, having given them joy, I understood that the arms of your Highness had hitherto been successful, and that we ought not to wait until the next spring. I have no doubt that your Highness must then be relieved by powerful auxiliaries, since the treaty between the English and that Spain should be shut up, and that treaties should be daily expected both here and in England. The Imperial Court is very much inclined to enter into a treaty with England. And under this pretence his Imperial Majesty defers the ultimate reply to those things which I proposed in favour of your Highness. Surely that his Imperial Majesty would help your Highness either openly or privately with money (and without any delay intervening), whose Prince of Lobkowitz[142] and Count de Lamberg[143] gave some hope of obtaining some millet, whom his Imperial Majesty appointed to hear my statements. It has not

[142] Probably Vaclav Eusebius Frantisek (1609-1677), politician and military leader, and fervent supporter of the Catholic cause.

[143] Possibly Johann Maximilian Nepomuk, Reichsgraf von Lamberg-Steyr (1608-1682), and Austrian diplomat, Knight of the Golden Fleece, ambassador to Spain involved in the Spanish Match negotiations and several treaties.

been difficult for me to find evidence to demonstrate how important it is to not only my King but the entire Austrian family so that your Highness will be protected. Nor do I despair of a favourable resolution of this court, although I will find it slow in business. Today I have complained to his Imperial Majesty about the evasion of the Brunswick Princes, notwithstanding Caesar's order that they should not attempt anything against your Highness.

I have no doubt that your Highness already understood that the war against the English was declared at Paris with the highest ceremony, of which I find this Court to rejoice very much, and to be extremely inclined to join arms with us in this matter. Whence we can expect a glorious war, especially since neither will be so dangerous that all the princes of Germany will no doubt declare themselves. I don't know how long I'm going to stay here. In the meantime, however, I would like to receive information from your Highness on how I must deal with the Elector Mainz, Duke of Newburg, and other princes whom I shall have the chance to see on my return. In all my letters to our court, I have presented the King with all fervour to forward his Majesty Your Highness the necessary financial assistance punctually. The resident of your Highness will inform you of how much I care for your Highness's interest in this hall, and with what fervour, I appear on all occasions, Your Highness,

May18. 1666, Carlingford.

Sir George Talbot to the Earl of Carlingford. Copenhagen, 13 Feb 1666. (92)

My Lord, If I have not found the way to pay my due respects to Your Excellency before now, I hope, that your own justice will acquit me, in that you gave me no notice of your journey to the Emperor's court. And although my stay is not like to be long in these parts, I thought it as necessary to the discharge of my own duty, as to His Majesty's service to let Your Excellency know, that on Sunday (the 11th this King dispatched his resident Liliecroone[144] to the Emperor whose chief errand I presume is to colour over his late foul proceedings with the King our master by prepossessing that court with his false narrative, for sure I am, he will be ashamed to make a true one. To prevent his insinuations which may tend to the opposing of the King our master, I have thought it necessary to give Your Excellency a full and true account of what hath been lately negotiated here by Sir Thomas Clifford and myself. After the unhappy miscarriage of a precipitated attempt upon the Holland ships at Bergen (which will in due time afford a pleasant story to the world) the King our master sent Sir Thomas Clifford to this court, joined in commission with me, to expostulate that affair, and treat a strict league with this crown: your friend Hannibal[145] and Gabel[146] (the chief minister) were appointed our commissaries and fully empowered by the King their master to conclude, are agreed upon articles of an offensive and defensive league against Holland, and signed them on both sides; but there was a conditional clause in them, that they were not to be ratified or binding to either, unless the Swedes would enter into the League (because the Danes durst not engage in an offensive war, and leave them free). Sir Thomas went away in all haste to Stockholm to dispose that crown to enter, but it falling out a little before the Christmas holidays, he found the Regency disposed to their annual retreat to their country-houses, whence they were not to return till toward the middle of this month; Sir Thomas his domestic occasions requiring him in the mean time at home, he got leave to return, and full powers were sent to Mr. Coventry alone to perfect that business, and while we have been in expectation of that crown's conjunction in a triple league, this king hath by your true friend Hannibal (under a pretence of sending him to England to

144 Possibly Gustaf Lillecorna (1623-1687), a Swedish diplomat.

145 Possibly Hannibal Sehestad (1623-1666), a Danish and Norwegian diplomat. This this time he would have been lord treasurer and councillor of state for Norway.

146 Probably Christopher Gabel (1617-1673), Governor of Copenhagen. Close ally and negotiator for Frederick III of Denmark.

complete our treaty) treated and concluded a league offensive with Holland against us without making any exceptions to anything that either we or the Swedes had done, or charging us with any the least contravention against the strict rules of friendship, which the King our master had professed to him and he reciprocally to our master.

As we can attribute this to nothing but a shameful perfidiousness, in the first place, so, in the second, we ascribe it to the power that France path over this crown, which is able to make them break all bonds of friendship with all other Princes. I speak not out of passion, or at random, but knowingly, for I have seen the treaty which they made last with France and I know how strongly they are therein engaged to France against the Emperor and I give Your Excellency this small hint of it, that you may dash the dissembling project which their resident is gone upon to amuse His Imperial Majesty with fair professions and sprinkle his holy water in that Court. Therefore, My Lord I write thus freely to you, that you may prevent him and lie at watch to discover if he goeth not about to justify their own perfidiousness, by charging some false story or other upon us. Your Lordship will have heard that the French have declared war upon us, and I dare boldly affirm, that they have been induced to it more by the solicitation of this crown than of Holland itself. This king is in great hopes that the new French Ambassador Dandilli will with the great offers of the French king gain upon the Swedes[147] to desert us likewise, but I cannot believe, that they who have almost been equally injured by the Danes, should ever more have any communication with them; of this the Dane himself is conscious, and fearing least the Swede should justly resent the falsehood, lie had treated with the forces of Luneburg and Waldeck to be in readiness to march this way, if Wrangle[148] should attempt anything upon Holstein; and Fieldmarshall Werts is gone to command those joined forces. He is likewise sending an extraordinary Ambassador to the court of Brandenburg, being sure of Saxe and Hesse by the marriages of his eldest son and daughter.

I believe I shall suddenly be recalled and therefore if you are pleased to honour me with any reply to this letter, I humbly desire that it may be directed to Sir W. Swan his Majesty's Resident at Hamburg, that if I am gone hence, he may send it after me. I am in all sincerity Your Excellency's etc…

I cannot omit to tell Your Lordship that after I had entertained this Resident several times at my house, he went away without taking any leave of me.

May it Please Your Highness, (94)

I had the honour to receive Yours of the 24th of December and though the Duke, your husband, did not acknowledge being engaged with the Hollanders, the disturbance I found him in, after my signifying the king's pleasure, made me believe it, as also he would not concern himself in their quarrel, had he known the alliance made between the King my master and the Bishop of Münster, and so much I assure Your Highness I have signified, but know not how I shall justify the character I gave of Your Highness being a faithful branch of the Royal family and a perfect English woman, considering your being in the head of an army prepared to destroy the only visible forces the King has to assist him and believing that none dares resist you; were they all of my mind, the submission would be perfect and the glory thought great to be conquered by you: but I fear the Bishop has been otherwise bred: so as I shall not advise you to hazard yourself where his power may extend for an enemy that makes use of the word and the

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147 The French had long supported the Swedes. The Treaty of Bärwalde in 1631 formalized that support, France providing economic support to Sweden in return for Sweden proving military troops. The French were fond of getting others do their fighting for them, similar to the proxy wars of the 21st century.

148 Possibly Carl Gustaf Wrangel (1613-1676), a Swedish politician and military commander. At this time he was governor general of Pomerania, among other things.

word is dangerous. I find many are employed towards a reconciliation betwixt the King and the Hollanders and the Prince of Munster. I promise Your Highness I have endeavoured it in all places and with all persons where I have been, as well for the public utility of Christendom as for my own particular satisfaction, hoping thereby without a safe conduct to have liberty to wait on Your Highness at Osnabruck and to be your guide from thence to Whitehall, where I had rather see you by your own election than by the necessity you mention. If I thought Your Highness in danger, I should quit my present employment and declare myself a rebel to defend you.[149]

Now a very serious word, in case there be an agreement betwixt the King my master and the States, it's possible he may have war with France or some others and having this caution I hope you will prevent any friend of yours to be engaged against him.

The gout is a cursed persecutor of my quiet having kept me in bed since my arrival here, but if fasting and praying that I may once more wait on Your Highness may banish it, I shall within two days demand audience from the Emperor and by the next post be able to let you know what my opinion is of this people and the court, where I am resolved to be Solicitor for Princess Elizabeth from whom I had the honour of a letter, but if I can get her portion into my hands, if she gets not a husband I'll give it to you, for in my heart I hate a religious, handsome Princess, that is to say a nun. The Elector of Brandenburgh's agent undertakes to send this safely and speedily, and if Your Highness have any commands for me, the address to Frankfort will convey them unto, Madam, Your Highness'

Vienna, 14. Jan. 1666. most obedient and dutiful servant Carlingford.

The Earl of Carlingford to Princess Elizabeth. 23 January 1666 (95)

May it please Your Highness,

The honour of yours of 10th of December, I had by the last post, my misfortune in not waiting on Your Highness at Herford was so sensibly afflicting as the trouble has not yet dispossessed me—if curses be prevalent, the man who maliciously or ignorantly assured me of Your Highness' being at Ligstaclt, will suffer some torment for his misinformation. Madam, I am infinitely proud of the confidence you have in my integrity to serve you; Your Highness shall not mistake in your expectation, there being no endeavours or industry of mine that shall not be employed to procure those advantages you justly expect from His Imperial Majesty whom I will solicit as by express order from the King my master, and what sums I receive, I shall intimate to Your Highness; but if His Imperial Majesty should be so just and bountiful as I wish, I would not have it converted to the building of churches nor disposed of within the limits of a cloister. Your Highness is born and ordained for greater and more public actions, and your memory to be recorded rather by a posterity of Princes, than by ecclesiastical stories; therefore resolve Madam to be of the world and to make some Prince (of the many that will attempt it) happy. Your pardon for this freedom and your permission to continue it is humbly begged by, Madam, Your Highness'.

Vienna, 23. Jan. 1666. most humble and obedient servant, Carlingford

[149] This letter reveals a charming, perhaps even flirtatious, side to Carlingford. HE tells the Queen that he would rush to her side like a valorous knight if he thought she was in real danger, and that her beautiful daughter must be spared the life as a nun even by finding her husband, even if he has to marry her himself!

LORD CARLINGFORD'S COPIES. (96)

To Count Lamberg,

The expressions of His Imperial Majesty towards an alliance with the King my master are very obliging and I am sure will be grateful, and seeing the confirmation of an alliance betwixt them depends upon knowledge of the particular articles treated of and, I believe, concluded in Spain, little can be agitated here until that arrives and then I desire to know whether His Imperial Majesty will positively conclude according the intention of Spain and what the King my master will reasonably propose, or whether he may not believe it more practicable to employ an Ambassador into England to perfect the treaty there.

As towards the Bishop of Münster the answer is not according the King my master's expectations, who hoped that either privately or publicly His Imperial Majesty would assist and countenance him to support his army. On the contrary, the commission sent to Baron de Goes to labour to make the Bishop's peace with the Hollanders, independent of the King my master, is destructive to his interest and so it is much more towards the raising and maintaining an army, with hopes to incline the Hollanders to propose reasonable means for an accommodation, which effects, neither that, nor their vast sufferings by sea and land, has hitherto produced; the king my master expects that His Imperial Majesty will assist him to compass that design, which has been hitherto prevented by the aid and encouragement afforded by the French; to this I must add the danger that threatens the interest of the house of Austria, if the Bishop shall be forced to disband his army, which probably then will be entertained by the French to execute their designs against Flanders and Germany. — I am assured by the Bishop of Münster and others, that notwithstanding the Emperor's defending the Duke of Brunswick the making of levies he gives no obedience thereunto, nor is it to be expected…

He and Count Waldeck, who engaged themselves, as I hear, in this war having received above £100,000 of the Hollander's money and signed articles amongst which I am credibly assured, that the Hollanders are engaged to continue the succession of the Bishopric of Osnabruck to the children of…

To the Emperor. (97)

I have proposed that Your Imperial Majesty should immediately afford assistance to the Bishop of Münster, believing the support of his army of absolute use towards the prevention of the French designs, the fortifying the interest of the house of Austria and the facilitating the peace my master desires to have with the States General—some hopes were given me of Your Majesty's resolution of encouraging the Bishop by Your Letters and private assistance but I hear neither is afforded and am fearful the delay may be prejudicial. The last memorial I gave contains some particulars relating to the Duke of Brunswick and of Your Imperial Majesty's treating an alliance here or in England, whereunto I should be glad to receive an answer. I know not what representation has been given Your Imperial Majesty of me, but am sure no man can have heartier inclinations for Your welfare and prosperity …

To the Bishop of Münster. (98)

Celsissime Princeps,

In ultimis meis transmisi Celsitudini Vestrae responsum Caesareae Majestatis ad ea quae praesentave memoralia. In quibus parum spei datur unius Celsitudini Vestrae hinc mittendi subsidii, donec foedus aliquod Imperatorem inter et Regem meum Clementissimum initum fuerit, quod difficulter fiet, nisi prius sciatur successus tractatus Hispanici, qui nondum videtur ad maturitatem pervenisse. Praeterita

Hebdomade petii a Sua Majestate ultimam audientiam, sed fuit mihi negata, et inclusae literae mihi a Comite de Lamberg missae in quibus nomine Caesareae Suae Majestatis desiderat ut aliquot adhuc diebus hic remaneam. Non potui Suae Majestati quidquam negare, scire tamen desideravi quem in finem me hic remanere vellent, et utrum si Rex mens Clementissimus pleni potentiam mihi transmisisset, etiam ante conclusionem tractatus Hispanici Ligam nobis cum offensivam et defensivam inire vellent, et tum Celsitudini Vestrae necessitati praesenti adaequata subsidia submittere, et responderunt Princeps de Lobkowitz et Comes de Lamberg quod sic. Qua spe data hic aliquamdiu manere decrevi, et Regem de aulae Caesareae resolutione certiorem facere. Sed ultima posta accepi positivum a Rege mandatum in Anglium redeundi. Credit enim Rex ubi res ad maturitatem pervenerint Suam Caesaream Majestatem operae pretium ducturam aliquem e suis legatum in Anglium transmittere ubi res majori cum facilitate et expeditione tractari et concludi poterunt. Interea temporis miles Caesareus in omnem eventum paratus stabit, et eas invenio aulae hujus resolutiones ut non dubitem ubi Caesarea Sua Majestas aliquem in Anglium legaverit, quin facillime, et sine ullo negotio foedus tantopere desideratum sit conclusum donec idque ad honorem et utilitatem Vestrae Celsitudinis. Non praevideram in ultimis meis meam hic longiorem moram, adeoque Celsitudini Vestrae promiseram me 20° hujus Franco furti futurum, veniam erroris peto. Si placuerit Celsitudini Vestrae mandare ut ultima hujus D. Baro de Ossory me Franco furti conveniat, non deero assignationi et habeo quae cum illo conferam quae servitium Celsitudinis Vestrae et Regis mei plurimum tangunt, quaeque literis committere non audeo. Opto ex toto corde ut omnia Celsitudini Vestrae ex voto succedant et maneo

Celsitudinis Vestrae, humillimus servus, Carlingford

Translation: To the Bishop of Münster. (98)

Most High Prince,

In my last words I sent to Your Highness the reply of your Imperial Majesty to those things which I have presented. In these there is little hope for one of your Highness to send help from this, until a treaty has been made between the Emperor and my King Most Merciful. Last week I requested a final hearing from his Majesty, but it was denied to me, and the included letter was sent to me by Count de Lamberg in which he desires to remain here for some days in the name of his Imperial Majesty. I could not deny anything to His Majesty, yet I desired to know what purpose they wanted me to remain here, and whether, if the mind of the Most Merciful King had passed over my full power, even before the conclusion of the treaty of the Spanish League they would have us enter into an offensive and defensive submit assistance, and the Prince of Lobkowitz and Earl of Lamberg replied yes. Given this hope, I determined to stay here for some time, and to inform the King of the resolution of the Imperial Court. But last post I received a positive command from the King to return to England. For the king believes that, when things have come to maturity, he will lead his Imperial Majesty to send some of his ambassadors to England, where things will be handled and concluded with greater ease and expedition. In the meantime Caesar's soldiers will stand ready for every issue, and I find those resolutions of this court, that I have no doubt where his Majesty has sent some to England, but that the treaty was so greatly desired, and without any trouble, until it was concluded and that for the honour and benefit of your Highness. I had not foreseen my longer stay here at my last, and so I had promised your Highness that I would be 20°[150] of this French theft, and I beg pardon for this error. If it is your pleasure to entrust to your Highness that the last of this D. Baron de Ossory befits me of the French theft, I will not be wanting to make an impression, and I have nothing to compare with him which touches the service

[150] The use of the degree sign º is used to denote that the number 20 is an ordinal number, a position or rank in sequential order. Today, we would write this as 20th. This, Carlingford is claiming the action by the French is their twentieth of this type.

of Your Highness and my King very much, and which I do not dare to commit in letters. I wish with all my heart that all things may succeed and remain vowed to Your Highness,

Your Highness, most humble servant, Carlingford

Mr. W. Temple to the Earl of Carlingford. Brussels, 10 February 1666 (99)

My Lord,

I am to acknowledge Your last of January 28th and I am as much pleased with the good dispositions Your Lordship meets in that court as you were with the good news I sent you from this; after that of our peace with Spain you will not be astonished I am sure at some more fresh from France whose declaration of war against us I hope is the best way could have been found out to unite all His Majesty's subjects, and though the manner of it be rough and imperious, yet some believe it heeds but a copy of their countenance, and that at the same time they are endeavouring a peace; how either will succeed I know not, but am apt to think that the bottom of this sudden counsel was to engage the Dutch not to treat with us in their exclusion. However, things being so forward so sharply advanced, all looks now towards a thundering spring,[151] the preparations are very great in Holland as well as France, who has bought of them nine of the 17 new built ships at the price they are issued out of the admiralty and has sent money into Denmark to buy ten more. Our brave General on the other side bestirs himself admirably for setting out our fleet and His Majesty came last Saturday to Hampton-Court to towards the dispatch of many businesses with the citizens and other matters which the distance at Oxford made of inconvenient manage. The sickness decreased much last week, the whole being but about 70 and all the burials a great deal under hundred, if it please God to continue this abatement the king resolves after 15 days stay at Hampton-Court, to return to Oxford and bring up the Queen immediately. God send our great city health and our general life this summer, and I question not to see it end as gloriously, as strongly it begins. I write the more of our affairs at home now because I have received none from court of late for Your Lordship though you may possibly have them some other way. In My Lord Arlington's last he sent me in payment of a fanatic relation I gave him of the Jews and their new Messiahs[152] an old prophecy which he read himself in an old manuscript at Oxford writt about Harry the VI. time, which begins with the prediction of our loss of all we had in France and God knows what it ends with, but the Eagle having so much share in it, I thought it might entertain you at Vienna, for in these matters, God knows, I have not faith like a grain of mustard seed, though I censure not that has. Our flying news here is that the King of Poland is dead, that the Emperor has quitted Bremen to the Swedes who intend suddenly that way, that our squadron in the Mediterranean has met with the French, soundly beaten them, took four ships and the Chevalier St. Paul;[153] in all this I know no good ground of believe; that which is certain is that one Colonel Cheyter employed by the Bishop of Münster to levy six companies of foot and one of horse in Liege, thinking to do some exploit before he went into Munster had a design upon Valkenberg belonging to the Dutch in Holland, but being not wise enough

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151 *Thundering spring* is not a weather forecast, but a prediction of thundering cannons of war.

152 It is possible that Temple is referring to claims of Sabbatai Zevi, an ordained Turkish rabbi, active throughout the Ottoman Empire at that time and who claimed that he was the messiah. In 1666 in Constantinople, he was arrested and given the choice between death or conversion to Islam. Unlike Jesus he chose life and donned a turban. He passed away in 1676, but an adherent (called Dönme) carried on, offshoots of which are still living today, mostly in Turkey.

153 Chevalier St. Paul, aka Jean-Paul de Sameur, was a French Admiral with a colourful past. As aa seaman for the Oder of St John in Jerusalem he killed his corporal, was kicked out, and then became a pirate. He caught the attention of the French Navy who brought him into their service, where he served with distinction. Several French battleships were named after him, including one still in service, a frigate named *Chevalier Paul*.

to keep his own counsel, was discovered, attacked by a party drawn out of Mastricht, lost a 100 men and 40 taken with the rest and his horse he got well off. Prince Maurice and the Rhinegrave are in disgrace in Holland and like to be wholly out of action; for God's sake my My Lord, use all endeavours imaginable to get some assistance to Munster, the chief is money, but men especially foot are wanting too; the French and Dutch resolve to make a dernier[154] effort to destroy this poor Prince in the first place, to make way for the rest of their ambition and 'tis impossible but they should be there as sensible as we are how much 'tis both our interests to preserve him. Pardon this hasty hand and esteem me always. My Lord…

February 10. st. n. 1666.

Mr. W. Temple to the Earl of Carlingford. Brussels, 27 February 27 1666. (101)

My Lord,

I wish your business were likely to succeed as well at Vienna, as I find by Your Lordship's of the 4th currant, your diversions do but very much doubt the slowness of that court to engage more than their words for the support of the Prince of Munster, which I think is the greatest present desire we have to make them, and is not so complicated as the other interests of that court are with those of Spain, whose steps will certainly be followed there. I cannot assure you that the treaty signed by Sir Robert Fanshaw is yet ratified in England, but I can, that a straighter union will be pressed by My Lord Sandwich, if that crown has resolution as well as desire to accept it, but they are so apprehensive of drawing on too early war from France, that I cannot yet speak with too much confidence of the success till it be tried, though without doubt the house of Austria had never the advantage of such a conjuncture as this to bring over England wholly into the share of their common interests, which, if they neglect for want of courage to enter now into ours, we must think of peace and they of friends somewhere else, for ought I know, and I wish Your Lordship could make them sensible there as I endeavour to do our court here, how unreasonable a thing it is for them to see us engaged in a war not only with Holland but France too(from whom we may at all times have peace upon our own terms if we will consent to abandon Flanders) without sharing either in the danger or expense, but leave us wholly to support the Prince of Münster too, as well as make head against two so powerful enemies at once, this flegme[155] in them breeds choler[156] in me, I confess a little, though I fear their want of courage in this case may be like that which happens men half-starved whose weakness of body by a natural necessity abates the strength of those spirits that warm and swell the heart. Though I tell Your Lordship this in confidence, and for a subject to press the ministers there and Spain from thence, to a quick and vigorous end of all between us, yet 'tis fit I think to let it near currant among common ears, that all is agreed as strictly as is or can be desired between us.

We are here made believe that the treaty between the Duke of Brandenburgh and Holland is concluded, these engaging to furnish him with two millions of francs, and he them with 12,000 men, though I am told by a good hand, there is one difficulty as yet unresolved without which Brandenburgh will not conclude which is their restoring the Prince of Orange[157] to be Captain General, yet I hope Your

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154 *Dernier;* last, final.

155 Flegme; phlegm or flem. In medieval times, flegme was one of four body humours, believed to be associated with calm, stolid or apathetic temperament.

156 *Choler;* another medieval humour, this one associated with a peevish or irascible temperament.

157 Prince William of Orange (1650-xxxx) was born in the Netherlands, the son of William II, Prince of Orange and Mary, eldest daughter of King Charles I of England. In 1660, Mary would die of smallpox during a trip to England. Before her

Lordship will take this occasion of pressing the Emperor to interpose so far as to send his absolute command to the Duke of Brandenburgh as well as those of Luneburgh to preserve the peace of the Empire of which any league with the Hollanders against Münster will be an apparent breach, with a declaration that in case of their engaging in contrary courses and such as tend directly to make the Empire a new stage of the common quarrels, His Imperial Majesty will find himself obliged to provide against it by his utmost powers and forces.

Our squadron of thirty ships under Sir Christopher Minns rides now in the Channel, the Dutch shamefully flying into their' harbours upon the first appearance of ours, who were, at the date of our last letters from Ostende, in sight of that port upon the pursuit of sixteen Dutch men of war at a league's distance. Our solemnity of the States here swearing fealty to their new king ended yesterday with great satisfaction and triumph.

The news from England will be given Your Lordship by this enclosed, though I know not whether the date be so late as to tell you of the Queen's miscarriage,[158] and of our declaration of war against France published the 20th of this month our style in London where the Court is, and I hope may continue in safety by the late great abatements of the sickness.

I wish Your Lordship a continuance of those fair adventures of your German ladies and Italian wine, with health as well as disposition enough to finish them, and to myself a continuance of the honour you do me to esteem me My Lord etc.

Lord Arlington to the Earl of Carlingford. Whitehall, 16 February 1666. (103)

My Lord,

My last signified to Your Lordship His Majesty's desire you should return; since when Mr. Williamson had order to make my excuse to you for not answering some Your Lordship's, I have three to acknowledge of the 28th and 31st past and of the 4th current, and all of them showing you had sufficiently performed His Majesty's Compliments and done the Bishop of Münster the best good offices you could, I cannot but conclude Your Lordship upon your way towards us, and that by the nearest act, since His Majesty doeth not foresee your presence in any of the Princes courts you passed through can be of any immediate benefit to his service; as for the prosecution of any treaty of alliance with the Emperor our business with Spain are not yet ripe for it. My Lord Sandwich being not yet gone from hence, who is to finish that work, and till it be finished completely, nothing can be affected in the Emperor's court with any probability of success. Your Lordship hath done very well in not visiting the Venetian Ambassador[159] without the assurance of his giving you the hand in his house and as well in

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death, Mary had asked her brother, Charles II, to look after her son. He did so, making provisions for him in a treaty with the Dutch Back n England, Oliver Cromwell manoeuvred to try to keep the young prince out of the line of succession to the British monarchy, but lost that battle and the Princes' political fortunes continued to improve even as Holland suffered economic and military losses. He put himself in an even stronger position through his marriage to Mary, protestant daughter to Catholic King James II. He hit the royal jackpot when James II was deposed as King and in 1689 William was elected the new King of England by parliament. His earlier designation as "Prince of Orange" is believed to be why protestants in Northern Ireland would create a fraternal organization dubbed the Orange Order.

158 As Arlington is writing about news from England, the Queen he is referring to would be Anne Hyde, wife to King James II. James ascended to the crown upon the death of his brother, Charles II, and would be the last Catholic king of Britain. He caused a scandal upon marrying Anne, a commoner, daughter of Charles' minister, Edward Hyde. Anne lost six children in early infancy, two daughters surviving to adulthood when they would be raised as protestants, a strategy which provided them protection during the rise of anti-Catholic sentiment.

159 The Venetian Ambassador to England at this was Piero Mocenigo (1632-1678), though initial dispatches from him start in 1668.

admonishing Mister de Granmoville of what he owes you as the last comer, in the mean time I am glad Your Lordship hath got your health so well and that you begin to make good use of it, you should do well to keep a little in store to serve you in your journey.

God be thanked we find our health very well in this town and I am sure our great business go on much the better for it, the Queen will be here also tomorrow at night and notwithstanding the infinite conflux of people hither since His Majesty's coming the Plague-bill being augmented to 10 more only, we hope the element of the disease is spent, though the fair weather makes us a little afraid.

Sir Christopher Minns was upon the Holland Coast to find out their fleet but upon his appearance they got so close behind the Weylings,[160] that he could not come at them, with this Your Lordship will likewise receive His Majesty's Declaration against France, with which crown that of Denmark is alike fallen from us and Brandenburgh too as the last letters assure us, but the former having changed his mind often this year perhaps he may do it once more in our favour; the last letters from Holland assure us there was yet a great deal of strife in the assembly betwixt the resolution of making a peace with us, or concluding finally with France, which two points are incompatible. I am with much truth and affection. My Lord, etc…

Mr. William Temple to the Earl of Carlingford. Brussels; 6 March 1666. (104)

My Lord,

I have this exception to your service, that my faults are taken notice of, and not my diligence: For in Your Lordship's of the 21st past, I find not the least mention of any letters received from me, though I am confident by other circumstances, some of them must have been come to your hands. I fear your news at Vienna is not so good nor true as your wine; and by the abundance of reports with shallow grounds, I doubt your Court is rather inclined to hear news than to make it. That Brandenburgh is our enemy at least for four months, is too certain. That Sweden is a friend to Münster, we may guess rather from causes, than any effects that I know of: And since neither the Emperor nor Spain will contribute anything towards the bishop's assistance, nor so much as the staving off enemies, that by Dutch and French are raising up against him in the Empire itself, I know no remedy. But in spite of all force and artifice to disarm him, I expect for my part to see him rather besieged in Cosvelt[161] or Münster, than make a peace without our master's consent, as is hoped by our enemies, and perhaps wished by some of our friends, for fear the continuance of his music should make them dance before they have a mind to it. But I believe all their coldness and shrinking will hardly defend them and may help them rather to lose their friends than gain their enemies. For we have certain news, that the French have made a Place d' Amies[162] between la Fere and Peronne, where that king is coming down to the rendezvous of 15,000 men: And the Hollanders on the other side are so incurably possessed with an opinion of some wonderful deep important league between us and Spain, that they are upon the very brink of resolving a war too, and concluding a league offensive as well as defensive, with France; at least if the ascendant of this year be favourable to De Witt's party as that of the last was, which begins to be a little doubted of late, I will not send Your Lordship any English letters, nor our declaration of war against the French, in confidence it goes along with your pacquet;[163] by which you will see His Majesty has been generous

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160 *Weylings.* I was not able to find a definition for this, but if I were to guess it would refer to area in the Frisian islands, a.k.a. Wadden Islands, where the water is very shallow and where the heavier, deeper keeled British battleships could not pursue the ships of the Netherlands, some of which might even have sported flat bottoms.

161 *Cosvelt,* possibly Coswig in Saxony-Anhlant state of Germany, about (131 km) south, southwest of Münster.

162 *Place d'Armes;* a military assembly point for weapons and/or troops; armoury

163 *Paquet;* obsolete form of "packet." In addition to meaning a small bundle or pouch, it can also mean a sizeable sum of money.

and civil, as the French king was rough in his, to call it no worse: But he hath begun the war with so much heat, that I am apt to believe he will come to be cool before it ends.

I shall ill deserve Your Lordship's leave of writing often, if I do it so long, and so little to the purpose together. After I have told you My Lord Ossory[164] is come over into England, and that My Lord Arlington is for certain (as they say both in England and here) to marry the sister of Lady Emilia,165 I will give Your Lordship the good night almost as late as I imagine you use to go to bed, and only tell you that I am at all hours, My Lord etc…

Mr. Temple to the Earl of Carlingford. Brussels, 13 March 1666. (106)

My Lord,

I ask Your Lordship's pardon for using another hand, being fain [happy] to dispatch this letter abed, which I choose rather to do than to fail this post, because having heard that the Courier for Vienna was lately robbed and his letters ransacked I fear some of mine may have suffered in that common fate and thereby I might have suffered too in Your Lordship's good opinion of a diligent correspondent.

We have yet nothing stirs here, the season being not come, or the cold keeping all back, as it doth in our gardens, yet some alarm is given us by a Place d'armes, which the French have made between La Fere and Peronne,[166] where the French king intends to draw together 15,000 men. He hath sent to demand passage of the Elector of Cullen for so many through the Pavs de Liege to march against the Bishop of Münster, but this we look upon here as only an ostentation of their forces, and trial of their credit, not any true meaning of new expeditions that way. For we are here made believe, that their dejection at home upon their war with us, is as great as their bravery and noise abroad.

The Prince of Münster in the midst of all his enemies continues his old posture, brave and poor. He has had of late several successes in parties, by one of which he took 700 foot and a 120 horse of the Hollanders, and I question not to see him strong in the field this spring in case our performances keep any measure with our promises, as I am in hopes they will and for my part, I still expect (in spite of all endeavours from friends or enemies of disarming him) to see this brave bishop rather besieged in Cosvelt or Münster, than conclude any peace without the consent of the King our master.

The Prince of Orange's faction grows certainly in Holland more considerable these last weeks, and is expected to prosper still more, upon this conjunction of the States with his uncle of Brandenburgh.

Our reputation at sea is higher than ever, no enemies appearing in the Channel since their shameful flight upon the first appearance of our squadron of about 30 ships under Sir Christopher Minns.

With the last English packet came a letter from Dover from Captain Jammet, master of the packet-boats there, who tells us news was just then arrived that our ships had met with the Dutch fleet from Bourdeaux sunk one burnt two and took eighteen, of which I expect the confirmation by the next. If it

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[164] Thomas Butler was the 6th Earl of Ossory at this time, married to Emilia van Nassau. Born at Kilkenny Castle in Ireland, he had both a military and political career, and was appointed Lord of the Bedchamber for King Charles II. As such, his duties in the royal household would be to help dress the king, guarding his bedroom, waiting on him while he ate, and providing companionship. He was likely, therefore, a close confidant of Charles.

[165] Arlington marries Elizabeth van Nassau-Beverweerd (1631-1617), and Emilia (nee Æmelia van Nassau-Beverweerd (1635-1688) married Thomas Butler in 1659.

[166] Both towns are in Hauts-de-France, also known as Upper France. It borders the North Sea, Belgium, and of course other French areas. It is connected to England via the Chunnel Tunnel.

proves true, we begin well a great year, and doubt not shall end it better. I cannot better this paper than by the assurances of my being. My Lord, etc…

P.S. I should have told Your Lordship that the Duke of Brandenburgh hath certainly concluded his treaty with the Dutch, wherein he hath only thought fit to be mannerly to His Majesty, and to reserve the command of his own troops a part to himself, or to any person he shall appoint. He receives three hundred and 50,000 Patacons[167] from the Dutch, with which wind he may get out of the harbour and when he is at sea may sail with what other wind he pleases. His treaty is but for 4 months.

The Bishop of Münster to the Earl of Carlingford. 19 February 1666 (107)

Excellentissime Domine,

Ex meis prioribus Excellentia Vestra praeter alia haud dubie percepit, quanto desiderio tenear cognoscendi, quonam in statu res ibidem versentur, eoque in dies magis urgeor ob summum in mora periculum, quod Dominus Elector Brandenbirgieus cum Hollandis foedus et ventilatos hactenus tractatus conclusisse perhibetur, uti Domimus Baro de Goes jam tum significaverit et Excellentiae Vestrae patebit ex adjunctis Uteris Domini Vane Regii ad aulam Brandenburgicam ablegati; Electoris consilia et Luneburgicis sequetur, qui alias ea mutasset, sed annitentibus Gallis cuncti in partes trahuntur, ex quo Excellentiae Vestrae considerandum relinquo, imparem me tandem tot hostibus et conjuratis in me Gallorum, Hollandorum, Brandenburgiei et Luneburgensium aliorumque forte sequacium viribus futurum, atque ideo necessitatem ineluctabilem poscere, ut maturetur tractatus cum Caesare nec minus accelerentur Suppetiae Anglicae et promissa subsidia nummaria quae maximam partem insoluta restant, et jam cum ex iisdem conscribendus esset miles et alendus atque ad bellum necessaria comparanda, deficiunt, addet igitur Excellentia Vestra hoc caeteris in me ac rem communem meritis, ut Regem de omni hoc statu edoceat et rem pecuniariam de meliore nota recommendet. De Succis nihil adhue certi compertum, praeter ea quae ab Excellentia Vestra milii antehac detecta memini; quid iidem in aula Caesarea rerum agant, et quid me sperandum scire percupio, ac milii ab Excellentia Vestra in confidentia significatum iri non dubito. Caeterum meminit Excellentia Vestra quas milii de sua neutra litate contestationes et assi-curationes tam per suum Legatum Meppena quam per ipsammet Excellentiam Vestram Elector Brandenburgicus dari fecerit, sed qua fide et constantia docent eaedem litterae Domini Vane, quas ideo hic inclusas volui, ut ex manu Ministri Regii de toto negotio constet qui, quod mihi gratias agit, id eo pertinet, quod ipsius intercessioni relaxationem cujusdam cognati prope Delden capti Equitum magistri Honniwood, qui filiam Ambstedolodamensis Frosivick in matrimonio habet, concesserim. Hisce cum divinae tutelae re commendatione maneo

Excellentiae Vestrae, ad officia paratissimus, Christophorus Bernardus,

Dabam ex civitate mea Monasterii, 19. Feb. 1666

Translation: The Bishop of Münster to the Earl of Carlingford. 19 February 1666

Most excellent Lord,

From my former letter your Excellency has undoubtedly perceived, among other things, with what great desire I am obliged to know in what state the affairs are in the same place. The house Baron de Goes has already indicated and your Excellency will appear from the adjoining womb of the Lord Vane the Royal, sent to the Brandenburg Court. The designs of the elector and Lunenburgians will follow,

[167] *Patacon;* a Portuguese monetary unity. I have not been able to determine its value.

who had changed them elsewhere, but with the efforts of the Gauls they are all drawn into quarters, from which I leave your Excellency to be considered, to demand an inescapable necessity, that the treaty with Caesar may accelerated, and that the supplies of the English should also be accelerated, and the promised financial aid, which for the most part remain unsolved. As a matter of common merits, that he should inform the King of every situation and recommend a financial interest on a better grant. Nothing certain has yet been discovered about Juices, except those which I remember previously disclosed by Your Excellency's millet; I desire to know what things they are doing in the Imperial court, and I desire to know what I hope for, and I doubt that millet will be conveyed in confidence by your Excellency. But your Excellency remembers that you made millet of his neuter testimonies and commissions, both through his Ambassador Meppen and by your Excellency's very own Elector Brandenburg, to be given. The Minister of the Royal is certain about the whole affair, who, as much as he gives me thanks, has to do so, that I have granted the release of one of his kinsmen near Delden, the Master of the Horse, who is married to Frosivick, of Amsterdam. I remain with these recommendations of divine protection.

Your Excellency, Most prepared for the services, Christophorus Bernardus
I sent from my city to the Monastery, 19 February 1666

Lord Arlington to the Earl of Carlingford. Whitehall, 30 March 1666. (109)

My Lord,

Your Lordship's of the 21st from Vienna leaves me in some hopes you are yet there to receive my letter enjoying you to stay of which when I shall have a better assurance, I will press His Majesty to send you some money, and by that time I hope we may hear something from Madrid to enable us to make you new instructions, for till then it will be impossible to send you any. The last letters we had from thence were of the 12/2 Currant, which only told us of Sir R. Fanshaw's, and Sir R. Southwell's arrival there and having delivered themselves once to the Duke of Medina de las Torres upon the subject of their journey without receiving any answer from him. I am in such haste now that I must remit Your Lordship gazets[168] for all our news and beg you to make excuses to Father Donellan that I do not write by this post to him. I am with all truth and affection, My Lord, etc…

Mr. William Temple to the Earl of Carlingford. Brussels, 1 April 1666. (109)

My Lord,

Your Lordship's of March 18th I received two days since, and this day a cover with two enclosed for My Lord Arlington and Mr. Williamson which shall go this post with the answer to your memorial. It is not to be imagined with how much sorrow here the news was entertained which came by the last Spanish courier of Sir Richard Fanshaw's and Sir Robert Southwell's being come to Madrid without any conclusion of the Portugal peace or truce, that crown resolving to accept no condition without the style of king, what the Spanish court will resolve is impatiently expected, and I think Your Lordship cannot in your station do a greater service at present to His Majesty's affairs nor to those of Christendom in general, than by pressing Spain by all the influence of your court there, to make this necessary pace, and prefer the possession of Flanders before the reversion of Portugal, no pretension can be so given away but good arms and treasures will at any time receive it, nor can they ever have a

[168] *Gazet;* a Venetian coin.

time to make bold with this stiff honour like the minority of a king that may hereafter (if in better posture) allow or disallow what he pleases of what is done in the Queen's regency. The Marquis here is infinitely sensible of the necessity, but his birth and interests make it a ticklish string for him to touch boldly, nor is there any corner of the world from whence it may be pressed with more advantage and effect than from Your Lordship's present station, therefore for God's sake pursue it to the utmost for a sudden dispatch to Madrid upon this point, and pray let me have a share in your success and the Emperor's dispositions.

I never had more business in a month I think than I have had these three days which makes me presume to send Your Lordship our common occurrences by an extract drawn out of another letter while I am writing this.

You will by these enclosed find your stay fixed for some longer time at Vienna, where a summer's abode will make some amends for a winter's journey. I have sent the Bishop of Münster within a fortnight post near $200,000, to help him to treat discretely and live honestly. I am, My Lord, etc…

The Bishop of Münster to the Earl of Carlingford. 5 March 1666 (110)

Excellentissime Domine,

Postremis Excellentiae Vestrae literis certior factus de statu rerum in aula Caesarea plurimum gavisus sum de significata propensione istius aulae in foedus Anglicum et de bona spe assistentia a Caesare praestanda, in qua procuranda maximum momentum est, tardis et incertis Hispanorum auxiliis, hostibus vero undique ad me invadendum accinctis, quam ob causam summopere obligare me perget Excellentia Vestra si omnes ad pertrahendum in partes nostras Imperatorem curas omnemque operam impendere continuet, cui pro praestitis hactenus ea in re bonis officiis non intermittam decentes referre grates. Milii in praesens nihil antiquius est, quam instante vera instruere exercitum, sed dici non potest; quantas milii molestias et subsidiis meis calamitates creet subsidiorum tarditas, quae in Augusti mensis termino adhaesum haeret, praestitis interea ex mea parte omnibus quae vel ex foedere vel utilitate Regiae Suae Majestatis desiderari potuerunt, e contra vero restante dimidii anni subsidio, cujus accelerationem atque augmentum Excellentiae Vestrae etiam atque etiam re commendandum duxi, hujus necessitatem ilia haud dubie ex meis proximis Uteris literis latius perceperit, quibus etiam ad laci litandum et maturandum foedus Caesareum opportune uti poterit, ut hoc praeventi alii Imperii Principes ab offensione et hosti litate cogitationes abstrahant eritque medium securissimum pacem in imperio conservandi et obviandi Galliae conatibus Romani Imperii arbitrio inhiantis. Arma mea quod attinet, feliciter illis hactenus per Gratiam Dei usus sum, sic ut spatio non ita longi temporis praeter caesos et vulneratos ultra mille captives ab hoste milites mei ceperint; uti Excellentia Vestra ex inclusa relatione specialius videre poterit. Petitam instructionem pro aula Moguntina aliorumque Principum in reditu visitandorum sequenti posta transmittam, sperans non abituram Vienna Excellentiam Vestram nisi negotiis ex voto peractis. Caeterum gratissimum mihi foret cognoscere negotiationem Ministri Sue dici in aula Imperatoris ipsis Suecis intentiones suas adhuc palam celantibus. Hisce maneo

Excellentiae Vestrae, Dabam in civitate mea Monasterii 5. Martini 1666
ad officia paratissimus, Christophorus Bernardus

Translation: The Bishop of Münster to the Earl of Carlingford.

Most excellent Lord,

Having been informed of the last letter of your Excellency, of the state of affairs at Caesarea, I am very much glad of the intimacy of the propensity of this court against the English treaty, and of the good hope afforded by Caesar, in which there is a great moment in procuring the assistance of the Spaniards by the slow and uncertain assistance, and the enemy on every side to me girded for an attack on you, for which reason your Excellency will continue to oblige me very much, if he continues to push the Emperor into our quarters, and devote all his attention to it. There is at present nothing more ancient than that of millet, but it cannot be said that a true army was at hand at hand; how many annoyances and calamities the slowness of resources of millet may create in my reserves, which adhered to the term of August. I thought it to be recommended to you repeatedly, that the necessity of this, without a doubt, has received much more attention from the nearest letters of your use; of preserving peace in the empire and of resisting the efforts of Gaul, opening up to the will of the Roman Empire. As far as my arms have been concerned, I have used them so successfully by the grace of God, so that in the space of not so long time, my soldiers have taken more than a 1,000 captives from the enemy, except those killed and wounded; Your Excellency will be able to see more detail from the included report. I will send the requested instruction for the court of overworked and other princes on my return to visit in the following post, hoping that the Vienna Excellency will not go away unless your business is officially completed. Besides, it would be most pleasant for me to know that Sue's ministers were called into business in the Emperor's court by the Swedes while they were still openly concealing their intentions. I must stay, Your Excellency, best prepared for the services, Christopher Bernard

I was giving in my city Monastery 5 March 1666

Lord Arlington to the Earl of Carlingford. Whitehall, 27 April 1666. (111)

My Lord,

Since my last I have been entertaining myself in an occasion that may fairly excuse my not having written again to Your Lordship neither indeed having leisure for it had I anything of moment to entertain you withal unless it were to tell you how the Bishop's agreement surprized us after the many repeated professions and protestations which he needed not have made to His Majesty, that he could never conclude any treaty without his approbation and consent, a circumstance in which did not a little surprise us to act, the Emperor's being a guarantee for the same treaty, which I would be glad Your Lordship's next would explain to us. God be thanked His Majesty has a good fleet to supply the unfaithfulness of his friends and the fraudulent artifices of his enemies. My Lord Holles being too pressed to it by the Queen Mother could not excuse the hearing from Mister de Lionne[169] and Monsieur Van Benningen the propositions they made him for an agreement, but hearing them he could not think them better than such as they would have offered after the winning a battle of us, to which My Lord Holles made proportionable replies, the particulars are not worth telling you; immediately upon the reading of His Lordship's His Majesty bade me write to him without any further delay, to come away, without hearing or uttering one word more in that court relating to any public business and thus Your Lordship sees the mountain delivered of this mouse, which France hath made use of to amuse all the Princes abroad.

We have no news yet of My Lord Sandwich's arrival at Madrid where, when he shall be, we must look for the accustomed flegme of that court, notwithstanding the mutual and pressing need we have of one another's friendship, and till we have something of this land it will be impossible to send you any directions or instructions to proceed where you are.

[169]Probably Hughues de Lionne (1611-1671) a French diplomat.

In the meantime, I know you want money and attend only the pressing His Majesty for it till I hear you have received my letter enjoying your stay. By this you see yours to us lie long upon the way, which will be a terrible inconvenience to us when you shall be entered with any business there. I am with all truth and affection. My Lord, etc…

Mr. W. Temple to the Earl of Carlingford. Brussels, 11 May 1666 (113)

My Lord,

The interruption given in my correspondence by my late Münster journey will not I hope be laid to my charge by persons so just and favourable to me as Your Lordship, especially when you find me renewing it upon the first hopes I have that my letters may still find you, which I received this day by Your Lordship's of the 27th past from Prague; though it left me in some uncertainty of your motions, yet I imagine the old Frankfort address may find you out either advancing or returning. Your Lordship will by this time doubt no more of the Münster peace, which is, I am sure, signed by Commissaries above a fortnight since and I believe ratified before now. The story of my journey is too long for a letter and some passages (those of most importance) too private for common intelligence which especially by the German posts is subject to so much accident and miscarriage. All I need say is that I found the bishop in no condition of longer resistance, Brandenburgh with 12,000 and the two Luneburghs with 14,000 men being ready besides the Dutch and French troops to fall into his country, and his army being both harassed and unrecruited by other winter levies. Besides all this the Emperor and Colen, Mentz, Neuburgh, Paderborn pressing him violently (not without threats) to a conclusion, especially the first, for which I give Your Lordship the Bishop's own word and complaint, the cause I will not sound for fear of finding its bottom or none, that of other Princes looks more reasonable, a desire of living unarmed at least where they have no interest in the quarrel, and a fear of seeing their countries made a scene of war, by the French falling in on the one hand and the Swede on the other with great powers upon pretence of aid to both parties.

For our share in all this I shall only tell Your Lordship, I went down with full power of doing and consenting to all things that should fall into practice among all those princes who were appointed to assemble first in Dortmund and after in Cleve upon this occasion, how I used this power I will reserve for entertainment when we meet. I am sure they used it ill and entertained me with a ceremony that had like to kill me outright after a journey and before a return made up of hardship, trouble, danger and expense.

We now trust to the English oak's[170] courage which will never fail us till we meet peace or victory, which are the wishes of Your Lordship's etc…

Brussels, May 11. 1666

The Bishop of Münster to the Earl of Carlingford, 14 May 1666 (114)

Excellentissime Domine Comes,

[170] The *English Oak* is a reference to King Charles II and is also known as the Royal Oak. The legend states that following the Battle of Worcester during the War of the Three Kingdoms, the Army of the English Parliament, nicknamed "Roundehads," pursued the then Prince Charles into Boscobel Wood, where he hid from them by seeking refuge in an Oak Tree. The tale is retold annually in England on May 29, familiarly known as *Royal Oak* Day but officially as *Restoration Day*, to commemorate the restoration of the Stuart Monarchy in May of 1660.

Ex literis Excellentiae Vestrae 28°. Aprilis datis gratissimum mihi fuit percipere mandata Regia de regressu ad aulam Caesaream, et commissis ibidem ulterioribus negotiis, scio id Caesareae Majestati acceptum fore maxime turbato Hispaniam inter et Lusitaniam tractatu, in quo magnum rerum nostrarum pondus vertebatur; quis hic status incident haud dubie Excellentia Vestra celeriore fama percepit. Dum enim meis finibus circum circa insiderent arma hostilia et varii multorum millium

exercitus Regis Galliae, Electoris Brandenburgici, Ducum Luneburgensium, praeter Hollandorum ipsorum copias, nec no vis delectibus suppleri, nec stipendiis animari posset mens exercitus crebris per autumnum jam adultum, ipsamque hyemem expeditionibus attritus, dum subsidia Anglica ex mense Augusto adhuc restarent et in istius mensis computum exiguum quid in Martio primum solveretur, incertitudine, nullo emergente nec proviso partium amico pacem cum Republica Batavorum inii

conditionibus duram, sed necessitate tolerandam, spes quidem sed dubia superfuit belli defensivi non nisi tamen cum extrema patentis agri et minorum oppidorum ruina et vastatione contracto in praesidiis milite in aliquot aestivos menses protrahendi, et interim vel pacis Angliae principalis futurae, vel aliarum conjunctionum, a quo consilio capessendo per adventum Domini Tempelli pace tum nondum ratificata prope abfui, sed omnes paene Electores et permulti Imperii Principes, qua Legatis, qua Uteris praesertim vero Sua Caesarea Majestas ej usque Legatus ad id amplectendum me pertraxerunt, quod animo summopere detestatus sum, nec resistere diutius potui cum a praecipuis Ministris Caesareis rerum ibidem arbitris didicissem nec foedus ipsis cum Anglia, nec meam expeditionis bellicam

placere, et bis omnibus amicitiam Batavorum in conservando Belgio Hispanico illis potiorem, proinde mihi praecisa auxilii austri aci spe pacem utilem, et omnino suadendam esse. Misi illico in Angliam Baronem de Rosenbach qui Regiae Suae Majestati jam ante saepius de necessitate et statu satis edoctae rationem consilii reddat et Suae Majestati meo nomine constantem ac continuum in Suam Majestatem affectum et devotionem simulque desiderium contestetur, quo in occasiones omnes eidem ex animo inserviendi intentus sum uti reipsa toti mundo declaravi; nec dubito quin Sua Majestas necessitati legis experti locum datura sit, de cujus bonitate hoc mihi immote persuasum habeo eam non desideraturam fuisse, ut quod ad emolumentum et securitatem mei status sancitum fuit foedus id in ejusdem perniciem et eversionem sine ullo Majestatis Suae commodo, sed maximo potius ejusdem hostium incremento converteretur. Valde igitur me obligabit Excellentia Vestra si in conservando erga me meumque statum favore Regie, simul cum aliis amicis intimi erga Regem animi consciis allaboraverit, et in tractando ulterius foedere cum Austria mearum utilitatum rationem habuerit; quem in finem gratissima mihi foret continua communicatio eorum quae hoc in subjecto ibidem agentur, quod ego officiis omnibus demereri conabor et sum

Excellentiae Vestrae, ad officia paratissimus, Cbristopborus Bernardus

Dabam ex Residentia mea, S. Ludgeri 14. Maii 1666.

Translation: The Bishop of Münster to the Earl of Carlingford. 14 May 1666

Most Excellent Earl,

From Your Excellency's on 28th April, it was most pleasing for me to receive the royal commissions on the return to the Caesarea Palace, and, having committed further affairs there, I know that this would be most acceptable to your Majesty the Imperial Majesty in the troubled treaty between Spain and Portugal, in which the great weight of our affairs was changed. Who into this state will fall without doubt Your Excellency has heard with a quicker report. For while they were occupying my borders round about the army of the King of Gaul, Elector of Brandenburg, of the Dukes of Luneburg, besides the forces of the Dutch, could neither be supplied by levies nor force, nor could the mind of the army be animated by numerous campaigns in the autumn, and the winter itself was worn down by

expeditions; a small calculation, which should be resolved at the first in March, with uncertainty, which did not arise. The harsh conditions, but the necessity to be endured, the hope, indeed, but the doubts of the war remained but only when the ruins and ravages of the open country and the extremes of the towns were gathered together among the soldiers, and the summer months prolonged for several months.

In carrying on this design, by the arrival of the Lord Tempelli, I was absent until the peace was not yet ratified. I could no longer, when I had learned from the chief ministers of the Caesar's affairs, as witnesses there, neither a treaty with them, nor a treaty with England, nor my military expedition and that the friendship of the Dutch, in preserving the Spanish Belgae,[171] was more important to them, and twice than all else, that the hope of the South's assistance had been cut off from me by the hope of a useful peace, and that they ought to be persuaded.

Immediately I sent Baron de Rosenbach[172] to England, who, already well informed by the necessity and condition of his Majesty's Majesty many times before, should give an account of his design, and in the name of his Majesty his constant and uninterrupted affection and devotion to his Majesty, at the same time bear witness to his desire. I have declared it to the whole world. Nor do I doubt that His Majesty will give place to those who have experienced the necessity of the law, concerning whose goodness I am convinced that this was not to be desired, rather it would be converted by the same increase of the enemy.

Your Excellency will therefore greatly oblige me if he has laboured with the favour of the King in preserving me and my state, as well as with other intimate friends privy to the king's spirit, and will take into account my interests in further dealing with the treaty with Austria; To which end would be most pleasing to me the continued communication of those things which will be done in the same place on this subject?

Your Excellency, I was sent from my residence to the most prepared services
S. Ludger 14 May 1666. Cristopborus Bernardus

Mr. W. Temple to the Earl of Carlingford. Brussels, 17 June 1666 (115)

My Lord,

I received Your Lordship's of the 3rd instant and shall now discourse noting of the Spaniard's fear from France or inclinations to us, this week past has produced so great a new conjuncture that we may very well expect from all parts new dispositions. Your Lordship has been happy to be out of the way of so many heats and colds, as we have had here every day since Friday last, by the great variety of reports concerning the success of our fleet's engagement.[173] The Dutch printed several papers and dispersed

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171 *Belgae* is an ancient word, referring to the tribes that occupied north-eastern Gaul around 70 A.D. Spanish Belgae, therefore, would be that portion of ancient Gaul that was in the Spanish Netherlands.

172 Possibly Johan Hartmann von Rosenbach (1609-1675), Prince-Bishop of Würzburg.

173 This may be a reference to the Four Days Battle, fought from June 1 to June 4 in 1666 in the southern part of the North Sea between English and Dutch naval forces, and battle of unusual length and ferocity, resulting in a huge loss for England, including 1,000 sailors and Vice Admirals Christopher Myngs and Sir William Berkeley. But the Dutch suffered heavily, too, losing over 1,500 sailors. The Dutch would attempt to follow-up on this victory by attacking theEnglish fleet at anchor in the Thames River in early July, but the English retaliated and eventually prevailed over the Dutch in the St. James Day Battle in late July near North Foreland off the coast of England.

many letters of their victory and assure us still that they have Sir George Askew[174] prisoner at the Hague, his ship being burnt and that Sir William Barky is killed and his ship taken.

The best account and the likeliest to be true is this enclosed letter which arrived this morning from Mister Van de Peer the postmaster at Newport to Comte Taxis here. Your Lordship will find he was an eyewitness of all he writes, which seems very distinct and agrees with what we hear from Zealand itself for the letters from thence arrived this afternoon confess the Dutch fleet to be come in there about 45 in number and those very much torn. They report that they lost the English in a mist and that they want about 30 of their fleet but give out they have sunk or taken 17 of ours, the particulars of our own losses or of what we have taken we must expect from England, and of theirs from time. This only seems to be agreed on by all reports, that the fight began on Friday, the Dutch being 86 sail and ours about 55, the rest being newly gone under the prince to meet Beaufort. That in the beginning of the fight the advantage was with the Dutch, and I fear we suffered some loss in the White squadron. That the dispute continued till Monday with doubtful success, but only that ours kept the wind and the Dutch their course homewards. That on Monday the Prince came in with his squadron to the fight, charged them with great fury and changed the dispute into a general rout of the Dutch fleet who were pursued by ours up into Zealand. That ours keep still the sea like absolute conquerors, but that upon the whole there never was so desperate nor so bloody a fight at sea since the world began.

The Dutch design was certainly to pass the channel and join the French fleet who will now be I hope if we meet them but a gleaning of this victory.

The letters yesterday from England tell us of the plague's decrease these two last weeks so far as the last bill was but 20, private letters give us new hopes of the Queen's being with child, and if all this together give you not as good humour as your best Italian wine at Vienna, I will only say that Your Lordship is not of my composition. I am glad you are not so at this time, an illness in my eyes having so much distempered me for this week past that I have hardly stirred and never written. I am, My Lord, etc.

I hope Your Lordship will dispatch copies of this intelligence into Italy and any other parts where you think it fit.

Since the writing of this I hear that Evertson[175] the admiral of Zealand is sunk with his ship and Trump lost one after another, that all their ships which returned are extremely shattered and torn and most of their' Captains killed, and that their whole fleet had been ruined had not a great fog favoured and covered their retreat into Zealand; whether this victory has fully broken their strength or no, I am confident it has their courage by showing that no advantage of number, nor length and greatness of preparations can ever make them our match or give them hopes of a victory. They confess themselves to have had now the odds of between 30 and 40 ships and yet we fought them 3 days and (as I hear) began the victory before the Prince's coming in, our courage and bravery in the whole course of this desperate action wherein we were the assailers every morning are spoken of by de Ruyter himself with more advantage than I am sure our General's modesty will suffer him to use.

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[174] *Sir George Askew (1615-1672),* his surname properly spelled *Ayscue, was* an English admiral and Governor was captured by the Dutch when his flagship, the *Prince Royal*, ran aground on the Galloper Shoal in the English Channel in June of 1666.

[175] Johan Evertson (1600-1666), a precocious Dutch admiral who was already captaining a ship at age 18, his early success faded but he continued within their navy. With the death in battle of two of his superiors, he found himself in command of the Dutch fleet during the Second Anglo-Dutch war's Battle o of Lowestoft in June of 1665. The English won the battle, but the bulk of the Dutch fleet was able make a disorderly, frantic retreat to Holland. Evertson's reputation was ruined by accusations of cowardice, but a military tribunal acquitted him of the charge. He would return to duty only to be killed on the first engagements of St. James' Day Battle on 4 August 1666 off the coast of England.

Count Martinitz to the Earl of Carlingford. Illustrissime et Excellentissime Domine, 25 May 1666 (117)

Excellentia Vestra. Gratulor de felici successu et dispensationis et profectionis Augustissimae hinc bonum omen negociis nostris universis Catholico - Apostolicis et Coronato - Electoribus denique Austri acis; nam quod majus pignus Hispania nobis mittere potuisset Unionis quam inaestimabilem atque omne superantem pretium Margaritam? Credo liliorum odorem jam tandem etiam illis capitibus gravem sensim exhalatum iri et licet Galli cantum trina negatio sequat fuerit; tamen hanc poenit-udo excepit, et istam Gubernatio catholica magis quam Christiania, proinde spero resumpta jam fore illic negotia pacis Lusitanae non illusoria sed e lusoria eorum qui mediare nolebant, ut distraherent non ut unirent, si primum mobili figatur; motu raptus etiam nos ad centrum volveremur securitatis. Caeterum id mihi constat Suae Majestatis Caesareae administros a prima admissionis praesertim optimam rectissimamque pro publica indemnitate habere intentionem, sed in Germania est dimidium ibericae gravitatis et gallicae levitatis et licet laus Deo Principem Augustum habeamus vegetum annis, maturum judicio; laboris impigrum tamen quum praecipitantia sit mater errorum, caute procedit suaviterque ac fortiter gnarus quod vetus verbum veritati sit consentaneum nempe quod ratio non potuit mora sanavit, neque in aula nostra felicius negotia conferri experimento didici quam si magna longanimitate id agatur ut maturentur sensim sine sensu, ego quidem genio fervidiori quantum medium capiam ex rerum procrastinatione non sat explicavero, video nihilominus nil violentum esse durabile conetur Excellentia Vestra durare, et semet rebus servare secundis quas quum ipsi opto cumulatissimas permaneo.

Excellentiae Vestrae, devotissimus obsequiosis simus servus, R. C. Martinitz

Pragae, 25. Maii 1666

Translation: Count Martinitz to the Earl of Carlingford. 25 May 1666.

Most Illustrious and Most Excellent

Your Excellency. I am thankful for the successful success and stewardship and journey of the most august, hence a good omen for all our business to the Catholic-Apostolic and Coronato-Electors of the South. For what greater pledge could Spain have sent to us of the Union than the inestimable and incomparable price of every Margaret? I believe that the smell of the lilies[176] will now at last be slowly evaporated even on those heavy heads, and although the Gauls' chant has been followed by a triple refusal: he regrets having received it, and that this Catholic government rather than Christianity; that the affairs of the Portuguese peace were not illusory but amusing to those who were unwilling to mediate. He even caught us by the commotion and tossed back to the centre of the security.

But it is certain to me that the officials of Caesarea's Majesty, from the first day of admission, have an intention of having the best and most straight line for public indemnity; ripe for judgment yet since he is the mother of precipitous labours of energy, he proceeds cautiously, sweetly and bravely, knowing that the old saying is in accordance with the truth, that reason could not be cured by delay;[177] I, indeed, have not sufficiently explained to the more glowing genius how much I can take the means out of things by procrastination, yet I see that nothing violent is durable.

Your Excellency, R. C. Martinitz, Prague; 25 May 1666,

[176] *the smell of lilies* may be an attempt to associate Margaret with Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ. The lily has been a symbol of purity, innocence, and virginity. Some miracles attributed to the Virgin Mary report the scent of Lilly's.

[177] I interpret this axiom to be similar to the contemporary saying, "he who hesitates is lost."

Lord Carlingford's copies. (118)

That His Imperial Majesty employ an express with a letter to the King and another to My Lord Chancellor intimating that my stay was occasioned by His earnest entreaty and in consideration of the subsequent motives:

1. That 'tis hoped that the treaty with Spain will have an immediate successful conclusion wherein the Emperor will be included.

2. That if the treaty with Spain should admit of long delays, that in the meantime the French or any other should invade any place appertaining to the House of Austria that the Emperor will with an army oppose them and join in an alliance defensive and offensive with the King of Great Britain.

3. If the Spaniards should break the treaty, which cannot be but in favour to the French King and preferring his title and friendship before that of the Emperors, that in that case the Emperor will desire an alliance defensive and offensive with the King.

4. That the alliance made, the Dutch by having such a support as the Emperor and his allies will be easily induced to make their peace with England to the exclusion of the French or if they prove obstinate that the Emperor will assist in forcing them thereunto.

5. That to fortify this alliance the Emperor desires that the King of Great Britain may endeavour to disengage the Swedes from the French and join them in their interests, to induce them thereunto His Imperial Majesty is ready to agree with them upon any reasonable terms, whereof the King shall be judge, and therefore is desired to inform himself of their demands, and to hasten the agreement.

6. That if the Earl of Carlingford should part hence before an agreement, the French would immediately publish a breach of our treaty and thereby encourage their friends in Spain, discourage the Emperor's and the King's friends in Germany, and perhaps induce them to an alliance with France who apprehend no step to their ambition or designs but an alliance betwixt the House of Austria and the King of Great Britain, besides the encouragement it may give the Hollanders when they shall be made believe that the King's endeavours cannot procure him a friend abroad.

7. That the Emperor hath and will persuade the Spaniards to a speedy agreement with us and Portugal as the only visible means to secure the interest of the House of Austria and establish the peace of Christendom.

(For Mr. Temple.)

Les considérations du Sir Friquet a Monsieur le Pensionnaire, de Witt pour la paix avec Monsieur 1’ Evêque de Münster. (120)

Qu’il n’y a pas de Prince en la Chrêtienneté qui n’ait assez d’une grande guerre sur les bras et que le Turc même a pour maxime ancienne d’éviter cet inconvénient.

Qu’il n’y aura point de petit ennemi pour Messieurs les États tandis qu’ils seront aux prises avec le Soi d’Angleterre qui est aussi puissant qu’ eux et envers lequel ils ont besoin de toutes leurs forces et par conséquent ils font mal d’en divertir une partie si considérable.

Qu’ils tomberaient dans un grand désordre si leur flotte recevait un autre échec cette année, se trouvant engagée dans une autre guerre.

Qu’ils y n’ont pas 1’ intention de conques ter ou de retenir une seule bicoque dans le pays de Münster et que leurs allies ont déclare ouvertement qu’ils ne le soufFriraient pas, d’ou il s’en suit, que la prudence les oblige d’ étouffer aussitôt une guerre en laquelle ils ne pourront rien gagner et pourraient beaucoup perdre.

Que tout ce qu’ils peuvent faire cette année est de ruiner de pauvres innocents qui détestent cette guerre autant qu’ eux, et de ravager la Westphalie au préjudice de leurs propres habitants qui en tirent un grand profit par le commerce qu’ils ont dans toute la province, et cet exploit ne sera pas un prix ou une compensation digne d’une si grande dépense.

Que les sages de tous les siècles ont dit qu’il faut plus considérer le bien do sa patrie et sa propre conservation que le plaisir d’c la vengeance, outre que celle qu’ils peuvent prendre leur coutera plus qu’ a leurs ennemis. Prius securitati quam vindictae consulendum. S’ils brûlent un village dans le pays de Münster, Monsieur I’Evêque aura toujours le pouvoir d’en faire bruler deux dans leur territoire qui vaudront plus que dix des autres.

Qu’en cette guerre Messieurs les États seront les maîtres parce qu’ils sont plus puissants que leurs allies, mais en la guerre de Münster ils sont dépendants de leurs allies qui ont des forces beaucoup plus grandes qu’eux. Et pourtant si leurs alliés sont d’ accord ensemble ils les entameront comme il leur plaira et s’ils ne sont pas d’ accord ils empêcheront l’ exécution de tous les desseins.

Que les troupes d’Allemagne et de France surpasseront en nombre, en valeur et discipline militaire celle des États qui par conséquent n’auront pas une grande part a la gloire des bons succès et néanmoins tout le blâme et toute la part des mauvais accidents tombera sur eux.

Que pour faire une faction digne d’un si grand pareil, il faut qu’ils assiègent la ville de Münster et la ville de Coesvelt qui sont deux fort bonnes places et dans lesquelles Monsieur I’Evêque mettra tous les vivres et le fourrage du plat pays d’alentour et plus de soldats qu’il n’en faut pour les défendre plusieurs mois.

Qu’ ils ne peuvent pas commencer 1’ un de ces sieges plustot que sur la fin de Juin, parcequ’en ce pays la il n’y aura point d’herbe plus tôt.

Qu’il n’est pas facile de conclure que Messieurs les États puissent sous tenir la dépense et les incommodités d’un long siège dans une province pauvre de soi-même et toute e puisée, oil il n’y a point de rivière ni de canal qui leur puisse servir pour conduire les vivres et les fourrages nécessaires qu’il faudra porter sur des chariots 18 grandes lieues du cote de I’lssel avec les con .... que l’ on ne peut pas faire sans danger et sans de grands embarras en ce pays la, qui est tout coupé par des fossets et des ruisseaux et tout rompu avec des terres déblayées.

Il faut aussi supposer que les paysans se retireront dans les bois avec leurs bestiaux et tout ce qu' ils auront de vivres, d sorte que les soldats des États ne trouveront rien du tout dans les villages et les petits bourgs. II n' est pas moins certain que le pays étant même fleurissant ne pourrait 15 jours nourrir une armée de 45 m. soldats étrangers comme sera celle de Messieurs les États sans parler des autres personnes qui suivent les troupes J et beaucoup moins les 5 m. ou 6 m. chevaux qui s'y trouveront, quand ce serait une armée de leur prince et composée de soldats bien réglés, qui ne feraient aucune extorsion.

Que Messieurs les Etats n' ont trait e que pour 4 mois avec leurs allies et qu'ils ne donnent a Monsieur I'Electeur que 45 m. patagons par mois et aux Dues de Luneburgh a proportion que les quatre mois courent déjà, et que c'est une chose évidente que Monsieur I'Electeur ne peut pas entretenir 1000 chevaux et 10 m. hommes de pied dans le pays de Münster sans y employer beaucoup davantage du sien et que dans le commencement du quatrième mois il ne manquera pas de demander de 1' argent aux États c'est a dire qu'il sera contraint de licentier ses troupes si on ne lui donne de quoi les payer. En ce cas que feront Messieurs les États engages dans un siégé de longue haleine?

Toutes ces raisons sont fortes et considérables, supposant que Monsieur l' Évêque n'a aucune ressource et ne peut espérer aucune assistance de qui que ce soit, en quoi peut-être Ton peut se tromper: mais il est sans doute que Messieurs les États, le réduisant au désespoir, doivent beaucoup appréhender et de beaucoup de coté Et il est probable aussi que la guerre qui va s'allumer entre le Roi de Suède et de Dannemarque changera la face des affaires publiques et en particulier au regard des allies de Messieurs les États.

Translation: The Considerations of Sir Friquet to Mister le Pen, Missionary of Witt for Peace with the Prince of Münster.

That there is no Prince in Christianity who does not have enough of a great war on his hands and that even the Turk has the ancient maxim of avoiding this inconvenience.178

That there will be no small enemy for the States while they grapple with the Self of England which is as powerful as they are and towards which they need all their might and therefore they do wrong to entertain such a considerable part of it.

That they would fall into great disarray if their fleet received another check this year, finding themselves engaged in another war.

That they have no intention of conquering or retaining a single shack in the country of Münster and that their allies have openly declared that they would not suffer it, whence it follows that Prudence obliges them immediately to put an end to a war in which they will be able to gain nothing and could lose much.

That all they can do this year is to ruin poor innocent people who hate this war as much as they do, and to ravage Westphalia to the detriment of their own inhabitants who derive great profit from it by the trade they have in the whole province, and this exploit will not be a prize or a compensation worthy of such a great expense.

That the sages of all ages have said that one must consider the good of one's country and one's own preservation more than the pleasure of revenge, besides that what they can take will cost them more than their enemies. We must provide safe before revenge. If they burn a village in the country of Münster, the Bishop will always have the power to burn two of them in their territory which will be worth more than ten of the others.

[178]This may refer to the one of five Universal Maxims of Islamic Law: *Al-Darar yazalu*, or "Harm should be removed."

That in this war Gentlemen the States will be the masters because they are more powerful than their allies, but in the war of Münster they are dependent on their allies who have forces much greater than them. And yet if their allies agree together, they will train them as they please and if they do not agree they will prevent the execution of all the designs.

That the troops of Germany and France will surpass in number, valour, and military discipline that of the States which consequently will not have a great share in the glory of the good successes and nevertheless all the blame and all the share of the bad accidents will fall on them.

That to make a faction worthy of such a great equal, they must besiege the city of Münster and the city of Coesfeld which are two very good places and in which The Most Reverend Bishop will put all the food and the fodder of the dish surrounding countries and more soldiers than are needed to defend them for several months.

That they cannot begin one of these sieges sooner than the end of June, because in that country there will be no stalking sooner.

We must also suppose that the peasants will withdraw into the woods with their cattle and all the provisions they have, so that the soldiers of the States will find nothing at all in the villages and the small towns. It is no less certain that the country, being even flourishing, could not sustain an army of 45,000. foreign soldiers as will be that of gentlemen States not to mention the other people who follow the troops and much less the 5,000 or 6,000 horses that will be there, when it would be an army of their prince and composed of well-regulated soldiers, who would not make any extortion.

That Gentlemen States only treated for 4 months with their allies and that they only give to Mr. the Elector 45,000 patagons per month and at the Dues de Luneburgh in proportion as the four months are already running, and that it is an obvious thing that Mr. Elector cannot maintain 1000 horses and 10,000. foot soldiers in the country of Münster without employing much more of his own there and that at the beginning of the fourth month he will not fail to ask for money from the States, that is to say that he will be forced to dismiss his troops if we don't give him enough to pay for them. In that case, what will the States engaged in a long-term siege do?

All these reasons are strong and considerable, supposing that the Bishop has no resources and cannot hope for any assistance from anyone whatsoever, in which perhaps one can be mistaken: but it is doubtless that Messrs. States reducing him to despair, must apprehend a lot and from many sides And it is also probable that the war which will ignite between the King of Sweden and Denmark will change the face of public affairs and in particular with regard to the allies of Gentlemen the states.

Oliva General of the Jesuits to the Earl of Carlingford. 1 August 1665 (122)

Illustrissime Domini Comes,

Habeo demisse gratias Illustrissimae Dominationi Vestrae pro magno illo affectu, quo se erga minimam societatem nostram ferri scribit in suis 1. et 3. Junii datis, quas sub idem fere tempus accepi.

Caeterum ego vel nutui Suae Regiae Majestatis venerabundus parebo in iis quae meae sunt potestatis, ubi mihi per conscientiam et eam quam societati universae debeo in re tanti momenti Instituti observantiam licebit. In praesenti autem P. Tomae Bartoni causa id quod esset in mea voluntate, non est in mea potestate. Quantopere ilium desideraverim a societate separare, patet ex meis ad Provincialem anno 1664. 24. Maii datis, in quibus haec verba de illo scripsi : Hortet ilium R. V*. iis modis quos idoneos indicaverit ad resipiscendum serio et parendum superioribus, etc. vel ut ultra ad alium ordinem

transeat, aut permittat se a societate separari, tanquam ab ilia dimissus. Quid horum elegerit, cupio a R. Va, fieri certior.

Ita ego ibi. Haec vero illi tantum proposita sunt, non promissa, neque stipulatione firmata, ut ille affirmat. Proponi tamen ei volui, ea spe ductus, quod a Sua Sanctitate id impetrari posse confiderem: postea vero quia vidi impetrabile id non esse, satis habui conari hactenus eum servare indemnem ab iis quae a Sede Apostolica metuebat. Concessum id uni a Sede Apostolica; sed illius causa fuit longe dispar, quia dubia professio : haec autem pluribus est implexa. Post acceptas Illustrissimae Dominationis Vestrae litteras, ut ostenderem quanto in pretio ac veneratione mihi sit nutus Regius, adii Suam Sanctitatem: sed reperi me id quod P. Bartonus optat, obtinere non posse. Illud tamen obtinui, ut omni metu seposito securus degere possit in Flandria, ubi summa in quiete poterit se Dei obsequio juxta Superiorum mentem impendere. Et certe si Regia Sua Majestas ac Illustrissima Dominatio Vestra genium hominis introspicerent scirentque paternos modos, quibus societas indulgente ilium tractavit, alia licet commeritum, diceret: P. Thomam Bartonumm permagnas causas habuisse gratias agendi et se unde quaque obedienter societati accommodandi, non vero tam repugnanter superioribus obsistendi. Plura ego de illo dolenter scripsi, et pro illo egi, quibus sperabam ilium in officio retinendum et nunc mallem illo carere. Sed quia eum a Societate liberum dimittere non est in mea potestate, imo nec id impetrare, spero fore, ut Illustrissima Dominatio Vestra Suae Regiae Majestati rem hanc omnem, pro eximio suo erga universam societatem affectu, ita proponat, iit manifesto intelligat milii non voluntatem decesse obtemperandi, sed facultatem, prompto alias ad Majestatis tantae imperia: eui ego a Deo et hominibus ea opto quae ad majorem Suae Majestatis felicitatem spectant. Deus Illustrissimam Dominationem Vestram gloriae suae servet incolumem.

Illustrissimae Dominationis Vestrae, obligatis simus et liumilis servus, Joan. Paul. Oliva

Romae, 1. Augusti 1665.

Translation: John Paul Oliva,[179] Superior General of the Jesuits to the Earl of Carlingford. 1 August 1665

Most Distinguished Lord Count.

I have tenderly my thanks to your Most Illustrious Lord for that great affection with which he writes that he is directed toward our very little society in his 1st and 3rd June dates, which I received at about the same time.

Besides, I will reverently obey the nod of His Royal Majesty in those matters which pertain to my power, where it will be possible for me, through my conscience and the whole society, to respect this important institution. In the present case, the case of P. Thomas Barton[180] is not in my power. How much I have desired to separate him from the society, is evident from my statements at the Provincial in the year 1664. 24 May, in which I wrote the following words about him: “Let him encourage him. in those ways which he has made known to be able to repent seriously and to obey his superiors, etc. or that he may pass over to another order, or permit himself to be separated from the society, as though he had been released from the former.” R. Va, I want to be informed of what he has chosen.

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[179] Giovanni Paolo Oliva (1600-1681) was the eleventh Superior General of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), the top leader of their religious order. IN 1678 he was accused of being a co-conspirator in the “Popish Plot,” a plan to assassinate King Charles II, and entirely made-up story. The informant was an English priest named Titus Oates, who fabricated the entire “popish plot” nonsense. He would be imprisoned and tortured for his crimes by Charles, eventually freed and pardoned but William of Orange when he ascended to the throne. He died in oblivion 1705.

[180] Possibly Thomas Barton, (d. 1682) who was elevated to Doctor of Divinity at Oxford University by the Earl of Clarington in 1683. He was chaplain to Prince Rupert during the English Civil War. So, he knew people in high places.

So I'm there. But these things were only proposed to him, not promised, nor confirmed by a stipulation, as he affirms. I wished, however, to propose it to him, led by that hope, that I could trust that it could be obtained from his Holiness; but afterward, because I saw that it was not obtained, I had enough to endeavour hitherto to keep him safe from those things which he feared from the Apostolic See. This was granted only by the Apostolic See; but the cause of that was very different, because the profession was doubtful; and this was involved in many cases. After receiving the letter of your Most Illustrious Lordship, to show how much the Royal nod was to me in price and veneration, I went to his Holiness; but I found that I could not get what P. Barton desires.

I have obtained it, however, so that, having abandoned all fear, he may be able to live safely in Flanders, where he will be able to devote himself to the greatest peace in the service of God, according to the mind of his superiors. And certainly, if His Majesty and His Most Illustrious Dominion had scanned the genius of man to resist. I have written more painfully about him, and have dealt with him, in whom I hoped that he should keep him in office, and now I would rather be without him.

But since it is not in my power to release him free from society, nay, I hope that he will not get it, so that your Most Distinguished Dominion of His Royal Majesty proposes all this thing, for his distinguished affection for the whole society, he clearly understands that he had passed away, but that he had the opportunity to obey, promptly, at other times to the commands of so great a Majesty. May God preserve your Most Illustrious Dominion of his glory safe.

Your Most Illustrious Lordship, John Paul Oliva, Rome, 1 August 1665

The Earl of Carlingford to the Reverend Father Burgate[181], 22 August 1666. (124)

Sir,

Yours of the 25th of July I received, but no acknowledgement that any letter of mine came to your hands, though I wrote several times and sent a relation of the battle fought at sea betwixt the English and Hollanders, who though they had no cause to brag, yet published themselves victorious, but now (God be praised) they have found the full experience betwixt theirs and the English courages, their whole fleet being destroyed. By the enclosed you will find it was impossible to give me the particulars of the fight, we are the 6th in chase of the remaining flying enemy, and my letters of intelligence being of the 7th, but all relations agree, that we were victorious and have cause to believe it to such a degree, that the Hollanders will never appear in another fight against us. The French engaged them in this bloody battle having promised that the Duke de Beaufort should join with them, when nothing was less intended, but it is to be hoped that their experience of truth will persuade the Hollanders to submit to a peace independent of the French, this blow is happy for the house of Austria and perhaps for your Court, for though the King my master be of a different religion yet he has worthy and honest principles without the ambition of making himself great by other men's rights.

I did write to Your Reverence about one Father Thomas Barton, a Jesuit, who for having a book printed without consulting the society, was persecuted by them so as he took his refuge in England and made his application to me, whereupon I wrote to the General of his order to permit him to exclude himself from the society and exercise the function of a secular priest. I mentioned some persuasive motives, knowing that he will never return to the society and that he might be very useful as a priest, being a very learned eloquent discourser, and of a most exemplar good life. The General wrote me a civil

[181] Possibly Henry Burgate, a Catholic priest during the resign of Charles II associated with a Dominican Priory in Kimallock, County Limmerick, Ireland.

answer but consented not to my request alleging it lay only in His Holiness' power, who if acquainted with the advantages, which may derive from this man's being at liberty as a priest to make use of his talents, I am confident he would consent unto it, and I assure Your Reverence upon my honour I have no other interest in this particular but my hopes of a public good, and in that consideration desire you will try what may be done. What the results of the meeting of the clergy in Ireland may produce, I know not, sure I am that by their meddling in public business hitherto has cost many a good Catholic their estates, which will not be restored by any oaths. My stay here is like to be longer than I expected so that your letters may be directed hither unto.

Reverend father Your etc…, Carlingford.

The Earl of Carlingford to …Vienna, 12 August 1666. (125)

May it please Your Highness,

The honours you do me are so obliging as in all afflictions they afford me comfort, I read your letters so often as I have them by heart and your expressions be so charming as they render all other conversation tedious and ridiculous by which Your Highness may conclude an impossibility of my infidelity you have captivated a kind heart that projects nothing now but a means to see Your Highness which this damned war hinders, but if it continue methinks your P.[182] ought to mingle in it, if his inclinations were favourable towards a conjunction with the King my master, upon knowledge of it I am confident it would be embraced and perhaps I might be employed to adjust the particulars of the agreement, but I hear the wealth of the French has great influence in Germany but that as yet you have resisted the temptation — but now I think on it—I should be improper for this negotiation for I should follow the Spanish custom Pia Piana,[183] for fear a conclusion might require my absenting myself from you, but part of the capitulation should be that Your Highness should go into England as caution for performance of articles, or that I should stay with you. My treaty at this court is difficult to manage, considering that the most essential points depend on the resolutions to be taken in Spain. My Lord Sandwich has had several audiences and conferences, but as yet can make no judgement of what the result will be, but he is commanded to put a speedy conclusion to his business, a breach with them being preferred to a dilatory[184] treaty. I have no cause to complain of the irresolution of this court having refused me nothing that I desired. By letters from the Empress at Barcelona of the 23rd of July she promised next day to be on shipboard, so as her being by this time landed at Final is confidently believed. I hope I shall not stay until her arrival here, but whatever happens shall weekly be communicated to Your Highness by.

Madam, Your etc… Carlingford.

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[182] *Your P.* suggests a name or title both are familiar with, but one can only guess.
[183] I could not unearth any definition of the term, *Pia Piana*.
[184] *Dilatory,* slow to act.

May it Please Your Highness,

The honour of yours of the 12th present I received, whereby I am sorry to find that the professions of the Dukes of Brunswick towards the King my master will be judged but compliments offering their friendship and assistance against all but his enemies with whom I find they have made a new alliance.

I wish the difference betwixt the Hollanders and the King my master were reconciled, but the conjunction of so considerable Princes is not the means to it, they being sufficiently vain of their own power without the addition of such a support; but I hope the justice of our cause will prevail against our opposers, my affliction is not small. The want of ground for a treaty frustrating my expectation of waiting upon Your Highness, nor can lever hope for that honour there being nothing but a miracle that can induce Your Highness to visit your friends in England which will be attributed to ill nature rather than to fear, which in friends or lovers is a more unpardonable fault than the gout, that being an effect of disorder not of age, which I shall make appear if ever I have the honour to dance country dances with Your Highness, who having promised never to have any other gallant merited, has a supreme power over the heart and person of,

May it please Your Highness, Your etc…Carlingford.

Here the Elector treats me with infinite civility and furnishes me with what is necessary to secure me from the danger of infection in my way to Dusseldorf.—Charles R.

Instructions pour notre fidèle et bien-aimé Cousin le Comte de Carlingford notre Envoyé Extraordinaire a L' Empereur. A Whitehall le 22 June 1666. (127)

Ayant renouvelé vos lettrés de croyance a I'Empereur vous êtes assez qualifie pour entrer en aucun traite qu'on vous ofFrira, et bien que vous aviez plein pouvoir de conclure, vous ne sauriez jamais aller jusque la sans nous avertir pleinement de toutes les particularités d'un tel traite, et il nous est impossible de vous donner de telles Instructions a présent par lesquelles vous puissiez faire aucune conclusion avec sécurité. Car bien que dans plusieurs de vos lettrés vous nous assurez d'une disposition dans I'Empereur d'entrer avec nous dans une alliance défensive, il n'est pas aise d'entendre ce qu'ils veulent dire par une telle alliance défensive, et il faut avoir un plein éclaircissement de tout ce que par une telle alliance ils voudront faire pour nous, ou qu'ils attendront que nous fassions pour eux, devant que nous vous puissions informer de quelle manière qu'il vous faut procéder autre nient, qu'en recevant toutes leurs propositions et entrant avec eux dans des conférences dans lesquelles votre discrétion vous fournira de ce qui sera raisonnable.

Il vous souviendra bien pourquoi nous avons différé si longtemps de vous envoyer en Allemagne; et pour quelle raison h la fin nous avons résolu de le faire. La cause du premier était que nous ne nous imaginions pas que I'Empereur se serait engage en aucun traite sans le conseil et avis du Roi d'Espagne, et ne sa chant pas quelles mesures que prendront ces couronnes la nous croyions superflu d'envoyer aucun ministre a la Cour Impériale. Et vous saurez aussi par le conseil et l' importunité de I'Ambassadeur d'Espagne nous avons a la fin été persuade de vous y envoyer, lui en faisant beaucoup d'instance pour gagner du temps, et nous donnant raison de croire (comme en effet nous sommes persuades qu'il croyait aussi) que devant que vous 'puissiez arriver a Vienne, il y serait établi une si bonne intelligence de Madrid, qu'on pourrait traiter beaucoup d'affaires sous le nom de I'Empereur, qu'il n'était pas alors de saison de nous communiquer. Mais quoique I'Ambassadeur d'Espagne ait cru, ou nous attendu de l état de la Clientélaire, nous n' avons que trop raison de nous plaindre du lent

acheminement qu'on a fait en Espagne vers une telle union entre les deux couronnes, que n'aurait su qu' être de grand avantage a I'une et a I'autre. Et nous ne voyons que trop clairement que les Espagnols nous croient être tout a fait engages centre la France et la Hollande, et qu'étant si charges d'ennemis ils en estiment moins notre amitié. Et ce qui est encore moins raisonnable, qu'ils se permettent encore de conserver pour quelques années une bonne intelligence avec la France, et par ce moyen être spectateurs des affaires du monde sans prendre parti, jusqu' a ce qu' a beau loisir ils aient connu le juste vaillant de ceux qu' ils auront a choisir pour leurs amis sans considérer qu' il ne tienne qu' a nous de faire la paix avec nos ennemis a tout temps au dépens d'Espagne, avec tons les avantages que nous voudrons pour nos intérêts propres, pourvu que nous abandonnions les Pays-Bas aux Français. Et de quelle conséquence cela serait h I' Empire nous laissons h considérer a ces Princes la, a qui il touche de plus prés, et il faut être peu clairvoyant dans les affaires du monde pour croire que les Français puissent différer longtemps de mettre en exécution leurs desseins contre les domaines du Roi d'Espagne.

Cette malheureuse disposition dans les conseils d'Espagne les a empêche jusqu'a cette heure de consentir a une paix avec le Portugal en accordant au Roi son titre de quoi il n'est pas croyable qu'il désistera jamais, et de préférer a cela une guerre désavantageuse dans leurs entrailles, et d'y soufFrir un corps de Français desquels les Portugais se défairaient trés-volontiers, si en memo temps ils avaient aucune assurance de n'en avoir plus affaire. D'ici provient que I'Empereur et les autres Princes d'Allemagne contre toutes les régies de la Politique ayent non seulement souffert que I'Evêque de Münster désarma, mais ont été eux-memes les principaux instruments a I'y porter. De la est venu encore qu'on a reçu avec tant de froideur toutes les ouvertures que nous avons faites pour établir une ferme intelligence entre la maison d'Autriche et la couronne de Swede, ce qui en même temps les aurait garanties de toutes les insolences de France.

Tandis qu'on continuera dans cette humeur il n'est pas a propos de s'imaginer qu'aucun traite qu'on puisse faire a Vienne, puisse être d'aucun avantage a nos intérêts joints ou sépares, et pour cela il est impossible de vous donner aucunes directions pour un tel traite. C'est pourquoi vous communiquerez librement a I'Empereur, combien que nous ressentons ces précédés, et qu'il nous sera impossible de continuer longtemps dans le dessein que nous avons eu, et conservons encore, de nous joindre a la maison d'Autriche, a moins qu'ils ne prennent bientôt de telles résolutions, dont nous puissions clairement voir ce qu'ils ont intention de faire et ce qu'ils veulent aussi que nous fassions. Et d'abord qu'ils se seront franchement déclare, ils recevront aussitôt les efFets de notre amitié, et trouveront que nous ne les abandonnerons jamais, a moins qu'ils ne s'abandonnent eux-mêmes. Mais il ne faut pas perdre du temps a se déterminer, comme aussi de la part de l'Empereur d'empêcher que les Princes du Rhin ne se jettent si entièrement dans les intérêts de la France. Si vous trouvez sur ces observations et fondements I'Empereur assez sensible des maux qui puissent naitre de ces longs délais, et qu'en effet il désire notre amitié, et ait dessein de procéder avec plus de vigueur, vous ferez bien d'en tirer quelques propositions et lui persuader avec dextérité, qu'il envoie un Ambassadeur chez nous, lequel conjointement avec celui d'Espagne (s'il craint que les Espagnols ont aucunes réelles et sincères intentions) avec moins de bruit et plus d'expédition pourra con dure une telle alliance, qu'on ne le saurait faire a Vienne. Vous tacherez de montrer a I'Empereur le danger évident qu'il y a que le Roi de France n'accomplisse ses desseins et combien qu'il importe a I'Empire de prévenir que les Français ne prennent pied en Pologne, comme aussi que I'Electeur de Brandebourg ne s'abandonne entièrement a I' amitie du Roi de France. Et si vous trouvez qu'après toutes ces considérations on vous donne peu de bien a espérer, vous ferez bien de prendre un congé de cette cour la, et dans votre retour de dire a I'Electeur de Mayence, combien que nous avons été surpris par la désertion si peu attendue de I'Evêque de Münster et de quel avantage il aurait été a tout I'Empire ; que ce peu de forces fussent été soutenues.

Carolus Rex

Translation: Charles' Instructions for our Faithful and Beloved Cousin, the Earl of Carlingford our Envoy Extraordinary, to the Emperor. 22 Jun 1666 Whitehall,

Having renewed your letters expressing confidence in the Emperor, you are qualified enough to enter into any treaty that will be offered to you, and although you had full power to conclude, you could never go so far without fully informing us of all the particulars, of such a deal, and it is impossible for us to give you any such instructions at present by which you can make any conclusion with certainty. For although in several of your letters you assure us of a disposition in the Emperor to enter into a defensive alliance with us, it is not easy to hear what they mean by such a defensive alliance, and you must have a full explanation of all that by such an alliance they will want to do for us, or that they will expect us to do for them, before we can inform you in what way you must proceed, that by receiving all their proposals and entering with them into conferences in which your discretion will provide you with what will be reasonable.

While we continue in this mood, it is not appropriate to imagine that any treaty which we can make in Vienna can be of any advantage to our joint or separate interests for it is impossible to give you any directions for such an agreement. This is why you will communicate freely to the Emperor, how much we feel these precedents, and that it will be impossible for us to continue for a long time in the plan which we had, and still preserve, to join us to the house of Austria, unless they soon take such resolutions, from which we can clearly see what they intend to do and what they also want us to do.

As soon as they have frankly declared themselves, they will immediately receive the effects of our friendship, and will find that we will never abandon them, unless they abandon themselves. But time must not be wasted in deciding, as also on the part of the Emperor to prevent the Princes of the Rhine from throwing themselves so entirely into the interests of France.

If you find on these observations and foundations the Emperor quite sensible of the evils which may arise from these long delays, and that in fact he desires our friendship, and intends to proceed with more vigour, you will do well to draw from it some proposals and to tactfully persuade him that he send an Ambassador to us, who jointly with that of Spain (if he fears that the Spaniards have no real and sincere intentions) with less bickering and more expeditiously will be able to create such an alliance, since it cannot be made in Vienna. Try to convince the Emperor of the obvious danger that there is that the King of France not accomplish his designs, how important it is for the Empire to prevent the French from gaining a foothold in Poland, and that the Elector of Brandenburg does not abandon himself entirely to the friendship of the King of France.

If you find that after all these considerations you are given little good to hope for, you will do well to take a leave of absence from that court, and on your return tell the Elector of Mainz, how surprised we were by the unexpected desertion of the Bishop of Münster and of what advantage he would have been to the whole Empire that these few forces had been sustained.

King Charles

Lord Arlington to the Earl of Carlingford. Whitehall, 22 June 22 1666. (130)

My Lord,

I am to acknowledge Your Lordship's of the 6th and 10th current, to the material contents of which this enclosed paper in Cypher which are His Majesty's Instructions to you for your farther proceeding in that court, is likewise an answer. Your new Credentials together with the particular letters His Majesty will write, shall be sent by the next and with them a duplicate of the aforesaid in cypher paper, at the same time His Majesty promises me, he will likewise write a letter himself in his own hand to you. Your last had in it a letter to My Lord of Ossory, which is delivered, it mentioned a paper relating to the justification of Bishop of Münster, which it seems was forgotten, but no great loss by it, we have seen so many from him of that kind, that the number of them only serves to make us angrier with him. With this Your Lordship will receive our narrative of the last engagement with the Dutch, it is literally true as to our side, but the great brags in Holland make us despair of hearing them tell their tale so ingeniously, and methinks the world might be taught to believe them by their relation the last year. What I can assure you with confidence is that our fleet will be ready in 8 days and put to sea much stronger than ever it did, to try our strength with them once more if they will come to it. We have no assurance yet, where Mister de Beaufort is or whither, he is gone. The last news we had of him was of his being in the River of Lisbon.[185]

Mr. Loving hath delivered me Your Lordship's present, I know not whether it will be as useful as it is fine, but coming from you I cannot but esteem it, I should be glad to find myself in any occasion wherein I may testify the truth of my being unfeignedly, My Lord,

Your Lordship's, Most faithful humble servant, Arlington.

P.S. Alderman Backwell hath charged himself to send Your Lordship £1000 from Antwerp whither he hath written already, but for fear you should be prejudiced in the exchange I sent Mr. Loving to speak with him, whom I have not seen since.

The Emperor's letters to the King, Leopoldus I. (tit.) 12 April 1666 (131)

Litteras Serenitatis Vestrae, 22. Augusti anni proximo praeterlapsi datas, quibus ingentem nobis suum propensissimae voluntatis affectum, tum desiderium quoque arctioris non modo nobiscum sed et cum universa domo nostra Austriaca conjunctionis ineundae, ejusque ad seram posteritatem transmittendae ubertim contestari, gratulari etiam de compositione cum Porta Ottomana facta voluit, Ejusdem Ablegatus sincere Nobis dilectus Comes de Carlingford, Vice comes de Corran et Baro de Ballymote in Regno Hiberniae, decenter nobis reddidit, simulque in iisdem viva voce explicandis, tum proponendis quoque et dextrae quae ipsi commissi erant, promovendis partes suas ita egit, ut eorum quae a viro optimo, et rerum experientissimo, ac cum universae Rei publicae Christianae salutis et tranquillitatis avidissimo, tum Serenitati inprimis Vestrae devotissimo desiderari poterant, nihil reliquum fecerit; adeo ut comis ejusdem ac dexter agendi modus nobis admodum probatus, et gratissimum futurum fuerit, si is diutius etiam hic subsistere potuisset. Enimvero cum Serenitati Vestrae eundem bine avocare visum sit, dimittimus ilium benevolo, Serenitatem Vestram amice requirentes ut virum admodum egregium pro suo merito, tum hujus quoque nostrae attestationis intuitu sibi inprimis commendatum habere velit. Quemadmodum autem per molestum nobis accidit, quod mutua nostra desideria pro hac vice ad optatum finem perduci nequiverint, ita confidimus, quod non minus Serenitas Vestra porro in eodem affectu et desiderio perseveratura sit, quam nobis firmum manet, non modo, quandocunque res

[185] Probably the Tagus River, a.k.a. Tejo River, the longest river of the Iberian peninsula. One of the longest suspension bridges in the world, the Vasco De Gama crosses it in Lisbon.

maturuerit, in iis quae ad arctissimam inter nos et totam Austriacam gentem nostram et Serenitatem Vestram animorum consiliorumque conjunctionem firmandam pertinent omni studio concurrere, sed quibuscunque etiam aliis occasionibus benevolentissimae nostrae in Eandem et res suas propensionis studium re ipsa comprobare. Demum pro amica ilia sua de compositione Turcica nobis facta congratulatione enixas habemus gratias. Caeterum ad prae memoratum Ablegatum Serenitatis Vestrae in omnibus Nos referentes, simulque allectum amicissimae nostrae erga Eandem voluntatis quam amantissime confirmantes.

Viennae, 12. Aprilis 1666.

Translation: The Emperor's letters to the King. Leopold I. (tit.) 12 April 1666

The Letter from Your Serenity, dated August 22 of the last year, in which we have passed away, with whom we have a great feeling of most earnest will, and also a desire for a closer union, not only with us but also with our entire Austrian family. He wished that the Ottoman gate had been made, the same Abrogate, our sincerely beloved Earl of Carlingford, Vice Count of Corran and Baron of Ballymote in the Kingdom of Ireland he acted in such a way that those things which could have been missed by a most excellent man, and experience in affairs, and with the most eagerness for the salvation and tranquility of the whole Christian State, and especially of your most devout Serenity, could have been missed; so much so that his good-natured and right manner of acting proved to us very much, and would have been most pleasing if he could have stayed here even longer. Indeed, since he seemed to be distracted by your Serenity, we leave him with a kindly, kind friend, seeking your Serenity so that he would be the first to have you commended to him for his merit, as well as his view of our attestation. But just as it happens to us through trouble, that our mutual desires for this time have not been able to be brought to the desired end, so we are confident that your serenity will continue even less in the same affection and desire as it remains for us. with all our zeal to concur with those things which pertain to the most intimate relations between us and our whole Austrian nation, and your Serenity in strengthening the union of minds and measures, but on whatever other occasions our most benevolent inclination towards the same and their interests is proved by their zeal. Finally, we thank you for your friendly congratulations on the Turkish settlement. Furthermore, in all we are referring to the pre-named Abbot of Your Serenity, and at the same time encouraging him to be attracted to our most friendly attitude toward the same will as most affectionately.

Vienna, April 12. 1666

Leopold us (tit.) 20 May 1666 (133)

Sincerae ac fraternae officium amicitiae, quo Nos Serenitati Vestrae non magis status, conditio et Majorum usu confirmata necessitudo, quam propria Nostrae voluntatis propensio conjunxit, hoc requirere Nobis visum est, ut Eidem notum faceremus id, quod aeque ad Serenitatis Vestrae omniumque bonorum gratulationem, quam Nostra vota pertinere arbitramur, ipso nimirum Resurrectionis Dominicae festo die proxime praeterlapso annuente Numine Serenissimam Hispaniarum Infantem Dominam Margaritam, consensum ad id Nostro nomine praebente (fit.) Duce Medine Turium, Nobis solenni Matrimonio Madrit copulatam fuisse, Eandemque nunc Augustam Conjugem Nostram amantissimam triduo post illinc profectam ad Nos iter suum, quod felix faustumque sit, dirigere incepisse. Quanta hoc nuntio hodie Nobis allato laetitia recreati simus, nihil Nos attinet dicere omnino Ei speramus, quod sicuti conjugium hoc Nobis quam maxime publici boni causa susceptum est, ita ex illo non in Nos Domumque Nostram magis, quam in Christianam orbem universam majora quotidie reditura sint solatia, cujus quidem spei fructus tanto uberior ad Vestram quoque Serenitatem pertinebit, quo Eam semper Nostri Domusque Nostrae studiosiorem fuisse scimus; in quo affectu porro ut

perseveret benevole requirimus. Quemadmodum vicissim ea quae mutuae officium amicitiae postulat ex Nostra parte nunquam non curaturi sumus. Quod reliquum est, Serenitatem Vestram prosperis rerum successibus uti ex animo vovemus.

Viennae, 20. Maji Anno 1666.

Translation: Leopold us (tit.) 20 May 1666

The commitment of sincere and fraternal friendship, which we have joined to your Serenity, no more the status, condition and relationship established by the experience of our ancestors than your own propensity for our will has joined us. We believe that our vows belong to the very Feast of the Resurrection Sunday, just before the passing of time, with the approval of the Most Serene Child of Spain, Lady Margaret, who gave her consent to our duke Medine Turius, three days later. From thence, having proceeded to us, he had begun to direct his journey, which is fortunate and prosperous. With what great joy we were refreshed by this news today, we hope to say nothing at all to him, that just as this marriage has been undertaken for us as the greatest public good, so it will not be for us and for our family, but to return daily to the greater Christian world. The consolation, the fruit of which hope is so much the more fertile it will belong also to your Serenity, by which we know that it has always been more zealous for ours and our houses; in which affection we kindly request him to persevere. In the same way, on the other hand, we will never be able to take care of those things which the duty of mutual friendship requires. All that is left, we sincerely vow to enjoy your Serenity as the successes of our affairs.

Vienna, 20 May 1666

Leopold us (tit.) 12 August 1666 (133)

Reddidit Nobis litteras Serenitatis Vestrae vigesima quinta Junij nuperi datas ejusdem ex itinere redux Ablegatus Generosus sincere nobis dilectus Theobaldus Comes de Carlingford, simulque pluribus explicavit, qua de causa Serenitas Vestra ipsum redire voluerit. Et gratum inprimis Nobis fuit, ex praedictis litteris Serenitatis Vestrae intelligere, quod idem Ablegatus suus ipsam de sincerissimo Nostro in personam et res ejusdem, totiusque Illustris familiae suae verae benevolentiae affectu tam accurate certiorem facere; et Serenitas Vestra ejus dem Ablegati sui relationibus congruam in his fidem habere voluerit. Quemadmodum igitur Nos quidem in eadem erga Serenitatem Vestram et res ejusdem voluntate firmiter persistimus, ita per molestum Nobis accidit, quod quo minus utriusque Nostrorum vota plenum hactenus effectum sint consecuta, Aulae Madrit ensis distractiones et temporum potissimum conjunctura non permiserint. Enimvero sicuti Nobis nulla cura intermittitur singularem erga Serenitatem Vestram propensionem Nostram comprobandi: prout prope diem etiam ex Ablegate Nostro Barone de Lisola quem utpote longo usu et experientia probatum, Aulae etiam Angliae notum, hujus rei causa coirtestim Londinum pergere jussimus, intelliget: Ita Oratori Nostro Madriti residenti Comiti de Pötingen ut quae ad plenam maturationem hujus negotii pertinent illic promoveat, commisinius. Et confidimus quod optima intentio Nostra etiam illic suum tandem locum sit inventura. Prout de his Serenitatem Vestram dictus Ablegatus Comes de Carlingford latius juxta ac in scripto eidem respondimus, docere poterit, ad quem Nos referentes Serenitati Vestrae affectum amici et fratris amantissimi sincere confirmantes Eidem omnis felicitatis incrementum ex animo vovemus.

Viennae, 12 Augusti Anno 1666

Translation: Leopold us (tit.) 12 August 1666 (133)

Your Serenity sent us a letter dated the 25th of June after on his return from his journey, and our sincerely beloved Theobald, Earl of Carlingford, explained to us the reason for your Serenity's willingness to send it. It was especially gratifying for us to understand from these that the same Abbot had accurately related to him of our most sincere respect for his person and property, and of the whole illustrious family of his true kindness. And you wish to credit to his abbot in keeping with the reports of him. Just as we, therefore, remain firmly in the same attitude toward you and the want same thing, and we have not allowed the distractions of what is going on with Spain to keep us from accomplishing our goals.

Do not doubt that just as we have no interest in approving our unparalleled inclination toward your Serenity: just as we have almost even today from Ablegate, our Baron de Lisola,[186] whom, as we have proven by long experience and experience, even known to the Hall of England, for the purpose of this event, we will be sure to go to London. The Earl of Potingen, residing at Madrid, is to promote and there things that concern the full development of this business. And we are confident that our best intention is to finally find its place there. As the said Abbot Earl of Carlingford will be able to show you your Serenity at greater length concerning them, as we replied in writing to him, to which we, by conveying to your Serenity the affections of our most loving friend and brother, sincerely confirm to him the growth of all happiness. We sincerely vow to him.

Vienna, 12 August 1666

Sacra Caesarea Majestas Dominus Noster Clementissimus benigne percepit, quae Eidem Serenissimi Magnae Britanniae Regis Ablegatus ex itinere redux Dominus Comes de Carlingford vigore novarum fiduciariarum in negotio foederis, sive cum dicta Caesarea Majestate separatim, sive una cum Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Hispaniarum Rege Catholico conjunctim ineundi, qua scripto, qua viva voce in colloquiis cum dominis deputatis Supremis Caesareis Ministris denuo proposuit, simulque de necessitate et mediis hujus negotii accelerandi et promo vendi repraesentavit. Quibus mature perpensis et deliberatis dicta Majestas Sua Caesarea prioribus declarationibus suis etiamnum insistens, denuo profitetur et declarat, quod non modo amicitiam sinceram cum dicto Serenissimo Magnae Britanniae Rege porro colere et conservare, sed arctiore etiam foederis ad mutuam sui Regnorumque et ditonum suarum defensionum vinculo firmare desideret, prout 60 fine inprimis ad offerendum dicto Serenissimo Regi Mediationem suam, ad belli inter ipsum et Generales foederati Belgii Status exorti compositionem, Consiliarium suum Cameralem Aulicum Dominum Franciscum Liberum Baronem de Lisola, in aula Anglicana jam ante usu rerum notum, jam pridem in Angliam ablegarit.

Enimvero cum dictum foedus, si, ut ab initio propositum fuit, in eodem Belgium Hispanicum aliaeque Hispanicae ditiones comprehendi debeant, absque praevio memorati Serenissimi Regis Catholici consensu non tractari vel concludi, nedum executioni mandari possit aut debeat, et negotium hoc ulteriorem dilationem pati non videatur, Majestas sua libenter facit, ut de his cum eodem Serenissimo Rege Catholico sive Ejusdem Tutrice Gubernante Serenissima Regina Matre per Oratorem illic suum communicari, easque litteras per proprium Cursorem suum perferri curet: Interim etiam eorum et

[186] François-Paul de Lisoa)1613-1674), an advocate for the House of Hapsburg, critic of Louis XIV, and supporter of the HRE. Between 1665-1666 he was Emperor Leopold I's special ambassador to Spain. Like others, he was involved in the negotiations for the marriage of the Infanta of Spain's marriage to Leopold I. When Leopold sent him to London, it was the hope that he could help mediate a lasting peace between England and Holland, a conflict which played into the hands of the French and their designs to invade the Spanish Netherlands.

sollicitudinem suam eo intendat, quo ad hoc defensionis negotium Electoribus et Principibus Imperii iis praesertim qui Rhenano uti vocant foedere compraehenduntur, utatur benevolis.

De quibus saepe dicta Sacra Caesarea Majestas dicto Domino Ablegato Angelico hisce benigne constare voluit, eidem de caetero affectum gratiae suae Caesareae benigne conservans.

12. Augusti Anno 1666.

Translation: Leopold us (tit.) 12 August 1666

Our Lord Most Merciful Majesty received the kindness of his Majesty, who, after his return from his journey to the King of Great Britain, was sent away from his home by the Lord Earl of Carlingford, on the strength of new trusts, to enter into a business treaty, either with the so-called Imperial Majesty, or jointly with the Most Serene and Potent Catholic King of Spain; In a written statement, he reorganized himself in a oral conversation with the masters deputed to the supreme ministers of Caesarea, and at the same time represented the necessity and means of accelerating and selling this business. Having carefully considered and deliberated on these statements, his Caesarea Majesty still insisting on his earlier declarations, professes and declares that he not only continued to cultivate and maintain a sincere friendship with the said Most Serene King of Great Britain, but also to strengthen the bond of a stricter treaty between his own kingdoms and their mutual defences.

He desires, as in the first place, to offer mediation to the said Most Serene King, to the settlement of the war between him and the Generals of the Federal States of Belgium arose, as his Counsellor of the Chamberlain Court, Lord Francis, Baron de Lisola, in the Anglican Court, already well-known for his experience in England.

Indeed, when the said treaty, if, as was originally proposed, ought to be included in Belgium, the Spanish, and the other Spanish domains, it will not be negotiated or concluded without the prior consent of the aforesaid Most Serene Catholic King, much less can or ought to be committed to the execution. He does not seem to suffer further delay, his Majesty readily accepts that these matters with the same Serene Catholic King or his tutor under the guidance of the Most Serene Queen Mother are communicated there by his Orator, and that these letters may be conveyed through his own Cursor; In order to make this task of defence he employs the Electors and Princes of the Empire, especially those who call as the Rhine, as a confederacy, to employ the well-wishers.

Of whom often the said Sacred Caesarea Majesty wished to appear kindly to these to the said Lord Abrogate Angelico, by kindly preserving the affection of his own Caesarea for the future.

12 August 1666

The Earl of Carlingford to the Emperor. (135)

Gratissima Caesarea Regiaque Majestas

Domine Domine Clementissime etc… Sacrae Caesareae Majestati Vestrae in persona Serenissimi mei Magnae Britanniae Regis nomine vero Anglicorum Mercatorum humillime exponere Conor quatenus 24. nuper praeterlapsi mensis Augusti duae naves Bellicae Hollandicae; quae aliquot antea diebus ante Glückstadium commoratae fuerant, cum aliis duobus minoribus, quae medio milliari Anglico distantes manebant ad anchoram, Flottam Anglicam Mercatoriam nihil simile metuentem, et immunitate loci securam in postu suo ordinario ad Novum Molendinum uno circiter milliari Anglico a Civitate Hamburgensi dissito inopinate invaserint et subito trés Anglicarum navium combusserint alias trés vero in suam potestatem redegerint omnes opulentis et copiosis mercibus oneratas et plerasque pro peculiari

Serenissimi mei Regis usu destinatas. Et quamvis praefati mercatores sub ipsum invasionis principium Senatus Hamburgensis protectionem, qua tum nihil facilius fuisset, dummodo in aggressores sua tormenta explodere voluissent, quam primum imploraverint, tantum tamen abfuit illud impetrandi, ut et libertas pro propria defensione arma sumendi ipsis expresse denegata fuerit: et cum postero die mane memorati mercatores naves Hollandicas vento in arenam actas vidissent, ut nec illae inde se movere, nec nostras jam captas in tutiorem ullum locum transmittere possent, magno cum fervore apud Senatum (ne tam notoriam in Albi fluvio Imperiali commissam insolentiam erga aggressores in ipsorum adhuc potestate existentes impunitam sinerent) denuo institerunt; sed vano etiam effectu, quo facto non cessarunt iterato rogare, ut saltem naves in portu libero immunitati loci fidentes et injuste occupatas redimerent; sed et id negatum, donec tertio demum die ventus favorabilis et secundus marisque fluxus solito major viam aggressoribus Glückstadium repetendi aperuit : quibus peractis Regni Sueciae Deputatus Generalis Vrangel ad instantiam dictorum mercatorum pro ilia communi violentia ab aggressoribus satisfactionem petiit, sed negarunt, se ullam omnino daturos praetendentes se expressa ad id agendum mandata a Statibus Generalibus habuisse.

Ex quibus Sacrae Caesareae Majestati Vestrae clementissimae videre licet, Hollandos non tam Serenissimum meum Regem, quam Ipsammet Sacram Caesaream Majestatem Vestram sacrique Romani Imperii securitatem et pacem publicam violasse; cum tamen anno priori Anglicus Vice-Admiralis Christophorus Wings in conspectu Domini Gelbi Caesareae Majestatis Vestrae Camerae Consiliarii, qui tum Hamburgi agebat, integrae Classi mercatoriae centum et octoginta navium ne dato quidem hostilatatis signo pepercerit, illasque omnes; quas tamen facili negotio fundere et profligare poterat, intactas et liberas praeternavigare passus fuerit. Non minus vero lia in re culpandus est Civitatis Hamburgensis Senatus, utpote qui a navibus praetereuntibus gabellas exigit, illarumque intuitu praeternavigantibus securitatem in Albi fluvio praestare, et ob hoc damna ibidem illata (cum eadem inferri sciverit, prohibere potuisset et non prohibuit) secundum expressas tam Politicae quam Juris consultorum sententias ex integro resarcire tenetur.

Cum ergo Sacra Caesarea Majestas Vestra ex bis dilucide perspiciat, per memoratam pacifragam in Albi fluvio commissam violentiam (quam etiam Principes Imperii et alii Albis accolae aegerrime ferunt) et suam et Sacri Imperii securitatem, nec non publicis constitutionibus et legibus Imperii, speciatim vero Instrumento Pacis Westphaliecae firmatum, et toti Christiano orbi pernecessarium commerciorum usum ausu penitus temerario violatum et per hoc mercatoribus anglicis immensum damnum illatum esse; nec Senatus Hamburgensis (sub cujus tutela et territorio omnia facta sunt) licet ter interpellatus et requisitus, cum etiam facillime potuisset, illud non averterit, et ideo omnia damna illata de jure resarcire teneatur.

Idcirco Sacram Caesaream Majestatem Vestram in persona Serenissimi Magnae Britanniae Regis Domini mei clementissimi nomine saepius memoratorum mercatorum Anglicorum liumillime rogo, dignetur Civitatis Hamburgensis Senatui clementissime districte tamen praecipere, ut illo cooperante allegatum damnum Hollandi quam primum resarciant, occupatas trés naves scilicet una cum mercibus et omni causa restituant, ratione reliquarum trium combustarum vero omnimodam satisfactionem praestent, vel ut ipsis detrectantibus praefatus Senatus ipse, cujus facto damnum illatum est, illud integrante reparet et refundat; idque Sacra Caesarea Majestas Vestra mediis seriis suis mandatis Caesareis et solitis processibus Fiscalibus, benignissime efficere dignetur.

Sacrae Caesareae Majestati Domino nostro Clementissimo diligenter relata fuere quae Eidem Serenissimi et Potentissimi Magnae Britanniae Regis nomine, Ejusdem Ablegatus (tit.) Dominus Theobaldus Comes de Carlingford vigore credenti alium ab eodem decima septima hujus mensis exhibitarum in diversis conferentis qua verbo qua scripto exposuit: Videlicet, quod licet non ita pridem memoratae Caesareae Majestati dictus Serenissimus Rex per Ministrum ad se missum quanti Majestatis Suae Caesareae cum personam tum amicitiam faceret, luculenter declararit : Omittere tamen noluerit

quin ingentem hunc suum affectum cum ipsi, tum Universo Orbi per missionem suae personae testatum faceret, quem affectum a Regiis Antecessoribus suis acceptum, arctiori etiam foederis et necessitudinis vinculo cum Caesarea Majestate confirmatum et auctum seris suis Nepotibus relinquere, vel eo etiam nomine, cupiat, quod solenne illud foedus, quod cum Serenissimo et Potentissimo Rege Catholico initurus sit, singularem quandam Consiliorum et affectus Unionem postulare videatur. Et cum praedicto Serenissimo Regi suo injuste lacessito hactenus ab Hollandis honestae ullae belli inde exorti componendi conditiones non fuerunt propositae, quin et machinatio eorum contra Austriacam Domum vel inde appareat, quod Gallorum protectioni ita se submiserint, ut constet eos quoque iterum agitare eam Hispanici Belgii divisionem quam jam ante annos realibus tractatibus formarunt: Hine nimirum saepe dictum Regem suum de Liga cum toto domo Austriaca facienda cogitare coepisse, et confidere, quod jam Madriti totalem ejus resolutionem obtinuerit; qui idcirco ipsi injunxerit de ejusdem plena et brevi secutura conclusione Caesaream Majestatem informare eo fine, ut ipsa ad praevenienda mala quae non ipsi tantum ac Serenissimis Regibus Hispaniae et Magnae Britanniae sed toti orbi Christiano ab ilia tam potenti factione immineant, de ipsa in tempore deliberare dignetur. Qui idem Serenissimus Magnae Britanniae Rex instanter rogat, ut interea Majestas Sua Caesarea Domini Episcopi Monasteriensis Confoederati sui causam notorie justam manutenere, et non tantum autoritate sua in publicis Imperii Comitiis, sed etiam praesentibus mediis et subsidiis, idque quam primum adjuvare velit, quo is militem, quem satis copiosum habeat, sustinere possit, ne si cum cogatur dimittere is a Gallis et Hollandis intercipiatur. Nec ea subsidia magna requiri, cum ea quae Rex suus exacte submittit tam sint considera bilia, et praeservato Domini Episcopi Monasteriensis non sit futura difficilis. Neque dubitandum, quin si tantum ex auxiliis eidem praestandis apparuerit Majestatem Suam Caesaream causam ipsius protegere, Hollandi, invitis etiam Protectoribus suis, aequam pacem sint postulaturi, et tam prae memoratae Coronae, quam tota Christianitas a praesentibus cruentis periculis sint liberandae.

Ad quae Majestas Sua Caesarea sicuti dicto Domino Ablegato jam ante oretenus per Deputatos ad id Dominos Commissorias suos (tit.) Ducem Saganensem et Comitem a Lamberg etc… suos respective Supremum Praefectum Aulae et Supremum Camerarium significari jussit, adeoque significatum fuit, quod ipsa missionem illam tam honorificam personae ipsius a memorato Serenissimo Rege factam multis nominibus gratam acceptamque habuerit; quippe quae ejusdem rei tractando causa proprium Ablegatum suum in Angliam mittere destinaverit: ipsaque adeo ad particularia tractatus descendere non dubitaret, nisi gravibus de causis sibi exactam de tractatis et conclusis in hoc negotio Madriti informationem expectandam censeret, eamque brevi adfuturam speraret.

Ita cum saepe memorata Sua Caesarea Majestas in eadem sententia et voluntate firmiter perseveret, contrahendae nimirum et firmandae cum Serenissimo Rege Magnae Britanniae arctioris ad mutuam defensionem conjunctionis : de eo dicto Domino Ablegato per Dominos Commissorias suos iterum significari voluit. Insuper addens quod Baroni de Goes quae ad causam (tit.) Domini Episcopi Monasteriensis pertinent, jam tum commiserit; parata etiam sit saepe dicto Serenissimo Regi Mediationem suam offerre ad exortas ipsi cum Hollandis differentias componendas, si id Eidem gratum fore cognoverit: Caeterum quod informationes plenas ex Hispania in horas expectet: ac ut ne tempus illud quod expectando trahitur plane nihil agendo elabatur, non inconsultum ducat id iis, quae necessario tractatus antecedere debent impendere; ac proinde intelligere desideret, an et quatenus plenipotentia et mandatum Regium ipsi Domino Ablegato Anglico concessum in hac materia se extendat: Et qualiter se habeat?

Translation: The Earl of Carlingford to the Emperor.

Most grateful to the Imperial and Royal Majesty,

Lord, most graciously, etc… In the person of your Most Serene Imperial Majesty, in the name of the King of Great Britain and the English Merchants, I try to set out most humbly as far as the 24th of

August, two ships of the Dutch War have just left, which had dwelt several days before at Gluckstadt, along with the other two smaller ones, which remained at anchor at an anchor distance of about a mile from the English flotilla, an English merchant, fearing nothing of the same kind. They invaded and suddenly burned three English ships, and reduced the other three into their own power, all laden with wealthy and copious merchandise, and most of them destined for the special use of my Most Serene King. And although the aforesaid merchants, under the very principle of the invasion of the senate of Hamburg, the defence of which at that time would have been no easier, provided that they had wished to explode their guns against their aggressors, as soon as they had implored them, yet they were so far from obtaining it, that even the liberty of taking arms for their own defence had been expressly denied to them.

When the next morning the merchants saw the Dutch ships driven on the sand driven by the wind, so that they could not move from thence, nor could convey our already captured ones to a safer place, with great fervour among the senate, those still existing in their power to allow them to go unpunished again pressed on. But even with a futile effect, by which they did not cease to beg a second time, they hoped they my at least redeem the ships in the free harbour, trusting in the immunity of the place, and having been unjustly seized. But this was refused, until at length on the third day a favourable wind and a second flow of sea, more than usual, opened the way for repeating Gluckstadt to the aggressors, alleging that they had express instructions from the Princes of the HRE for this action.

From these you may see your most merciful Majesty Sacred Caesarea, that the Dutch, not so much my Most Serene King, as Your Majesty, had violated the security and public peace of the Roman Empire and of the sacred.

When, however, the year before, the English Vice-Admiral Christopher Wyngs, in the presence of our Majesty Gelbus the Imperial Councillor of your Chamber, who was then stationed at Hamburg, spared one hundred and eighty merchant ships of the entire fleet, even without giving a signal of hostility, and spared them all; which, however, he could easily cast out and defeat with ease, he would have suffered untouched and free to sail by. The senate of the city of Hamburg is not less to be blamed for this, as he who demands tax on ships passing by, and with a view to guaranteeing security on the river Albilt is bound to renew the views of the political jurists.

Since, therefore, your Sacred Imperial Majesty looks at it twice clearly, through the aforementioned pact, the violence committed on the river Albi (which the princes of the Empire and other Whites inhabitants with great difficulty relate to) both his own security and that of the sacred Empire, and not only the public constitutions and laws of the Empire, but especially the Peace of Westphalia[187] was established, and the indispensable practice of commerce to the whole Christian world had been entirely violated by rash daring, and thereby inflicted immense damage upon the English merchants; nor the senate of Hamburg (under whose protection and territory all things were done), although he was thrice interrogated and sought out, although he could not turn it back even with the greatest ease, and therefore is bound to rightfully repair all the damages done.

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[187] *The Peace of Westphalia* refers to two treaties that ended two different, but related wars: The Thirty-Years War of 1618-1648 and the Eight Years War of 1568-1648. The combatants included most of Europe: The HRE, Spain, France, Sweden, and the Netherlands. Casualties of war attributed the war were estimated to be 8,000,000 people. At the bottom of the conflict a religious war between Catholics and protestants. In the end, the leadership pf the FRE was stripped from the Emperor and returned to the collective states that had constituted it. This loss of power did not sit well with the Roman Catholic Pope Innocent X. Others found their borders altered, received (or gave) cash payments to others, religious toleration imposed, and trade embargoes lifted. It would prove to be an uneasy peace, and conflicts would arise later from aggrieved parties.

Therefore, in the person of the Most Serene Majesty of Great Britain, in the name of my most merciful King of Great Britain, I beseech you most mercifully to grant orders to the senate of the English merchants frequently mentioned above in the name of the most merciful of the English merchants. They shall restore the cause, by reason of the other three that have been burned and offer every kind of apology; and that Your Majesty's Sacred Imperial Majesty would deign to accomplish this in the midst of his serious Caesar's orders and the usual Fiscal processes.

The Sacred Majesty of Caesarea was carefully reported to our Lord, Most Merciful, by the name of the same Most Serene and Most Powerful King of Great Britain, the same Abrogate that although the so-called Most Serene Majesty of the above-mentioned Imperial Majesty was sent to him not long ago, the King has clearly shown how great his Majesty's friendship was with his Caesareae, and clearly declared: which affection he had received from his Royal Ancestors, and desired to leave even a closer bond and close ties with the Imperial Majesty strengthened and enlarged by his late grandsons, or by that name; and he seems to demand a union of councils and affections. And while the aforesaid Most Serene King had been unjustly attacked by the Dutch, no conditions of settlements had arisen from this honourable war; which they had already formed in real treaties some years ago: hence it is often said that their King began to think of the League about the making of the whole Austrian house, and to be confident that he had already obtained his total resolution at Madrid, who on this account had enjoined on him to inform his Majesty of the full and short conclusion of the following passage, so that she would deign to pre-empt the evils which threaten not only to him and to the Most Serene Kings of Spain and Great Britain, but to the whole Christian world, from that powerful faction that would deign to deliver them from the moment. The most serene King of Great Britain earnestly entreats that his Majesty, in the meantime, maintain his notoriously just cause, his Imperial Majesty, the Confederated Bishop of Monastery, and not only by his authority in the public elections, but also by existing means and means, and by what means he wants to help his soldiers as soon as possible. He has an abundance of them, and he may be able to withstand, should be intercepted by the Gauls and the Dutch when he is compelled to discharge them. No great assistance is required, since those things which his King submits exactly are so fine, and it is not going to be difficult for the preserving Lord Bishop of Monastery. And we have no doubt that, if only his Majesty would appear to protect his Caesarea from the aid of performing it, the Dutch, even against the wishes of their Protectors, should demand equal peace, and that all Christianity should be set free from the present perils of this bloody crown, as well as the Crown.

To which his Imperial Majesty, as he had already been abrogated by the said Lord before orally, ordered the duke of Sagan and the Earl of Lamberg to be conveyed to him by the deputies of the Lords Commissariat, etc… His respective Supreme Prefect of the Hall and the Supreme Chamberlain has received so many honourable mentions of his own person made by the most serene king; for she had determined to send her abbot to England for the proper cause of this affair, and she would not hesitate to descend to the particulars of the treaty, unless she thought that information at Madrid should be awaited for serious reasons concerning the exact matters discussed and concluded in this affair, and she hoped that it would soon come to pass.

Thus, since his Imperial Majesty's often-mentioned Majesty persevered firmly in the same opinion and intention, namely, of contracting and forming a stricter mutual defence with the Most Serene King of Great Britain, he wished again to indicate his Commissariats concerning that said Lord, having been sent away by the Lords. Moreover, adding that he had already committed to the Baron de Goes those things which pertain to the cause of the Lord Bishop of Monastery; that he was often prepared to offer his mediation to the said Most Serene King, to resolve the differences which had sprung up for him among the Dutch, if he knew that it would be acceptable to him; let him consider those things which must necessarily precede the treaty. Therefore, he desires to understand whether and to what extent the

fullness and command of the Regime granted to the Lord by the English Abrogate extends to him in this matter: And in what manner is he?

Sir William Swann to the Earl of Carlingford. Hamburgh, 13 March 1666. (140)

At my return from Sir Christopher Myngs,[188] ship called the Fairfax,[189] where I was with him six days on board, I found yours of the 25th past, upon which I gave a visit to Mons. de Selbe, offering my service with him and as I shall have further occasion to confer with him, I shall give Your Excellency notice thereof.

Sir Christopher Myngs I left last Sunday being the 11. instant at five of the clock in the morning under sail with 14 men of war and some 10 or 12 merchant men for England, the felt Herr Wrangel came on board to him where we dined together, I found from him great expressions of reality for our Master and His entered more than ordinary, which this day letters from Stockholm of the 28th of February from Mr. Coventry confirm unto so, who by the way gives my leave to tell you wonders, much not, I have the honour to hear from you.

Denmark goes severe with us, arresting not only the estates of English but their persons also.

However, I hear your friend Hannibal is going out of France for England but I fear and have reason to believe, if he comes, he will not be trusted.

Whatsoever you shall hear of the Bishop of Münster's making peace with Holland, take this from me:

First the peace the Elector of Brandenburgh made with the States is no way advantageous to himself, especially if things be well managed on the other side.

Holland offers carte blanche to Münster for a peace, who saith he will vindicate the Roman Catholics from that imputation (that they need not keep their words with heretics) in being faithful to a Protestant king till death, and though all his men lay dead on a heap, and he were to be laid on top of them, he would never be brought to break his word, or to condescend to a shameful peace. Your Excellency must take this as very certain.

The intelligence I have from that army say, they do not at all apprehend neither French nor Hollanders.

If Your Excellency thinks fit to remember Mr. Coventry by the next, and he shall obey your commands that is My Lord, Most humble and faithful servant, W. Swann.

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188 *Christopher Myngs (Mings) (1625?-1666),* an English naval officer and mercenary, commanded the English battleship Elizabeth and other British vessels during the Anglo-Dutch wars, sailed between West Indies and England. The English admired his work while he was in Jamaica, and sent him there in 1662 to diminish Spanish influence in the region. He enlisted the aid of privateers, a.k.a. buccaneers to whom he promised large profits from plundering Spanish ships. In a 1663 battle, he was wounded and returned to England in 1664 to recover. He would return to the British navy in 1665 to join their fight in the final day of the Four Days Battle of the second Anglo-Dutch War where he sustained a musket wound. He would die shorty after returning to London.

189 HMS Fairfax, a frigate of the English Navy built in 1653. It saw action in the first Anglo-Dutch war. In 1666 its artillery was increased from 53 to 66 guns. It would strike a sandbar in 1673, salvaged, and then broken up for parts the following year.

Sir William Swann to the Earl of Carlingford. Hamburgh, 31 of March 1666. (141)

My Lord,

I received the honour of Your Excellency's last letter with the enclosed to Sir Gilbert Talbot which he hath received this day from Copenhagen, where it came after his departure, he had no time at all to answer Your Excellency's, being it was upon his going away, that he received it, he desired me only to render Your Excellency thanks and assure you that the Hollanders never bought so dear a Prince, that can do them so little service, For my part I can assure Your Excellency, that all the desire the Bishop of Münster hath shown for a peace hath been only to get time to prepare himself for this summer and to that purpose there is £40,000 or £50,000 drawn upon the merchants here for the service of the Bishop of Münster. The enclosed came just now from Mr. Coventry.

I am, Your Excellency's etc…, W. Swann.

P.S. The Hollander begins to be suspicious of the Elector of Brandenburgh notwithstanding their treaty with him.

Sir William Swann to the Earl of Carlingford, 14 April 1666 (142)

My Lord,

I know not whether my last be safely come to Your Excellency's hands with its inclosed from the same as this comes, having not heard from Your Excellency since. The news of a peace betwixt the Bishop of Münster and the Hollanders are by them here taken for a truth, but I can assure Your Excellency of the contrary and that if he hath inclined to, it was only to gain time until his money came out of England which he hath now received by letters of Exchange[190] from several of the merchants here, and several of his officers are already abroad for new levies. I hope Sir Gilbert Talbot is safely arrived at England with several English persons of quality that went over with him in a Swede's man of war which the General Wrangel gave him for to transport him, the way by land being somewhat dangerous. I am. My Lord,

Your Excellency's etc…

Hamburgh, April 14. 1666. W. Swann.

P.S. Just now I receive advise from Münster that the English Ambassador is come on to Münster which will doubtless disappoint all designs of making peace.

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[190] A *letter of exchange* is a written order from a merchant to his agent or banker in another city to make payment on her behalf to another merchant located in the agent/banker's city.

Sir William Swann to the Earl of Carlingford. Hamburgh, 19 May 1666. (142)

My Lord,

The enclosed gives me the opportunity of presenting to Your Excellency my most humble service. The Duke of Holstein[191] was with me two days since and this day is returned from Field Marshall Wrangel, whom he hath found as he assures me exceedingly zealous for our Master's interest and very much offended with the Bishop of Münster for the peace he hath made with Holland and more especially with the Elector of Brandenburgh for promoting it. Mr. Coventry by his letter of the 9th instant tells me that he hath taken his leave and was ready to embark for Lubcek, so that I expect him here every day and to have his company for England intending to set forward by the end of next week, His Majesty having given me leave for some few weeks for my own private occasions, I shall make haste back again and in the meantime leave such order here that whatever service you have to command, shall find a due observance.

I have performed your recommendations to Baron de Selbe and doubt not when you see him, he will acknowledge it unto you.

Not knowing whether Your Excellency has our ordinary news weekly sent you, I send you here enclosed one of the last, we do very much long to hear that you have finished your negotiation with good success. The Duke of Holstein told me that you wrote him you were near a closure. Pray let your Secretary weekly send the news of your parts directed unto me at Hamburgh concerning which I shall order my secretary, that lie return Your Excellency what news these parts do afford.

I understand that the Elector of Saxon does expect you at Dresden upon your return from Vienna. I am, My Lord, Your Excellency's etc…,
W. Swann.

Lord Leslie[192] to the Earl of Carlingford. Vienna, 22 April 1666. (143)

My Lord,

I hope these will find you safely arrived at Prague. I do wish you had stayed longer here. The Emperor was afterwards sorry he let you part; since we have had nothing out of Spain, only Chevalier[193] Grammoville says that the Empress will part in this month and be conveyed by the French fleet. The Portugueses are preparing to enter Spain[194] and that the ministers are in great disunion, which I believe.

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191 This would be the Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein-Glükstad, governed by Christian Albert, and located in what is currently northern Germany, but at the time was under Dutch control. But Christian was more amendable to an alliance with Sweden and chaffed under Danish authority. He tried to smoothing things over by marrying the King Frederick III of Denmark (Frerica Amelia), but not much changed and his informal alliance with Sweden continues.

192 Probably John Leslie (1630-1681), 1st Duke of Rothes, and of Scottish descent. In 1600, King Charles II appointed him Lord High Treasurer of Scotland along with other Scottish tiles and responsibilities. He fell out of favour for a while but regained it and upon his death he was feted with a state funeral so elaborate it effectively bankrupted the family, leaving a huge debt to his daughter, Margaret Leslie, the 8th Countess of Rothes.

193 *Chevalier* is a French nobleman, but of low rank.

194 The Portuguese Restoration War began in 1640 and ended in 1668is was not a period of great battles between them, but more one of continual skirmishes of quarrelsome brothers with armies. This made relations with neighbouring nations challenging, as each vied for the affection and support of allies. The two major players in the area, France and England, of course supported different sides in this feud.

The last post brought these enclosed letters for Your Lordship and having your permission, made bold to open them, made an extract of what was fitting and gave it to the Emperor. They are thinking here of sending a person into England as likewise one into France and it may be one into Swedeland, the last two not for business but to know what they are doing there.

We expect a Courier daily from Spain, which the last letters promise shall be sent in a few days. The Emperor has commanded his ministers there to press for a peace with Portugal, they have to much to do in their own business and making of factions, that they forget the public business altogether.

If the next post brings any letters, I shall send them likewise under the Burggrave's[195] cover for Prague, you will agree with him what way they shall follow you. The next week I will address my letters for you to the Postmaster at Frankfort, therefore forget not to enquire there for them, afterwards all my letters shall go for Bruxelles. Thus, with my respects to your son and Mr. Loving I rest, My Lord,

Your Lordship's, Most faithful humble servant, Leslie

Lord Leslie to the Earl of Carlingford. Vienna, 25 April 1666. (144)

My Lord,

I doubt not but Your Lordship has received my last letter written the 22nd instant, since that the last post brought new letters, which Your Lordship will receive hereby, which I caused to open, made likewise an extract of what was necessary to show the Emperor. There came likewise a Courier from Baron Goes with what had passed at Cleve.

Chevalier Grammoville assures our ministers that Münster has a particular correspondence with France and that he must make peace as France pleases.

It were necessary and I beseech Your Lordship to help towards it that some person of worth be sent here as Envoy or President, and I find it necessary for the King our Sovereign's interest that someone be here, and Your Lordship knows, that the title of Emperor is much in Germany and hath a great working in general amongst the Commons, your ministers have likewise need of some persons to represent business they will find likewise some friends here. Your Lordship hath left very many and all are satisfied with you and your sons.

Our last letters from Spain bring us that the Infanta, as the Queen desires, was to part from Madrid the tenth of April, but her Confessor writes in confidence, that it would hardly be before the beginning of May, but all councils have resolved, that she should be sent into Germany, if we can have her before the end of this year, we are content. After the holy days His Majesty has commanded to hold a council of war and he considers what new levies are to be made and where. It will be easy for the Emperor in a short time, especially if we should come to action, to make his army 40,000 strong, else here is no change at court since Your Lordship's departure. We expect the Envoys from Swede which is not yet appeared. Count Lamberg[196] who was very much your servant, by reason of a little flux[197] in his leg has

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195 A *Burggrave* is the title of a castle ruler or a prince-bishop. The reference is to the Burggrave of Prague in the Czech republic, then part of the HRE. Additionally, the Burggrave of Prague was the highest ranking of those, a deputy to Leopold I.

196 Possibly Johann Maximilian von Lamberg, noted Austrian nobleman and diplomat.

197 *Flux* would refer to bodily discharge from the leg. A common cause of such a discharge at this time would the development of a *boil* on the skin, the result of a staph infection through a cut or abrasion of the skin. The infection will create a lump on the skin which can grow as pus develops around the infection. They can be painful. Eventually the boil will break open or be lanced b y a physician. Assuming the infected person has a normal immune system, washing the area and keeping it clean should lead to its healing properly.

been forced to keep his bed for 3 days past. I shall want much when I shall not have more this correspondence, therefore I beseech Your Lordship for the King our Sovereign's interest, think upon a way that I may know weekly what passes at your Court. I will make bold next week to write to My Lord Arlington myself; thus, with my best respects to Your Lordship and sons I rest. My Lord,

Your Lordship's etc…, Leslie

Lord Leslie to the Earl of Carlingford. Vienna, 2 May 1666. (145)

My Lord,

I hope you did receive two of my letters from the supreme Burggrave written the 30th of this, in the last, as likewise in that which Count Lamberg did write, you will have seen the desire that most here have for your return; the last of April, which was Friday, there came a courier from Baron Goes with the news that the 19th the peace was underwritten, and none from the King arrived there. I find the Emperor less satisfied with it than others, the Spanish Ministers here cry out against it, and truly they have reason, for the low countries are in danger if France do attack them the French had commissaries and moneys there for to bring these troops in their king's service. All men cry out against Münster for his fiddling around with the King, our Sovereign, and expect with curiosity to see what he will write and say to the Bishop's proceedings, having received so much money from the king. Here nothing gets resolved. I expect to see what will come out of Spain and what proposition you will make when new instructions and powers shall be sent you. As things stand at present, I don't see how a long offensive can help. In the land some are likewise doubting if Your Lordship will return but think you may remain at Prague and expect new orders there since the king no longer has a representative in Germany. What will the Emperor's friendship be worth to him, excepted united with other Princes, who altogether oppose the progress of the French Monarchie, he being very near it and to make himself s...ony of Romans.

Here, we believe that the French will attack Luxembourg, which will cut off all success upon that side for Flanders. The French king is likewise forcing the Duke of Lorraine to give him his troops. truly My Lord, I see no opposition more to the French army in Germany.

I will expect with impatience, to know Your Lordship's opinion and what you will resolve; so with my best respects I rest. My Lord,

Your Lordship's etc…, Leslie

Lord Leslie to the Earl of Carlingford. Brin, 5 July 1666 (146)

My dear Lord,

What satisfaction I cannot express I received by Your Lordship's letter of the 2nd of this, and I doubt not but Your Lordship hath likewise been well satisfied to see those mortified in the anticamars[198], who four days before were so merry. I esteem this one of the greatest victories that any Prince ever had, by reason it hath been bought so dear, both with money and blood, besides so many concernments, now the king our Sovereign wants nothing to make him only arbiter of the interests of all Christendom but to give France some little blow, although not of substance, only that it have an Éclat,[199] I doubt not but

[198] *Anticamars* is an unknown word. My closest guess is the Italian word *anticamera,* which can mean an antechamber or lobby. In any event, Leslie is referencing some type of event when a person or group got their comeuppance.

[199] *Éclat,* French for "g*low."* I interpret this to mean to diplomatically rub it in the face of the French.

that in England they will be vigilant to lose no good occasions in this present conjuncture—I hope to be shortly at Vienna to serve you, but my stay shall not be long, being necessitated for many reasons to visit my Government; yet I hope to be back about the end of September, here we have been very well treated, but journey in this great heat is incommodious. I expect letters this evening from Vienna. I wrote this in the morning, whilst I have time; if possibly I can obtain time, I shall part from hence tomorrow to be Thursday at Vienna, so with my best and humble respects remember it to yourself and your sons. I rest My Lord,

Your Excellency's etc… Leslie

P.S. The post from Vienna is arrived, but nothing from Your Lordship. H … wrote the victory is doubtful, if the king be master at sea all is well, I cannot have time to part from hence till the 7th in the morning, but the 10th I shall dine at home, where I beseech you let me have the honour to serve you.

Sir W. Temple to the Earl of Carlingford. Brussels, 1 July 1666. (147)

My Lord,

The continuing illness of my eyes leaves me not so much good humour as I find in your letters of the 17th and 20th of the last, though mixed with some impatience at the want of your letters both from England and this place; but I find in your last, you had been acquainted with the occasion of it, which was the robbing of the post, I hope the letter of mine, which came back upon the accident and was sent Your Lordship again the second time, carrying an account of the Marquis' reply upon your son's pretensions, is since come to hand, as well as another wherein I sent you a full relation of our last engagement at sea, upon Saturday last just at the parting of the post for Vienna came to me from the press at Antwerp a more exact journal of all particulars which I had here gathered out of my English relations, I had then only time to have it folded up and dispatched away without a word to accompany it; but considering the frequent miscarriages of the post, I send you another copy (and I think something truer printed) by the old Frankfort way.

The preparations on both sides are very diligent and they defy one another who shall get first to sea, by my letters last night I am assured, that ours will be out tomorrow or on Saturday. The Dutch say as much of theirs, so that in a very small time we are to expect a more determining battle of which God send a good issue. Upon Sunday night last I made a bon-fire here for our last success with much applause of the people of this town and had the honour to send some of Your Lordship's countrymen home without their legs. The Dutch resident last night offering at the like solemnity and upon the same occasion, had at the lighting of his fire some affronts put upon his pitched barrels by two or three ordinary fellows and boys in the street upon which his coachman coming out and striking some of them in defence of his fire, more came into their relief and began to hail stones both at the bonfire and at the Resident's windows. Upon this out comes the Resident's son with part of the garrison they had provided within, their naked swords and pistols in their hands, and beginning to lay about them raised such a rage in the multitude that with sticks and stones they soon drove the gallants back into their fort, left not a whole pane of glass in ail the house nor a nose, that durst peep out of a window, and began to break down the doors and the very walls of the house with so much tumult, that the Marquis was forced to send his guards both of horse and of halberds to relieve the besieged, which was done with much ado about 12 o'clock at night. The Dutch Resident upon it is retired out of town this morning with much indignation and threats; how pleasant the issue will be I know not but the discourse of it is very much so at this time amongst all the company of the town.

Press on but the Portugal peace and all will be well as I shall always think myself whilst Your Lordship esteems me My Lord etc…

W. Temple

Father Plaidic to the Earl of Carlingford. 5 July 1666 (149)

Right Honourable,

About a fortnight ago I wrote to Your Excellency soon after the late sea fight betwixt us and the Hollanders, who to hearten their saddened people and friends about them, spread shameful lies and want of their great victory; though they were driven of the sea into their harbours, lost twice as many ships as we by the least computation, and more than thrice as many men, which are little signs of victory. Our Resident at Brussels Sir William Temple (as Mr. Bedingsfield writ to me) on the 26th June made fires of joy for the victory against the Hollanders, invited many to great cheer and abundance of wine, even in the open streets. Sir William Swan Resident of Hamburg, was then there present going for England and many noble gentlemen and merchants, and to every one he gave a printed relation of the battle, called Journal de Nouvelle Extraordinaire, and which I doubt not but Your Excellency has it, so that I need not enclose it. Our fleet is presently putting to sea again, 'tis thought the Holland fleet is not so ready. They forbade all their seamen and soldiers to put foot on land. If the number of the ships had been near as great as theirs, doubtless the victory had been far greater. In Cambray[200] business, the great means have been made and the Governor often granted and praised them the just favour they desire, yet nothing effected the Delogues as Mr. Bedingsfield writes to exempt them. Your Excellency will very much oblige the good Nuns if you please to write a few lines to the Governor in their behalf and send it either hither to me, or to Mr. Bedingsfield at Brussels. F. Joseph Sherwood who first moved Your Excellency in this business at Brussels, presents his most humble service, now lately returned from England where he negotiated in the business of Münster. I beg leave to remain,

Right Honourable, Your Excellency's, Most humble and most obliged servant, Father Plaidic, Lambspring,[201] 5 July 1666 sty…vet…

Lord Arlington to the Earl of Carlingford. Whitehall, 6 July 1666. (150)

My Lord,

Yet I cannot get the letter His Majesty promised me in his own hand, which hath made me suspend the sending the other two to the Princes of Lorraine and Anspach, I must say as I did in my last, I hope to do it in my next, and that long before this time you have received that little piece of money, which was sent you since your return; Your Lordship cannot be ignorant how rare a commodity that is amongst us and therefore not wonder that I get by niches, thus the want of which is the cause His Majesty doeth not admit of the proposition of making you his Ambassador there, perhaps a good train at sea and a good dispatch of Spain may render it more favourable hereafter, the former humanly speaking we may promise ourselves in a few days, for our fleet is almost ready to go out and the Dutch lye expecting us not far from our coast; of the latter we know not what to say, it being so long since we heard from Madrid, and the last letter not being able to give us any guesses therein. My Lord of Sandwich[202] has

[200] *Cambra,(Cambrai)* a town in northwest France,

[201] Possibly a reference to Lambsrping, Germany, the location of an Abbey of English Benedictine Monks. Several exiled English Catholic orders relocated to France in the 17th century.

[202] In 1666 Edward Montague was the Earl of Sandwich.

arrived and in all appearances well received. Sir Rob. Southwell at his importunity (for of himself; he could not obtain it before) was suffered to return to Portugal, but with no formal answer to his propositions, it seems they will reserve themselves to give it to My Lord Sandwich. In the same obscurity we are as to the intentions of the French, for friends we have in that court would far persuade us they have no desire to make the quarrel more desperate betwixt us by joining with the Dutch, but that is as little believed here as it is in Holland where they speak confidently of it and by their computation they ought to have been long before this time and in a conjunction of landing in some parts of His Majesty's kingdoms as well as of fighting us at sea, the event of all this will be quickly seen. God give us success in it, in the meantime this fair warning hath obliged His Majesty to put the Kingdom into a military posture to keep things quiet at home and to defend us from our enemies abroad. Your Lordship's letter concerning the Embassy is mislaid so I cannot answer it. Your Lordship's letter of June the 22nd in cypher[203] is too obscure, that we can only guess at it before this time your new instructions are with you and of them and at that can't say to you. Your Lordship will quickly judge what can or may be affected by you in which next to His Majesty's service. I wish Your Lordship all the honour and satisfaction your heart can desire and am with all truth, My Lord,

Your Lordship's etc…,Arlington

Lord Arlington to the Earl of Carlingford. Whitehall, 27 July 27 1666. (151)

My Lord,

The stay of our Pacquet boats ever since there was a likelihood of our fleets going out is the reason Your Lordship hath not heard from me of late. Your last was of the 17th at which time it seems you had neither received His Majesty's instructions nor the small supply he sent you; of the former there went duplicates, and much to my grief I hear from Flanders, that the latter was delayed by some mistake, which I hope is removed before this time. I cannot find by your Cypher, whom you mean by the marriage proposed there in … of the 4th … give you much encouragement to entertain… (Cypher)… with hopes of His Majesty's entertaining him in…(Cypher). or anywhere else, our stock of money will not suffice for that and our other occasions, though we easily agree with you in the value you put upon his person; our last letters from My Lord of Sandwich were of the fifth current, who had till then been taken up wholly with the ceremonial of his business; if it goes on success, fully Your Lordship shall have a faithful account thereof, that you may shape yours in the Court according to it. The Baron de Ysola was then at Madrid but nothing said there of his coming hither as your letter intimates. These 3 days we have heard the shooting from both the fleets in such a manner as we conclude they have had a close fight and with appearance of advantage on our side, but yet we know no other particulars than those Your Lordship will receive in the enclosed paper; our fleet having driven theirs towards their own coast, it is probable you will know the success before this comes to you, but it is likely with the same disadvantages towards us that our battles are related; this was brought us by a ship that came disabled from the fight, if any other particulars come before the closing of this pacquet, they shall be likewise added.

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[203] *Cypher* suggests s secretly coded message used when the sender does not what anyone to understand who does not have the key to turn the coded words into readable text. During the 17th century a much-improved cypher was invented by the French called the Vigenere cypher, later to become known as the Gronsfeld Cipher. It appears that in Arlington's letter, only certain words or phrases were written in cypher, probably because it would be tedious to compose and decipher an entire message written in coded language.

Mr. Bellew was here today and brought me a letter from your son very earnestly recommending your affairs to my care; Your Lordship may be assured I will do my utmost therein and as effectually as if you were here upon the place yourself to solicit them.

The Swedish Ambassadors have offered their mediation and His Majesty hath most willingly accepted of it towards a treaty with Holland, but altogether rejected their proposition of having the treaty made in a neutral place, insisting still upon the States sending hither. His Majesty entirely allows of Your Lordship's corresponding well with the Swedish Minister at Vienna and your giving him all possible assistance in his affairs there.

It was unhappily told Your Lordship that we had driven the French out of St. Christophers[204], the success was quite contrary, taking advantage upon the division amongst the English, they fell upon them and massacred the greatest part of them and are now entirely masters of all the parts of the island, which we have so long possessed, but if it please God to give us success in this present engagement, we hope we shall have many opportunities of revenging ourselves upon them. I have no more to add but my constant assurances of being unfriendly My Lord,

Your Lordship's etc… Arlington

Copy. Harwich, 26 July 26 1666 after midnight (151)

About an hour and half since Sir William Pen[205] now in the Rowling Grounds[206] sent an express, but by all that I could collect there could be nothing of moment in it, since which Captain Talbot of the Elizabeth Sh.[207] being manned in the fight, came ashore here, who gives us this account, that on St. James his day being the 25th the fight began about eleven of the clock in the forenoon; led on by the White who played their business so well that they made the Van of the Dutch bear away, the winds being northerly and very little, the Red[208] following in the same line made the part of the Dutch fleet against them bear away, likewise the Blew, which was the weakest Squadron and brought up the rear, had their lot to fall in with the flushing Squadron, which was the strongest of the enemies, who kept them to leeward, yet could not make them bear away, because being in the rear, some of them being long before they could fall into the line being heavy sailors and so much astern, that the hindmost of the Blew had very hot service; this dispute continued hot till night, even as long as they could see to fire, during which time 4 of the enemy's ships were seen on fire and we lost the Resolution[209] by a fireship of the enemies, being very much disabled before. This day, before 7 of the clock in the morning they, began again, and the guns were heard till towards noon and then ceased that we could hear no more and which the issue of this day's engagement may be we do not know, yet we hope well because in our judgement seemed to draw our fleet farther from our coasts by the loss of the report of the guns. The

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[204] St. Christopher Island, better known as St. Kitts, in the West Indies. At that time, it was occupied by both the British and the French but, as you can read in Arlington's letter, the French attacked the British and killed many of them. Ownership of the island would continue to be contested between the two, with the British finalizing their control over it and neighbouring Nevis Island in the late 1700's. They gained independence from the U.K. in 1983

[205] Sir William Penn (1621-1670), British Admiral and father of William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania.

[206] The *Rowling Grounds*, an area along the coast of England near the port of Harwich and its two estuaries, the Stour and Orwell Rivers. IT is also considered to be a candidate for the port from which the *Mayflower* left for America.

[207] The *Elizabeth* was a British warship built in1647. In 1666, under Captain Charles Talbot, she engaged in what was called the St. James Fight. A year later in action against the Dutch off the coast of Virginia, she would be brunt and sunk. She was part of the Blue Squadron.

[208] The British Navy organized their naval squadrons into three colours: Red, White, and Blue. More…

[209] *HMS Resolution*, originally names Tredagh after the Irish town of Drogheda, was the flagship of British Admiral Robert Sansum. She ran aground and was set afire by a Dutch fireship on the St. James's Day Battle.

fight was begun 12 or 14 leagues S. E. and by E. of Orfordness.[210] We think about 5 sails of our ships from the buoy in the Nore… sailed to our fleet. God Almighty crown our fleet with victory. The Resolution being much disabled by four topmasts gone the Admiral of Zealand came with his fireship and burned her, notwithstanding our R. A. of the Blew tacked about with his division to have saved her. When the Admiral had fired the Resolution he kept his winds with one of him, our Admiral of the Blew squadron and 8 or 10 more stood after him, the rest of the Blew stood to the East engaging with the rear of the enemy, but could not make them bear up so that they weathered the Red and White also stood to the Southward. At 6 at night the wind came West, our Blew and the flushing stood to the North and the rest of the fleets to the Southward and kept firing till night. This morning we saw our Blew standing to the Southward and engaging with the enemy. We have burned 4 of their ships.

Whitehall, July 27. 1666

My Lord,

Thus far goes our present account of things, which hitherto looks fairly. God Almighty perfect the glorious victory for us, we desire, that my next may give Your Lordship the news of it. I am in the mean time with much respect, My Lord, Your Lordship's etc…

Jos. Williamson[211]

I leave Mr. Bellew, who is now arrived here from Leland, to tell Your Lordship the state of the…

Lord Arlington to the Earl of Carlingford. Whitehall 24 August 1666. (154)

My Lord,

Though I do not write so punctually to Your Lordship in answer of yours, as I would if I had time for it, yet I take care that all our news be constantly sent you; what you have received of late of this kind hath been so good, that I cannot but think your usage for it in that court hath been the better, though besides what you tell us of it yourself, all other bands assure us no man could be more welcome to them than yourself. I pray God we do not find you the worse for it at your return, but as long as I hear you complain no more of the gout, I suppose all things go well with you, especially if you have heard news of Alderman Backwell, which I assure myself you have done before this time but so as to have reserved enough out of that little sum to make the journey back to us, it being impossible in the straights His Majesty finds himself for money, nor for me or any of your other friends to obtain more for you.

And His Majesty concurring with your own opinion therein upon the sight of all your letters of this month till the 15th, hath commanded me to signify His Pleasure to Your Lordship that you return hither with what convenient speed you can. This He promises to confirm to Your Lordship in a letter in his own hand, but I dare not be assured it will be any reader this post than it was formerly, neither let that omission prevail with you to believe His Majesty is less kind to you. I am confident when you return you will receive from Him better proofs of His good will and satisfaction with relation to your behaviour and conduct in your Embassy.

Your Lordship's letter of the 15th contained I write to Count Leslie in answer to one of his and to Father Donellan, whom I beseech Your Lordship to engage to correspond with us punctually after your departure, we will do the like with him and send him all our news, I make no doubt but you have

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[210] *Ofordness* is an island along the coast of County Oxford, England. 1 League is about 3 miles (4.8km)

[211] Probably Joseph Williamson (1633-1701), an English politician and diplomat, who worked with both Sir Henry Bennet and Lord Arlington. More…

constantly received all ours especially those two notorious good ones of the success of the late battle and enterprise upon the Vic. I am with all truth and respect.

My Lord, etc…

Arlington

P.S. News shall be sent Your Lordship for this fortnight after which time it shall be sent to Father Donellan.

Princess Elizabeth to the Earl of Carlingford. Herfort, 23 August 23 1666. (156)

My Lord,

The successes which God hath given our being by sea will, I believe, advance the treaty at Vienna and allow you but little stay in the court, therefore I send you another letter for his Imperial Majesty touching the 10 11. D. due to me by the treaty of Münster. I beseech Your Lordship to present it and get some resolution for me, if I have no assurance to be paid before you leave Vienna, it will be hardly obtained afterwards. The Comte of Zinzendorf212 can do much good in this business if you please to speak to him about it and combine the offices so freely and generously offered unto My Lord, Your most obliged friend to serve you, Elizabeth.

Sir W. Temple to the Earl of Carlingford. Brussels, 7 August 1666. (156)

My Lord,

My being last week at Antwerp left me in Your Lordship's debt which is increased since by yours of 25th past, but I now intend to make you full amends for all faults by telling Your Lordship that at tea last night I received an express who rode from Bruges hither in seven hours on purpose to relieve my impatience, which was pardonably great upon the certainty of our engagement all Tuesday and Wednesday last with the uncertainty of our success. But my express assures me that after the horrible thunder of canon, that was ever heard, for the greatest part of that time, and to the degree of shaking the very houses and beds at Bruges, about eleven at noon Wednesday, four great ships were blown up and burned, of which one was certainly de Ruyter's[213] and another thought to be Trump's,[214] that about two hours after the Dutch made all the sail they could possibly, towards Zealand and shot not a gun more, that about 5 that afternoon many of them came about their banks, but could not get in for want both of wind and of order, that yesterday morning ours was seen of the Wielings upon pursuit. This is the substance of my express last night, this morning I receive these two enclosed, one from my correspondent at the Hague, the other from a Dutchman at Antwerp, to which I refer Your Lordship for the conformity of reports; by another letter- from Antwerp this morning I am assured the report in Zealand is likewise that their Admiral Evertson (the same who was last year at sea) is killed.

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212 Probably George Ludwig of Sinzendorf (1616-1681). He converted to Catholicism in 1653 and would serve as finance minister for Emperor Leopold I.

213 Michiel de Ruyter (1601-1676), a celebrated Dutch admiral. A short video about his life may be found on YouTube. More…

214 Cornelis Tromp (1629-1691), a Vice-Admiral in the Dutch navy and a jealous subordinate to de Ruyter, who blamed the 1666 defeat by England on Tromp. More…

All together looks yet like a victory beyond the most presumptuous hopes and the effect of what the General has so long promised and resolved, by the utter ruin of all their great ships, God of heaven continue the truth of all these particulars and there will want none in that of His Majesty's being the greatest as well as the best of kings. The rest, as I receive it, Your Lordship shall not fail of, and for this itself I know Your Lordship would not only embrace me if I were with you, but be content for one half hour, I should do as much by your Mistress, which I hope in your last is a truth you tell me on your side, though it be but guess or mirth on mine.

I am this morning so persecuted with visits and messages, that I have hardly time to end this with the assurance of being ever, My Lord, etc…

W. Temple

P.S. The short note I received upon the folding up this from Antwerp, and Father Minnford comes just now to tell me he spoke with a shipper, who yesterday morning saw Evertson's dead body brought into Zealand among multitudes of dead and wounded. — No mas para no rebentar [No more to blow up].

Sir W. Temple to the Earl of Carlingford. Brussels, 14 August 1666. (157)

My Lord,

Since my last we have many certain particulars of our late engagement which ended in the most entire glorious and undisputed victory that could be; for though de Ruyter and Tromp are both alive, the first having escaped strangely and the last having been lost with his squadron for two days, yet that which de Ruyter himself confessed to a gentleman of this country, by whom he sent the relation to the Marquis here, that day he came into Zealand, is this that he knew his Excellence being his old friend would deeply regret such a shameful flight, which were his own words, but that several of his Captains and Tromp should answer for it. That he had lost but four ships of his own squadron, but between three and 4,000 men besides the wounded and what loss Tromp might have had he knew not, whom he had then heard nothing of since the fight began. He confessed to have lost two hundred rnen out of his own ship, and that if he had stood another charge, he had not a man that would have given fire to a gun more, all being resolved to leap over board and shift for themselves, upon which he thought it best to save the debris of his fleet for a better occasion. That Evertson Admiral of Zealand was killed, as also the Admiral and Viceadmiral of Frizeland, ten Captains of his squadron, with eleven of those of Zealand and Frizeland, that all the diligence possible could not set out his fleet in a month, and that which most troubled him was, that they could now hope to do no more but in conjunction with the French.

The day after de Ruyter, which was the 7th current, Tromp got into Zealand, having fled and being pursued by ours towards the Texel but getting out to sea in the night he made Zealand, pursued and cannoned by our light ships into the very haven, both squadrons came in severed one from another and got over the sands, where vessels never used to venture a passage and by which many of them were much damaged, but when they came all together they made the number of eighty two sails of all sorts. From this all persons that come from Zealand tell us here they have lost above thirty ships, and that they confess privately between 6,000-7,000 men, besides so many wounded, that at one time the day before de Ruyter's arrival, came in 2,000, and they are since dispersed into the towns of Holland, the rest of the men are kept still on shipboard by watches set on every ship but every day get away as they can and are all so heartbroken, that everyone, who has seen them, conclude, if they should suffer them to come on shore, not the sixth man would ever return.

An eyewitness assures us here that two and twenty of their ships come in, are so borne that it will take up as much time and cost to repair them as to build new, and that the rest are so ill-treated, that under fifty days they cannot be ready to go out.

Our fleet lay before Zealand in sight of the Dutch about three days after they got in and sent small frigates every day to shoot and brave them and invite them to come out. By a letter this morning from the Hague I find they have been since Wednesday last in sight of Scheveling, eighty men of war, where some of our shallops burnt four fisher boats, full of passengers, which has given an extreme terror upon the coasts and occasioned four companies of horse besides foot to be drawn down upon the Downes of Scheveling.

I forgot to tell you that Bancart's ship Viceadmiral of Zealand is confessed to be blown up, being of about six hundred men and fourscore guns.

All the loss we can hear of among ours is only one ship called the Resolution, the particulars of theirs, beyond what they will confess themselves, we must expect from England by next post, this in the mean time will serve for a paper to light your fire, since whatever they say to lessen their loss of ships they themselves confess that they never lost, since they were a state, a battle so infamous as this.

I am. My Lord, Your Lordship's etc… ,W. Temple

Sir William Temple to the Earl of Carlingford. Brussels, 21 August 21 1666. (159)

My Lord,

The last post served to light your fire, and this will serve to pay for your wine which our last victory cost. I send Your Lordship enclosed a bill for 9,000 gilders,[215] though I know Alderman Backwell will wrangle that I make it so much upon my order of £900 the exchange running now a good deal lower. I have been adjusting here with merchants about returning it to Vienna these three days, but they asked so unreasonably (no less than nine in the hundred) that I was forced at last to fall upon this expedient of taking a bill for the value of the money I pay here and leaving it to Your Lordship to agree with the merchants there for the exchange which you will I suppose do at a better rate or will at least be sure you suffer no wrong.

The second bill I shall send by next post and desire the acknowledgement of this by the first.

News we have none of late but that our fleet continues upon their coasts strong and brave and ready for another victory of which the Dutch give us hopes by their talk of setting out the end of this month or about the tenth or fifteenth of next, as better authors have it, but neither will such numbers of ships or men or courage, as they have formerly done, having had a horrible slaughter among their best mariners and captains the last light, and an incredible damp upon the hearts of the rest, as Ruyter says he found above a hundred of his men at once crept into the hold.

Our men landed last week in North-Holland, planted His Majesty's colours upon the first land they came to, with a broom upon another standard, fired some houses, took some boars and to sea again; some Dutch fishermen, taken by ours, were carried aboard the Generals, where being well used they

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[215] *Gilder,* more commonly spelled *guilder,* was a monetary unit with roots back to the century based on the Florin, a coin issued by Florence, Italy that became known as the guilder throughout much of Europe. In 1816, the Netherlands formerly adopted it as its official currency. Its symbol is f.

stun their fellows at Amsterdam with their drinking in great gold bowls, and with the bravery of all our men both in clothes and heart. We have in all points honour enough; the profit is to come. More pretends to guess yet what measures the French will take, whether come down with their fleet or no.

I am always, My Lord, etc…, W. Temple

Sir W. Temple to the Earl of Carlingford. 21 August 1666 (161)

My Lord,

By last post I sent Your Lordship the first bill of exchange for *f*9,000, this morning I intended you the second by this week's packet but having been forced to Antwerp and kept here two days longer than I expected, I must stay till next week, though I hope it will then be needless.

Since our last victory of which I hope Your Lordship has received the accounts I sent you, our fleet has been braving or rather raging upon the Dutch coasts; about the 15th of this month there landed about one hundred men from our fleet near Harlem,[216] burned some houses, took some boors, set up His Majesty's colours upon one standard and a broom upon another, and so retired. Upon the nineteenth twelve of our small frigates, with four fireships and about thirty shallops full of men and granados went over the flats into the Ulye where lay the greatest part of the Amsterdam ships, which in the time of their late bravery had been made ready to go out. All the Amsterdam letters confess we burned one hundred forty five with three men of war of about 30 guns, they of Amsterdam themselves value the loss, some at 160 ton of gold, others at eight millions of potacons, but all confess never so great a loss or shame befell them since they were a state; about the 23rd instant, we landed in the Isle of Schelling[217] near the Ulye and burned between four and five hundred houses; nor is it agreed between the Dutch letters whether we quitted it or remain there fortified.

Upon these disasters the exchange at Amsterdam was two days together wholly deserted, not one man seen upon it but all gone to the Admiralty, to rage at their masters there, and the divisions among themselves grown so high that on 24 current Van Tromp was by the States cashiered of all his commands and upon pain of death confined to the Hague. His brother-in-law, the Burgomaster of Rotterdam,[218] had his cushion sent him and fearing worse usage is as I hear come this day hither. This is all certain and while I write comes news to me that we have taken thirty of their ships that were coming from the North with pitch and hemp and all naval commodities, and that 5,000 of their men are broken out of their fleet, having threatened to kill their captains and their guards, some swearing they will go no more to sea and others that they will be paid their arrears, so that all seems to be now in Holland just as it was in England in fifty nine, the issue of it will be I hope the second step to the greatness of our Master. I am sure I have said enough to entertain you this month and yet shall not fail of adding whatever happens worth your knowledge by the next; I shall lose this if I say more than that

I am, My Lord, etc…, W. Temple

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[216] *Harlem,* spelled as *Haarlem* by the Dutch, is a city and capital in the province of North Holland in the Netherlands.

[217] *Isle of Schelling*, properly known as *Terschelling,* is an island in northern Netherlands west of the Fristian Islands. The island was ransacked by the British in 1666 in an engagement earned the name Holmes Bonfire.

[218] Probably Johan Kievit (1627-1692). Interestingly, he was married to Aida Tromp, the sister of Corrnelis Tromp of the Dutch navy. HE would later get caught up in conspiracies and murders. More…

Sir W. Temple to the Earl of Carlingford. Brussels, 4 September 4 1666. (162)

My Lord,

I am very glad to find my news put Your Lordship in so good humour and doubt not but those that followed the three posts after will have increased that and Your Mistresses content. I wish I had a Mistress too that I might be sensible of those transports and know where to share them, but all men have not that star, and mine I think has ever been duller and will ever be so than any body's else. Your Lordship wall easily conclude so when you know that I have not seen Lady Diana anywhere these two months, nor at her own house I believe these six, which I tell you, that you may not envy my good fortunes so much as pity my managing them so ill. However I neglect myself I hope Your Lordship finds I do not so by you, having never omitted to furnish you with occurrences here that are worth your knowledge, though I'll swear the letters and other more troublesome dispatches, which I have of late had perpetually upon my hands, might sometimes furnish me with a good excuse if I were content to make Your Lordship any in those points wherein I may serve you or please you.

I send you here enclosed the second bill for *f* 9,000 Brabant money ordered me to remit you and hope you will better adjust the Exchange there, than I could do here.

All our news is the continuance of the great divisions between the parties in Holland which make all men here look upon the going out of their fleet again, as a stroke of despair in de Witt, whose head lies at stake upon the good or ill event of this next engagement, which we suddenly expect. God of heaven send it happy and it will be final. Our fleet has been some days refreshing in Sole-bay and attends the Dutch coming out with great impatience, they are brave and strong, healthy and well provided in all kinds, and so God bless them and send the General may make his word good, who promises to make an end of the war this next battle. God send Spain better sense and us better friends if they conclude not suddenly, which your court can the best press of all others.
I am, My Lord, etc…, W. Temple

Sir W. Temple to the Earl of Carlingford. Brussels, 11 September 1666. (163)

My Lord,

I have nothing to add to my last but the certainty of the Dutch fleet's being out near to sail, besides fireships but ill manned and worse hearted. They are yet but little advanced into sea, though they have been out a week and have had a wind direct for our coasts; so soon as we have it favourable, we shall, I doubt not, be with them upon theirs. God send us fair weather and a happy meeting.

There are 40 companies of horse and 70 of foot drawn about the Hague and had bullets and powder distributed to them on Thursday last. Several prisoners were brought in not long before, covered in coaches, nor is it yet public who they are, but on Thursday planks and posts were carried to the Court there for building a scaffold; they are in daily fears and have daily rumours of a revolt, and of the Hague's being to be pillaged such and such a day of which nothing is yet arrived. Hevitt the Burgomaster of Rotterdam[219] one of the States General of the States of Holland, of the council of State,

[219] The Burgomater (Mayor) of Rotterdam was Johan Kievet and may be best known as a collaborator with King Charles the II of England. He was sentenced to death for treason but escaped to England. In 1672 he would be pardoned upon return to the Netherlands, whereupon he conspired against the disgraced brothers, Johan and Cornelis Dewitt, who were

and next to de Witt the most considerable man, after a retreat here of some few days is gone into England; Van der Horst, another of the same quality is fled to Liege, and in short things are grown to the utmost violence and threaten the utmost confusion among them.

Here is a good ballad to make amends for an ill letter; I wish to hear the receipt of the bills of exchange first and second, I sent Your Lordship for 9000 gilders.

I am, My Lord, etc… W. Temple

Sir W. Temple to the Earl of Carlingford. Brussels, 24 September 24 1666. (164)

My Lord,

Having at this time no pleasant news to send you, I doubt whether I should have written were it not to acknowledge Your Lordship's of September 9th and to cover the enclosed, which My Lord Arlington commands me to dispatch, unless I have news of your being upon your way homeward, which I find His Lordship believes. For the miserable accident of this late fire in London, all I shall say is that 't is as bad as you can well imagine it after you know that it has neither touched the Tower, nor any of His Majesty's naval stores, nor any part of the town more westward, than the Temple of Holborn bridge; within the city it has made a horrible ravage but has not worked upon any minds to discontent or ill reflections upon the Government, but only to rage and suspicions against the French and Dutch, as the treacherous authors of it, for so the vulgar will have it, and many of them are imprisoned and ordered to be examined upon the presumptions have been given of their guilt. The fleet after very great storms without any loss to us, but a good deal of the Dutch, is in very good posture, and parted on Monday last from Helene road to seek the enemies, who are said to be on their way homeward, and letters this morning from Holland say de Ruyter[220] is dead, and one Robol (a man of 66 years of age, who lived in a private village called Pommerant not far from Amsterdam) made Admiral in his place. More I will not give Your Lordship the trouble of at this time but wish you a prosperous stay or journey and remain.

My Lord, etc…, W. Temple.

Lord Winchelsea to the Earl of Carlingford. Belgrade, 7/17 of August 1666.

(12 miles from Constantinople) (165)

My Lord,

I am highly obliged to Your Lordship for the honour of your correspondence and particularly for the narration of the victory our Master hath had over the Hollanders, and I assure Your Lordship that I had had the good fortune to have begun this intercourse of letters with Your Lordship, had I not found the Emperor's Resident here more cold towards me than his predecessor, and that he never gave me notice of his sending any packets that way.

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blamed for a disastrous performance in leading the Dutch navy against the English. They would end up being tortured, lynched, and dismembered. Fourteen years later he would be convicted of embezzlement and banished from the county.

220 Michiel de Ruyter was an Admiral in the Dutch navy, a much-admired seaman and strategist. Following mixed success in naval engagements against them in August of 1666, he fell ill, but rumours of his death were untrue. He would recover his health only to be killed in 1676 from an infected musket wound during a battle against the French navy, who, upon news of his death, honoured him by firing salutes as hist ship carried his body back to the Netherlands where he would be buried Nieuwe Kerk church in Amsterdam. The church in now a non-secular, public space.

Here is no news stirring in this Empire unless it be the great preparations here to take the city of Candia[221] which the Turks[222] here pretend not to doubt of next summer. The French Ambassador went lately to Adrianople to endeavour to renew the capitulations and made 64 new articles, which he desired might be therein included, but the Chimecham[223] then thought fit to send but 9 of them to the Visier for his consent, one of which was to force all strangers and their ships, who had not their Ambassadors or public Ministers here to come under their protection, and in particular named the English as having had that privilege by favour inserted in their capitulations about 90 years since, whereas they were the ancient friends of the G[224]. Sire and had it granted them 140 years past, and that by reason that this privilege was granted the English, their King (whom they call Emperor) would not suffer their capitulations to be renewed until now, and that if the Grand Seigneur would have peace with the Emperor of France, he must now give it them again and take it away from the English. This alarm I had from my first Droggeman when the propositions were sent to the Visier, and that it was too late for me to go in person to oppose him, so that all I had time to do was to write to the Visier, Mufty and Chimecham as home to the purpose and as sensibly as was convenient to maintain our King's honour here, and this hath so worked with the Great men, that the French Ambassador is every day expected back again without having done anything or renewed his capitulations, which is not a little to his dishonour, yet we must watch him and not be too confident; the Turks have here of enemies a good proverb, that we should provide a lion for every ant which our enemies have, for those who seem at a distance to be inconsiderable, yet near at hand being neglected at first, prove irresistible.[225]

The good news of Sweden standing fast to our master's interest is exceeding good news to us here, as also that Your Lordship's negotiations go on well at Vienna and My Lord Sandwich's at Madrid. This is such a juncture as His Majesty must move his friends to declare themselves and countermine the French in all parts of the world; their designs are certainly here to endeavour (if they could) a new rupture with the Emperor, and the bad settlement of Transylvania they hope may minister them an occasion, for if they can by giving under hand moneys to that Prince, provoke him to raise arms against the Port, since his country is in a most desperate condition, the tribute being double to what it was in former times, the country poor and harassed and half of it also taken from them, and as the Transylvanian[226] Ambassador told me, was ready to venture all rather in the field, than to starve in their houses at home, if thus, they can raise a war they have their ends, for if the Grand Seigneur takes part or all Transylvania, it must of necessity cause the Emperor to be very jealous and to arm too, which diversion of the forces of the House of Austria must be to the French interest, if so be, that it should

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221 *Candia* is now known as the island of Crete. It was given Candia as its name when it was under the control of the Republic of Venice, which wrested it from Venetian control during the Cretan Ware (1645-1669). During the Venetian occupation there were occasional clashes between the Roman Catholics of Italy and the Greek Orthodox adherents native to the island. The island would continue to be contested over by the Venetian and Turks for many years.

222 At this time the Ottoman empire was led by Sultan Mehmed IV, a.k.a Mehmed the Hunter for his love of the sport. While he had led the successful expansion of the Ottoman empire (The Köprülü era), he was nonetheless ousted in 1687 in a military coup by soldiers tired of constant warfare. He was assisted by officials called "viziers," like Prime Ministers, who exercised significant executive authority over the empire.

223 I have not been able to determine the meaning of this word. "Cham" may refer to an Albanian group that lived within north-western Greece called Cahmeria, some of whom were Muslim, but that's a stretch. Lord Winchelsea is likely doing his best to phonetically spell the title of an Ottoman negotiator.

224 Probably shorthand for Gauls. In the mid 1500's France and the Ottoman Empire would unite in opposition to the Hapsburg family of rulers, including joint military operations in various parts of Europe.

225 At least two possible meanings for this. The first relayes to a fable used by business consultants, one example of which may be read here… Another is a cautionary tale that pits the strength of an individual warrior against the collective strength of a thousand warriors. Many examples in history show that technologically superior armies can be overwhelmed by the sheer numbers of an enemy. Consider recent U.S. wars as examples.

226 Transylvania, in Romania, was another area of eastern Europe that was frequently contest over by various factions including the Roman Empire, Goths, Huns, Gepids, the Hungarian and Ottoman Empires, followed by the Hapsburg monarchy and the Austrian-Hungarian Empire.

only amuse the Emperor's forces and spend his treasure though no war should happen between the two Emperors. This I thought fit to let Your Lordship know as a secret, that you may the better understand the Emperor's interest here. Besides, the State of Venice (who have a more able minister here than the French) drive all at the same design of making a new war between the Emperor and the Grand Seigneur, and I assure Your Lordship that some of the wisest here do offer to lay wagers that this peace will not last four years more.

I am exceedingly obliged to My Lord Leslie and have found him very zealous for our King; I have wrote to His Lordship by this occasion. The first good opportunity I shall send some Tenedos[227] wine for My Lord Arlington with directions, if it proves good, to present part of it to His Majesty; I did not know that the King did like such sorts of wine, for we here esteem them not wholesome drunk in any quantity. I will also send some to Consul Jones at Venice for Your Lordship as soon as any opportunity happens, and I shall not fail often to drink Your Lordship's good health and prosperity in your negotiations being Your Lordship's etc…,

W. Winchelsea

(Copy.) Parigi, 17 Agosto 1666.

L'avisato combattimento seguito tra Inglesi e Olandesi ancorché con lo peggio di questi ha ad ogni modo portato allegrezza a questa Corte, che poco si cura dell' avantaggio d' Inglesi e meno del danno d' Olandesi, perché tutto coopera a suoi fini e alia sua grandezza, ed il nostro Re può dire con la Corissa del Pastora Fido: "Ho nel Campo Martial pugnato e vinto;" perché i suoi amici e nemici han per esso combattuto. Solo si potrebbe dubitare, ch' aggiustandosi fra di loro gl'Ingressi ed Olandesi, non ne seguisse un esito infelice per noi, come seguì parimenti a Corissa, l'apparenza pero non e tale, massimo quando il Beaufort arrivi presto con la sua Flotta, essendo l'ora il tempo opportune di lasciarsi vedere al soccorso di Olanda non tanto per combattere, come per impedir la pace ira di loro, come ha fatto sin' hora il nostro Re, ch' hà proposti modi cosi strani, che mai potevano' esser ricevuti dagl'Ingressi, e benché ne sia agevolmente conosciuto l'artificio conviene nondimeno agl' Olandesi di simularlo sforzati dalla paura dell' armi di Sua Maestà, che si trova cosi poderosamente armata; oltre che sa benissimo la Sua Maestà foderarsi la veste, dove si manca la pelle del leone, con quella della volpe, come già faceva Alessandro, con gli accordi trattenendo i suoi alleati, come si trattengono li Putti con le Noci.

Cosi anche ha fatto con li Deputati di Lione, i quali allettati da Sua Maestra con buone parole hora si trovano alia Bastiglia a render conto della loro temerità di d'aver avuto ardimento d'opporsi alii regio riscotitori, e die sarebbe riuscito troppo pregiudiziale questi' esempio all'autocita reale, se si fosse lasciato correr senza castigo.

Sono arrivati anch' i Deputati Lionesi che per non esser colpevoli dell'eccesso della città, sono ascoltati e trattenuti cortesemente, ma in ristretto si conchiude che paglioni presentemente e poi si fare giustizia.

In contradimento di quanto si e scritto, sono giunti alia Corte i Chians d'Algeri, che fra gli altri doni die portano a Sua Maestra, conducono due Leoni ed una leonessa, con che si ratificare la pace stabilita con quel Rc, e si libereranno le schiavi d'ambe le Nazioni, pagandosi 50 scudi I'uno quelli, die si trovavano

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[227] Tenedos wine has been produced on the Island of Tenedos, about five miles off the coast of Turkey in the Aegean Sea since the era of ancient Greece. It is mentioned in the Greek classics the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid.* Today it is a destination for sommeliers and oenophiles. Winchelsea seems to suggest that he has a low opinion of this wine, but as the king likes it, he will send some to him, demonstrating that there is no accounting for taste.

di più nelF una e nelF altra parte. Aggiustamento che riesce di grandissima utilità alia Francia in participio per la sicurezza del commercio.

Si e fatta la rassegna delle Guardie di Sua Maestra alia presenza delle Dame di Corte, la quale e passata da Fontanablò a Vincennes non per altro, come si dice, che per la paura delle Varole, che quivi regnano, non essendo stato vero, che si siano scoperte nel Delfino, come s' avvisò.

Il motivo per il quale Sua Maestra ha chiamato alia Corte, come si scrisse, il Duca d' Orleans con la Moglie, dicono, che sia stato per impedir il continuo commerciò che passava di lettere fra Madama col Re d' Inghilterra suo fratello, quale, sintesi, che richiami laRegina Madre di la dal mare; ma si erede, chè non partita cosi in fretta, sperando pure la Sua Maestra d'attaccar qualche trattato d' aggiustamento tra le due Nazioni.

Gl' Inglesi si vantano, che nel combattimento seguito con Olandesi abbino portato loro rispetto per esser della medesima Religione; ma che ciò non avverrebbero fatto alia nostra flotta se vi si fosse trovata, cosa che contradice a se stessa, mentre nell'istesso tempo dicono ch' hanno combattuto a Vascello con Vascello e che siano restati morti più di 3 mille Olandesi ed afFondati molti de loro vascelli, con altri vantamenti contradetti da quelli d'Olanda, quali accordatisi fra di loro publicano di voler uscire nuovamente e presto in mare per battersi di nuovo con la flotta Inglese, e scacciarla dalle loro coste.

Ha Sua Maestà spedito Monsu Colbert Trelon con 100 mille lire da consegnar al Duca di Beaufort per la sua flotta; marchiando verso Bellile la soldatesca destinata per la medesima flotta e la nobiltà radunata alia Roccella e montata sopra due vascelli per portarsi al medesimo imbarco.

Il Canonico Tranch si trova con un canchero in una guancia, e già si e dato per morto.

II capo e Ribelli del Bernese scorre più che mai contro li Tabellieri; ma anche de loro protettori, e quanto non può impadronirsi delle persone loro, gl'abbraccia e devasta le case loro ed i beni. —

Translation: Paris, 17 August 1666

The eager fight between the English and the Dutch, albeit with the worst of the latter, has in any case brought joy to this Court, which cares little about the advantage of the English and less about the damage of the Dutch, because everything cooperates for its own ends and to his greatness, and our King can say with the Corissa of the Pastora Fido: "I have fought and conquered in Campo Martial." [228] Because his friends and enemies fought for him. Only one could doubt, that settling between the entrances and the Dutch would not have an unfortunate outcome for us, as it also did in Corissa, but the appearance is not such, especially when the Beaufort arrives soon with its fleet, the hour being the opportune time to let oneself be seen to the aid of Holland not so much to fight, as to prevent the anger of them, as our King has done up to now, who has proposed such strange ways, which never could to be received by the entrances, and although its artifice is easily known, it is nevertheless convenient for the Dutch to simulate it, forced by the fear of the arms of His Majesty, who finds herself so powerfully armed; besides that His Majesty knows very well how to take on his robe, where the lion's skin is missing, with that of the fox, as Alexander already did, with the agreements holding back his allies, how the Putti are held with the Nuts.[229]

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[228] This line may refer to a popular play at the time, *Il pastor fido* (The Faithful Shepherd) written by Giovanni Battista and translated into English by Richard Fanshawe in 1647. The play includes human lovers, nymphs, and satyrs. A deceitful and amorous nymph named Corsica forces things to a climax in which the innocent hero is sentenced to die but is saved and then wed to his true sweetheart; Corsica repents. *Campo Martial*, in Italian, translates to "marriage field."

[229] Possibly an allusion to shipbuilding practices of the time in which the keel of a boat was fastened to the floor and ribs with metal bolts and nuts sealed with waterproof putty.

He also did the same with the Deputies[230] of Lyons, who, enticed by His Teacher with good words, now find themselves at the Bastille to account for their temerity of having had the audacity to oppose the royal rescuers, and that it would have proved too prejudicial to these examples of his real self if he had allowed himself to run without punishment.

The Lionise Deputies also arrived who, in order not to be guilty of the excess of the city, were listened to and held back politely, but in short it was concluded that they would pay them presently and then do justice.

In contradiction to what has been written, the Chians of Algiers have reached the Court, who among other gifts they bring to His Teacher, lead two lions and a lioness, with which to ratify the peace established with that RC,[231] and will free themselves the slaves of both nations, paying 50 scudi[232] each, were found more in both sides. This adjustment is very useful to France in participle for the security of trade.

The review of the guards of His Teacher was made in the presence of the Ladies of the Court, who passed from Fontanablò to Vincennes not for anything else, as they say, than for the fear of the Varole, who reign there, not having been true, that found themselves in the Dauphin, as he was advised.

The reason for which His Teacher called to the Court, as it was written, the Duke of Orleans[233] with his Wife, they say, was to prevent the continuous trading of letters between Madama with the King of England her brother, who, synthesis, that recalls the Queen Mother beyond the sea; but he is the heir, who did not leave so quickly, also hoping His Teacher to attack some treaty of adjustment between the two Nations.

The English boast that in the fight that followed with the Dutch I respected them for being of the same Religion; but that this would not have happened to our fleet if it had been there, which contradicts itself, while at the same time they say that they fought in ship with ship and that more than 3,000 Dutchmen remained dead and many of their vessels, with other boasting contradicted by those of Holland, which, having agreed among themselves, declare that they wish to go out again and soon at sea to fight again with the English fleet, and drive it off their coasts.

Your Majesty sent Monsu Colbert Trelon with ₤100,000 to be delivered to the Duke of Beaufort for his fleet; marking towards Bellile the soldiers destined for the same fleet and the nobility gathered at Roccella and mounted on two vessels to take to the same embarkation.

Canon Tranch finds himself with a canchero[234] in one cheek, and has already given himself up for dead.

The head of the Bernese235 Rebels runs more than ever against the Tabellieri; but also of their protectors, and when he cannot take possession of their people, he embraces them and devastates their houses and goods.

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230 A French Deputy would have been like an English Member of Parliament. The Bastille refers to the Parisian fortress and prison.

231 Possibly *Route Coloniale,* pertaining to the trade routes with colonial countries*,* in this case a payment from Algiers of the Ottoman Empire to France.

232 *Scudi,* or *scudo* was a silver coin used in Italy at the time.

233 Phillipe I, Duke of Orléans, (1640-1701). His current wife was Henrietta of England. Phillipe was an open bisexual.

234 Could not find a translation for *canchero*. Perhaps "cancer" given the bleak prognosis.

235 Refers to the Bernese Alps. In Bern and the surrounding areas, those of the Mennonite branch of Christianity were persecuted by protestant Calvinists. While Mennonites generally adhere to pacifist views, it is possible that some took up arms to defend themselves.

Count Egmont to the Earl of Carlingford. Bruxclles, ce 4. de Septembre 1666. (169)

Monsieur,

Toutes les fois que j'ai eu I'honneur de Vous voir, Vous m'avez toujours témoigne tant de bonté et tant de bonnes volontés pour ce qui regarde mes intérêts, que je ne fais pas scrupule de m'adresser a Vous pour Vous prior très-instamment de m' appuyer de Votre crédit et me prêter Vos bons offices vers le Roi Votre maitre, a ce que Sa Majesté veuille me faire comprendre dans le traite de paix qui se pourra faire entre Elle et les États Généraux des Provinces Unies au regard de la restitution que je prétends qu'ils me fassent des biens de ma maison qu'ils m'ont retenus jusqu' a présent sans aucun fondement de justice; je ne doute pas que Sa Majesté Impériale voudra bien Vous faire connaitre qu'Elle a assez de bonté pour moi pour employer dans cette rencontre son intercession en ma faveur, en suite de quoi je veux me persuader, Monsieur, que Vous me ferez aussi la grâce de concourir fortement par Vos recommandations envers Sa Majesté Britannique, a ce qu'il veuille m'y accorder sa protection; j'ai envoye a Monsieur le Nonce-Résident a Vienne, une déduction raccourcie des droits et du fondement que j'ai dans cette restitution prétendue, en laquelle Vous pourrez reconnaitre la justice de ma cause. La faveur que Vous me ferez en ceci me sera si considérable que j'en conserverai toute ma vie un véritable sentiment de reconnaissance, laquelle je Vous marquerai toujours toute entière dans les emplois ou j'aurai lieu de Vous témoin er que je suis assurément

Monsieur, Votre très-humble serviteur, Le Comte d'Egmont

Translation: Count Egmont[236] to the Earl of Carlingford. Brussels, 4 September 1666.

Sir,

Whenever I have had the honour to see you, you have always shown me so much kindness and so much goodwill for what concerns my interests, that I have no shame to address myself to you. Prior very earnestly support me with Your credit and lend me Your good offices towards the King Your master, so that His Majesty wishes to make me understand in the treaty of peace which may be made between Her and the States General of the United Provinces with regard to the restitution that I claim that they will make me of the goods of my house that they have retained from me until now without any basis of justice; I have no doubt that His Imperial Majesty will be good enough to let you know that He has enough goodness towards me to employ in this meeting his intercession in my favour, following which I wish to persuade myself, Sir, that you will also do me the thanks to contribute strongly by your recommendations towards His Britannic Majesty, so that he wants to grant me his protection there. I have sent to the Resident Nuncio237 in Vienna a shortened deduction of the rights and the basis that I have in this alleged restitution, in which You will be able to recognize the justice of my cause. The favour You will do me in this will be so considerable to me that I will retain all my life a real feeling of gratitude, which I will always mark You entirely in the jobs where I will have place to witness You and that I am assuredly, Sir,

Your most humble servant, The Count of Egmon

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[236] Possibly Louis Philip of Egmont.

[237] *Nuncio,* an ambassador for the Vatican.

Déclaration que fait Philippe Comte d'Egmont, Prince de Gaure et du Saint Empire. (170)

Du droit qui' il a de prétendre des États d' Hollande sa restitution de la Comte d'Egmont, et de tons ses autres biens patrimoniaux de sa maison situes dans les domaines des dits États.

Premièrement il demande la restitution de la dite Comte, laquelle passe plus de dix siècles a toujours été de père en fils le légitime patrimoine des Seigneurs d'Egmont, et laquelle Comte de sa propre institution a été declarée inaliénable pour tel sujet que ce pourrait être;

Et partant la restitution de la dite Comte ne peut être mise en controverse puisqu'elle n'a pas été possédée par les États de hollande que sur titre de guerre par confiscation, et qu'en r article 24 du traîté de paix fait entre le Roi d'Espagne et les dits États d'Hollande, il est dit, qu'un chacun pourra re prendre la possession de ses biens sans aucune forme de procès, nonobstant la confiscation du fiscal, incorporation, obligation, donation on transaction.

Secondement le dit Seigneur Comte prétend qu'on lui doit restituer la dite Comte et tous les autres biens de sa maison situes en Hollande, lesquels ont ete vendus centre le fidéicommis universel, graduel et perpétuel institue par L'amoral premier Comte d'Egmont, tant par son testament du 21. Juin 1558 que par son codicille, fait avec octroi et approbation du Roi d'Espagne le 17. de Janvier 1564.

Lesquels testament et codicille de fidéicommis universel furent confirmes par sentence rendue à la Haye en Hollande le 27. de Février 1613.

Ce qui fut encore approuve par une autre sentence définitive du Grand et Souverain Conseil de Malines du ... de Février 1622.

Et des depuis encore ratifie par deux sentences solennelles de révision prononcées au dit grand Conseil a 1' intervention de plusieurs Conseillers dep .... de diverses cours le 17. de May 1624 et reconfirmées le 12. d'Avril 1650, en vertu desquelles sentences le fidéicommis universel de tous les biens, terres, Comtes et Seigneuries de la maison d' Egmont a été tellement confirme qu'il ne peut souffrir aucun débat ni au principal ni au possessoire pacifique duquel elle jouit sans aucun trouble ni contestation en tous ses autres biens.

Et par conséquent la restitution des biens aliènes centre le susdit fidéicommis ainsi établi et confirme par tant de sentences ne peut être dénié au dit Seigneur Comte.

Troisièmement il y a plusieurs autres terres et Seigneuries en Hollande aussi vrai patrimoine de la maison d'Egmont, lesquelles sent possédées non des États, mais usurpées par plusieurs personnes particulières sans aucun titre, lesquels par une pure usurpation en retiennent encore la possession. Mais il n' y a rien de plus évident qu'ensuite du susdit traite' de paix, les biens de cette nature doivent être restitues au dit Seigneur Comte, comme ils ont été restitues a tons les sujets des dits États, puisqu'il est déclare en 1' article 35 du dit traite, que tons les biens lesquels devant le susdit traité n'ont été confisques par le fiscal seront et retourneront a la libre disposition du propriétaire.

Finalement il y a eu aucunes terres de la maison d'Egmont lesquelles ont été vendues pour payer les dettes de Lamoral premier Comte d'Egmont et instituteur du susdit fidéicommis universel.

Mais puisqu'il est encore dit dans' article 32 du susdit traite de paix qu'un chacun pourra reprendre les biens vendus ou aliènes par justice pour dettes légitimes lesquels lui appartenaient auparavant la confiscation, en re fournissant a l'acheteur devant que I'an du traite soit passe le prix de son achat;

Et partant le Seigneur Comte d'Egmont moderne ayant été a La Haye exprès en I'an 1649 et ofFert aux États d' Hollande de satisfaire a la susdite condition devant que 1' an du traite de paix fut écoule, si on ne I'a voulu recevoir a I'accomplissement de cette condition on ne peut dire de sa part qu'il ait été in culpa et moins in moré.

Et par conséquent au regard de ces biens vendus lesquels ne sont pas de si grande considération, le bénéfice de restitution en son entier ne lui peut être dénie.

Cependant puisque ce traite de paix, dont 1' observance de part et d' autre a été si solennellement jurée, fait un droit public et tient lieu de loi et de sentence, le dit Seigneur Comte espère qu' il ne sera 1' unique dans le monde qui demeurera exclu de son effet.

Translation: Declaration made by Philippe Comte d'Egmont, Antoine l' Hermite and of the Holy Empire

Of The Right He Has to Claim from The States of Holland His Restitution of The Comte D'egmont, and All His Other Patrimonial Assets of His Household Situated in the Domains of the Said States.

Firstly, he asks for the restitution of the said Count, who for more than ten centuries has always been from father to son the legitimate patrimony of the Lords of Egmont, and which Count of his own institution has been declared inalienable for such subject as it could be.

And therefore the restitution of the said Count cannot be put in dispute since it was not possessed by the States of Holland except on title of war by confiscation, and that in r article 24 of the treaty of peace made between the King of Spain and the said States of Holland, it is said, that everyone can take possession of his property without any form of trial, notwithstanding the confiscation of tax, incorporation, obligation, donation or transaction.

Secondly, the said Lord Count claims that the said Count and all the other property of his household situated in Holland must be restored to him, which were sold in the universal, gradual and perpetual trust instituted by the amoral first Count of Egmont, both by his will of June 21, 1558 and by his codicil, made with the granting and approval of the King of Spain on January 17, 1564.

Which testament and codicil of universal trust were confirmed by sentence rendered at The Hague in Holland on the 27th of February 1613.

This was again approved by another definitive sentence of the Grand and Sovereign Council of Mechelen of…February 1622.[238]

And since again ratified by two solemn judgments of revision pronounced at the said Grand Council at the intervention of several Councillors from…of various courts on May 17, 1624 and reconfirmed on April 12, 1650, under which sentences the universal trust of all the property, lands, counts and seigniories of the house of Egmont has been so confirmed that it cannot suffer any debate either in the principal or in the peaceful possessory which it enjoys without any trouble or dispute in all its other goods.

And consequently, the restitution of the alienated property centres the aforesaid trust thus established and confirmed by so many sentences cannot be denied to the said Lord Count.

Thirdly, there are several other lands and lordships in Holland, equally true patrimony of the house of Egmont, which are not possessed by States, but usurped by several particular persons without any title,

[238] *The Great Council of Mechelen*, was Netherlands' highest court, similar in scope to the U.S. Supreme court. At this time the court's president was Antoine l'Hermite.

who by mere usurpation still retain possession of them. But there is nothing more evident than after the aforesaid treaty of peace, goods of this nature must be restored to the said Lord Count, as they were restored to all the subjects of the said States, since it is declares in article 35 of the said treaty, that all property which before the aforesaid treaty has not been confiscated by the tax authorities will be and will return to the free disposal of the owner.

Eventually there were no lands of the House of Egmont which were sold to pay the debts of Lamoral first Earl of Egmont and founder of the aforesaid universal trust.

But since it is still said in article 32 of the aforesaid treaty of peace that each one can take back the goods sold or alienated by justice for legitimate debts which belonged to him before the confiscation, by re-providing to the buyer before that 1 year of the treaty either passes the price of its purchase.

And therefore, the modern Lord Count of Egmont having been at The Hague expressly in the year 1649 and offered to the States of Holland to satisfy the aforesaid condition before the year of the treaty of peace had elapsed, if one does not wanted to receive upon fulfilment of this condition it cannot be said on his part that he was in culpa and less in more.

And therefore, with regard to these goods sold which are not of such great consideration, the benefit of restitution in its entirety cannot be denied to him.

However, since this treaty of peace, the observance of which on both sides has been so solemnly sworn, constitutes a public right and takes the place of law and sentence, the said Lord Count hopes that it will not be the only one in the world which will remain excluded from its effect.

Mr. Jollyvet to the Earl of Carlingford. Hamburg 22 September 1666. (172)

My Lord,

Yesterday I received the honour of Your Excellency's letter of the 19th instant in a gracious answer to mine of the 28th of August. I communicated it to our merchants who doubt not with Your Excellency but the King our Master will find many opportunities to revenge himself of the Hollanders and of this town better than the Emperor can do, however they would willingly see what this town will answer to the Emperor's complaints which shall doubtless follow when Your Excellency receives orders from His Majesty of Great Britain to demand reparation from him.

We received yesterday the confirmation of the most dreadful fire that ever England knew, which consumed the best part of London from the Tower to the Temple Bar;[239] Your Excellency having the particulars of all from the same hand, I need not repeat so lamentable accidents that it makes any Christian heart bleed to think upon. As to the news this quarter affords and of which Your Excellency desire a weekly correspondence I begin now and shall continue to entertain the honour of that commerce with him.

The two Holland's men of war that have lain since the spring before Gluckstadt are gone home with two of our merchant ships and left one in the Sued's hands before the Swing. There is a strong report of

[239] Two locations along the Thames River, between which the Great Fire of London burned between Sunday, September 2nd until Thursday, September 5th northwards from the banks of the river to the original, Roman city wall, and area of approximately 1.1 square miles (2.8^2 km). At the time, it was the centre of business and commerce for the city and home to about 25% of London's total inhabitants. A 2014 docudrama about this event is The Great Fire.

some forces moving to assist Breme, as the Elector of Brandenburg and Cullen and the Duke of Lunebug this last is to encamp by Verde and the others to make a diversion in the Dukedom of Breme.

The forces expected from Pommern approach not yet, but have order now to hasten their march, so that a new Dutch war is much to be feared. The treaties betwixt the Swedes and Moscoviters[240] are as good as concluded. If be, the forces in Liefland will be ordered to pass into Pommern and so into the Dukedom of Breme with the rest. From El signor I have that the Dane's men of war that conveyed the Holland's merchant fleet so far as the nose of Norway are returned to Copenhagen where the Prince Elector of Saxe[241] is arrived incognito, and that our merchant fleet was still at Gothenburg.

I am with infinite respect, My Lord, Your Excellency's etc…, E. J oily vet. My Lady Swann presents her very humble service unto Your Excellency.

Mr. Jollyvet to the Earl of Carlingford. Hamburg, 29 September 1666. (174)

My Lord,

The treaties betwixt the Swedes and the town of Breme are wholly broken and the several deputies returned home, so that the war now goes on earnestly. The Sued's forces increase and fortify themselves against any relief the town can expect. What will the Elector and Princes do, shall be now suddenly known. The inhabitants in the meantime do their best with their canons. Their Senate is very secret in their Councils and hopes to be delivered from the siege by their neighbours' assistance. The troops coming to the Swedes from Pommern[242] and Wismar[243] are not to touch the Duke of Lunebourg's country, but part come down the Elbe to Stade from Luxenbourg, the other part by land. There are few regiments but very strong, the Stade regiment of foot is said to be 2000 men strong. The treaties being broken the Deputies went to the General Count Wrangel to take their leave of His Excellency who treated them very nobly in his leaguer during three hours. 'Tis written from Wismar that some horse are arrived there with a ship and 500 foot soldiers. The horse were immediately mustered and ordered to march towards the Elbe. The Wismar garrison is also to follow and the 500 foot soldiers newly come thither to take their place. The field pieces that passed by this place upon the Elbe towards Stade were sent to the leaguer yesterday and 6 morser[244] pieces were to follow the next day. The Danish post is not yet come. This is all the news this country affords, which Your Excellency will be pleased to accept from, My Lord, etc…

E. Jollyvet

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[240] The Swedes and Muscoviters (Russians) were frequently at war during the Middle Ages. During the 1600's they quarrelled over the control of the Baltic region. Sweden arguably had the better military, but Russian overwhelming numbers would eventually win the struggle, with the 1721 Treaty of Nystad cementing Russia's win.

[241] John George II, Elector of Saxony (1613-1680). His sympathies lied with France, but his geographical location required him to also be considerate to the Emperor Leopold I of the HRE.

[242] *Pommeran* is a region in Europe now split between Germany and Poland and yes, it also the area which gave birth tot the Pomeranian breed of dog, an off shoot of the German Spitz breed.

[243] *Wismar* is a city in northern Germany.

[244] *Morser*, or mortar, in the 17th century looked like a squat cannon with a fat barrel, with a maximum range of 800 yards (730 m). The fired a couple types of shells. One was a hollow metal ball filled with gunpowder and lit with a fuse designed to set fire to targets. The other was an anti-personnel weapon filled with musket balls and bits of metal to create an explosion oh shrapnel. Mortars tended to self-destruct over time, the barrels not able to withstand repeated use. Trajectory of the mortar shells of this time were often a high arc, which meant aiming them was a matter of trial and error.

(Copy.)… to the Earl of Carlingford. Madrid, 12 September 1666. (174)

Right Honourable,

I have with a great deal of comfort received Your Lordship's letter written in Vienna the 16th, whereby I understood of your good health and abode in that court. And though My Lord Sandwich and Mr. Godolphin told me that new instructions and credentials were sent to Your Lordship to return to His Imperial Majesty, yet they could not tell me how long you were to continue there which was the cause of my silence hitherto. These two ministers though hitherto somewhat slow in their treaty and pretending that which is very unacceptable to this Court viz. the title of a King for Portugal: yet they are by Her Majesty and all the ministers of this Court looked on as worthy wise and solid persons. It has been an effect of Your Lordship's wisdom to have obtained from His Imperial Majesty the sending of this express which question-less ought in all reason to advance the conclusion of this treaty, if there had been no other reason than the expressed in Your Lordship's letter, which is really true, nothing being able to dissipate the ambitious imaginations of France, nor to balance their designs nor to procure the satisfaction and peace of Christendom but the happy success of this negotiation which is at present at a stand, by reason that the King of Great Britain excused himself from ratifying the articles signed and sealed by the Duke of Medina and Sir Richard Fanshaw before his death in this Court. And though My Lord Sandwich and Mr. Godolphin do excuse His Majesty's non condescending to the ratification thereof yet there is no reason able to satisfy these ministers in that point. The chiefest of their arguments hath been that the treaty being sent in Spanish, could not be signed, by the great seal of England, as being against the law. The said treaty is now by consent of both parties translated into latin and yet the Ambassadors do yet abstain from sealing and signing of it, though I hope at length they will by their own reasons be convinced to do it, and then it will be a great stop to forward the rest.

I am daily with them, as named by Her Majesty and Commoners that do treat with them, to cultivate and dispose matters, before they come to the conferences and truly I am highly obliged unto both, for they tell me that without me, they would have still been in darkness, and the same with much more good reports they write to His Majesty of my proceedings, which I assure Your Lordship all are sincere and real, as my obligations to both crowns doeth require. I shall not fail to magnify Your Lordship's wisdom and care in soliciting His Imperial Majesty (as you have now very opportunely done) to contribute to the compassing of this negotiation. The Emperor's Ambassador tells me how much you are esteemed in that Court, whereof I give Your Lordship *la en ora Buena* [mygood news] as also of the advancement of your son Don Francesco to His Imperial Majesty's bedchamber, assuring Your Lordship, that I participate of the joy all your servants ought to have in seeing Your Lordship's Honourable Family so favourably looked upon and in so great an estimation by so high and powerful a Prince as His Imperial Majesty.

I have written to My Lord Lesley with this post, whom Your Lordship might assure that I neglect nothing of my duty towards him, and that the relation I have given of his worth and generosity in this Court, has not been inferior in any degree to that which I have given in England, whereof Your Lordship was a witness. He will do well to write to My Lord Sandwich, but it will be better in my opinion his going for England to be insinuated by Your Lordship's letters to My Lord Sandwich, than by his own in the present conjuncture of affairs. And it will be likewise necessary that Your Lordship writes to Count Sandwich of the Emperor's final resolution of sending an extraordinary Ambassador for England, for I do know that he will rejoice very much at the certainty of it, about which I write with this post to Comte Lamberg, who will accordingly give Your Lordship a favourable resolution and I shall continue to honour myself in corresponding with Your Lordship and in sending by your favour *mis besamanos a* [my kisses to] Don Francisco, whilst I remain, My Lord, etc…

Lord Sandwich to the Earl of Carlingford. Madrid 23 September 1666.

My Lord,

I have had the honour to receive most of Your Lordship's letters particularly that of August 16th by the Emperor's express, who arrived here on Monday September 6th and I hope before now Your Lordship hath received three others of mine, which have had little more in them than to pay Your Lordship my respect and maintain our correspondence. It is a great mercy from God that Your Lordship and I have cause to rejoice in a clear and eminent victory our fleet hath had over the Hollanders, the particulars we need not communicate, being doubtless informed by more speedy and direct means than this is. All the news I take notice of here is, that the Empress landed at final on the 20th of August. Before this I suppose she will be in Germany. I have had no letter from Sir Robert Southwell in Portugal this month passed. On Saturday last I went to visit the Emperor's Ambassador to give him the *ora buena* [good news] of the Empress' arrival at final, and to desire him to move the Emperor in the concerns of Prince Rupert, which he promised me to do, and gave expressions of the Emperor's respect to Prince Rupert and that he doubted not but he would do all that could be done in that affair, and that the Ambassador might fully comprehend what I desired, I have since sent him a memorial, the copy whereof I send Your Lordship herewith and think that if Your Lordship please to add your help and furtherance in that Court now it is a very seasonable time to hope for success therein.

Your Lordship may be pleased to decipher this by the Cypher you have with My Lord Arlington

(Cypher)

I am. My Lord, etc…, Sandwich

Lord Sandwich to the Earl of Carlingford. Madrid, the 2/12 of October 1666. (177)

My Lord,

By the return of this express I hold myself obliged to give Your Lordship an account of my proceedings here, which to be short and avoid the trouble of Cyphering, remain still in the same condition as I mentioned in my last, save that since the coming of that express they have sent me a Translate of the Truce made by Sir Richard Fanshaw, and the Queen has sent me a message, desiring a speedy answer whether I will ratify the old treaty of Sir Richard Fanshaw's or no, and now having left it upon my hands to answer upon some occasions they have charged delay upon me, and no question, you will be told so in the Emperor's court, which boasting hath but slender grounds, when it is considered, how many months before I have waited for their progress, and in another memorial I have given them desiring justice and regulation in some points of commerce upon the common grounds of the law of nations, where no declared hostility is; to which yet I have not received satisfaction, and perhaps when I consider the prejudice of it at this present season, I may insist more intently upon that for a while, and I assure Your Lordship the other shall go on a fitting pace, there being some time required to compare translations and agree differences therein and make such an answer as the affair requires, and that falling upon me in the time when a multitude of other occasions hath embarrassed me also.

The Emperor's Ambassador hath given me an account of his pressing this crown to speedy resolutions and indeed upon all occasions hath been exceeding civil unto me, and so hath the Baron of Lisola when he was in town.

About 10 days since Sir Robert Southwell came hither to confer with me from Lisbon, and presently returned thither again.

We have a rumour of an engagement between the English and Holland fleets about the 13th and 14th of September, but I know not of what credit it is. But here is a servant of the Conde de Molina's come express from London bringing account of a very prodigious fire, happened in the city of London on the 2nd of September Engl. I hope in God the particulars we shall receive of it from home will not amount to so great a destruction as he describes. I remember nothing more that offers worth Your Lordship's trouble, which I will increase no further than by assuring Your Lordship of the truest obedience and affection of My Lord etc…Sandwich

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Copia, Recredentialium pro Comite de Carlingford ad Regem Angliae. (179)

Leopoldus (titulus). — Omnino speraveramus cum sub 18. Augusti proximo elapsi de consensu Ablegati Serenitatis Vestrae, Generosi Theobaldi Comitis de Carlingford, communium tractatuum promovendorum causam per proprium cursorem quam diligentissime scripsissem in Hispaniam, fore, ut is tantisper saltem, dum vel idem cursor noster, vel categoricum etiam responsum ad literas meas rediret, hei subsisteret: Verum cum idem Ablegatus Serenitatis Vestrae accepto interim ejusdem jussu per Secretarium Arlingsford ipsi perscripto, illi sepositis omnibus in contrarium efferentibus rationibus sibi praecise parendum censuerit, Alitor non potuimus (tametsi praevideremus quae ille tam praeproperus abitus rebusque etiam Serenitatis Vestrae allaturus sit incommoda) quam ut cum bona nostra venia hinc abire sineremus non omissa tamen spe, quin de propositi boni finis obtinendi mediis ulteriores adhuc tractatus continuari possint. Caeterum, quae Nobis in Serenitatis Vestrae ejusque res quam propensissimae voluntatis constet affectio, Eidem dictus Ablegatus Suus edisserere poterit: ad quem, quod reliquum est, Nos referentes Serenitati Vestrae de incommodo ex incendio nuper Londini accepto amice condolemus, Et aliunde ejus jacturae quam plenissimam reparationem optantes Eidem omnia prospera obtingere ex animo vovemus. Viennae, 18. Octobris Anno 1666.

Translation: Copy, Credentials for the Earl of Carlingford to the King of England. 18 October 1666

Leopold (title). We had hoped that on the 18th of August next year, with the consent of your Abbot Your Serenity, the noble Theobald, Count of Carlingford, the cause of the common treatises I had written in Spain would be most diligently promoted by his own courier. He even returned an answer to my letter, but he stopped: But when the same Abbot of Your Serenity, having in the mean time received the same order written down by the Secretary of Arlingsford himself; he is also going to bring about the disadvantages of your Serenity) and that, with our good permission, we should not be permitted to depart from this place, however, without giving up hope, but that further negotiations may still be continued on the means of obtaining a good ending. We will be able to relate to your Serenity and her most profound affection for the things that are evident to us in the case of your so-called Ablegatus, to whom we are referring to your Serenity's inconvenience, lately received in London by a burning fire, and by another source of great reparation for his loss. We pray for him and we vow that all successes may befall him. Vienna, 18 October 1666.

(Copia.) Plenaria informatio Octobris 1666 (180)

translata ex Germanico praesentat 29. Octobris 1666 una cum literis civitatis. Hamburgensis de dato 6. ejusdem mensis Octobris. super aggression. ab Hollandis 3° Septembris amii 1666 in Albi fluvio contra quasdam in Angiiam destinatas naves facta.

Cum duabus majoribus aliisque binis minoribus onerariarum conciliatricibus Watten dictis Honorandorum navibus, quae 3° Septembris nuperi in Albi fluvio Anglica expugnaverunt, ita se res bebat.

Posteaquam Angli victores in Oceano evasissent, et in Ulie atque Schellinga non solum naves certo numero sed et ipsam Schellingam exussissent, incitati fuerunt Hollandi, ut Generalium Statuum ad secretiores operationes deputatis Dominis Admiralitatis Amstelodamensis mandarent, quatenus ipsi suarum navium majorum binas prope Glückstadium positas ad naves quasdam, quae ab aliquot jam mensibus diversis mercibus onustae atque in Angiiam destinatae in Albi fluvio infra Altenam prope novum molendinum conductum Anglicum operiebantur, evertendas emitterent.

Cumque dum mandatum 2º Septembris per duas Amstelodamensis naves minores Capitaneo Brederode unaque praedictarum majorum navium Commendatori prope Glückstadium adferretur, inde circa vesperum facta classe Albim ascenderunt, omnesque minores obvias pro se tradentes cum prope Altenam venissent, in praedictas in Angiiam destinatas naves impetu facto explodere coeperunt. Quarum undecim, praecisis anchoris pansisque velis vento secundo una Hamburgum petierunt ibidemque sub tormentorum praesidio juxta alias Hamburgensis ante portum fixas naves consederunt: duae reliquarum in Angiiam destinatarum a quatuor Hollandis circumdatae vi tormentorum materiaque incentiva tandem superatae conflagrarunt; quam sortem et Hamburgensium una in Hispaniam destinata, et casu ibidem haerens subiit. Duas alias uti et tertiam Hamburgensem dictus Commendator expugnavit secumque abduxit, Prout et quartam Suecicam (quam tamen ad Domini Generalis Vrangelii instantiam, quo diutius Glückstadium remearent, dimittere maluit).

Haec Hollandorum aggressio vesperi circiter una hora post portus Hamburgensis clausuram contigit: Cumque continuae explosiones in Civitate exaudirentur aërque subinde ex Anglicarum navium incendio claresceret, senatus statim in Domo Civica congregatus fuit, apud quem Anglicae quidem Curtae Secretarius aliis quibusdam Angliae stipatus circa nonam vespertinam ut portus reseraretur sibique trecenti milites in auxilium suppeditarentur, vel saltem tormenta nonnulla exploderentur' institit: At vero cum res mature solliciteque deliberaretur, haud consultum visum fuit, munitae urbis portum jam occlusum sera nocte reserare; quippe quod opaca nocte haud appareret, quid periculi dictae Civitati imminere aut hac sub actione latere possit; maxime vel ipsorum Anglorum comparentium dicto intelligeretur undecim, adeoque potiorem navium suarum partem sub ipsa Civitatis moenia atque Sancti Joannis propugnaculum ad alias Hamburgensis naves, quas ob sui molem portus capere non poterat, confugisse jamque in saluo et extra periculum esse. Nihilominus tamen in id dictus Senatus Hamburgensis consentit, ut insuper terroris gratia, neve Hollandi dictas naves elapsas ulterius insequerentur aliquot tormenta, prout et factum fuit, ut neque tunc, neque postero die (quantumvis ad dictam Anglorum instantiam portus haud aperiretur) damni quidquam ipsis contigerit.

A suppeditatione trecentorum militum dictus Senatus hisce de causis se excusavit: 1° quod opaca nocte trabem levare, ut dictum, Civitatis suae securitati vel propterea haud expediret, quod copiosa ejusdem plebs eo concursura, et incertum, an sibi postmodum ejusdem occlusionis pro rei exigentia facultatem relictura fuisset; adde, quod eandem etiam aperturam fluminis refluxus impedivisset. 2"* quod senatui non magis quam ipsis Anglis adventus ejus classis Hollandorum non constaret, nec notum esset an aggressores Dani Hollandive, vel quivis alii forent. 3" nec propulsationi ejusmodi inopinati accidentis majorum navium copia, quae majoribus Hollandicis par esset, in promptu paratave aut instructa esset: Et vero 4" si milites navibus minoribus imponi debuissent, id contra veram rationem bellicam (utpote quod contra majores aliasque minores armatas tormentisque bellicis instructas ad Carnificinam solummodo educerentur) factum fuisset. Adde quinto quod Generales Status aut quicunque tandem aggressores ii fuerint, exinde Magistratum partiali tatis arguere sibique ac civibus suis neutralitatem ac commerciorum libertatem controvertere potuissent.

Idque sexto quidem magis, quod aggressio ea non in ipsius civitatis, sed Danico nimirum territorio contigerit, et in incerto esset an non ipso Serenissimo Rege Daniae consentiente facta fuerit? quo casu necessario differentiae vel hostilitas etiam inde emersissent. E contra vero 7° Anglis tanquam privatis in Albi fluvio cum minoribus non instructis navibus citra spem successu, assistere, inconsultum interituique navium pariter ac hominum proximum fuisset, praeterquam quod Octavo etiam ejusmodi auxilium ad Anglorum ab Hollandis occupatarum semive combustarum navium recuperationem haud quidquam conferre potuisset : prout id egregiorum, artisque militaris expertorum, tum temporis Hamburgi degentium virorum attestationibus si opus, probatum facile fuerit.

Novit caetero quin civitas dictam Curtam Anglicam ad protectionem, quae per contractum initum sibi bonisque suis debeatur, reclamare, quod quidem caeteris paribus in tantum agnoscit, ut adhuc dum in id se promptam offerat. At vero praesenti in casu quo nimirum propriorum suorum civium naves cum mercibus altera combusta alteraque abducta fuit, ex allegatis rationibus relevantis simis haud quaequam praetendi potuit; utpote quod earundem aggressio in alieni et quidem cum aggressoribus Hollandis confoederati, ac forte in eandem aggressionem consentientis Principis territorio sera nocte facta fuerit, nec spes ulla recuperationis ex simili protectione appareret. Diebus subsequentibus, postquam de aggressoribus constitit, non defuit Senatus dictae Curtae petitionibus, eidem non solum qui residuas ex incendio merces custodirent atque salvarent adjungendo, sed et pro subtractarum restitutione suos pariter atque vicinos compellendo ac requirendo.

Id duntaxat saepe dictus Senatus optasset, ut dicta Curta monitionem atque consilium suum jam antea acceptasset, quod in Majo circiter (dum pro Piratarum repressione armatas aliquot naves Albi imponebat) Anglico Residenti, pariter unam pro suarum securitate navium poscenti, per Syndicum suum, Doctorem Garmers, ac Philippum Jacobum Meurern, nec non et Anglico Secretario, cum Hollandi fluvium Tamesim observarent, per Casparum Westerman in Domum civicam evocatis dederat: ut quoniam duae Majores Hollandorum naves bellicae, quae praesentem aggressionem fecerunt, prope Glückstadium se fixissent ipsique ideo ad novum molendinum non satis secure moraturi essent, suas potius naves provehere et sub tormentorum urbanorum praesidium, prout aggressione hac quaedam fecerunt, locare vellent.

Quod vero memoratum molendinum novum jurisdictioni Hamburgicae subjectum esse adhuedum asseritur, erroneum est, quin imo notorium, Hamburgensem civitatem praeter molam popinamque pro nautis, ne latum quidem terrae pedem ibi-em possidere adeo certe, ut ratione etiam census, qui contra civitatem de dictae Domus censu praetenditur, hodie adhuc lis dubiumque versetur.

Subsequentibus diebus, neque ab Anglis postulatum, nedum a civitate iisdem denegatum fuit, quo minus Hollandorum navium majorem unam, quae per fluminis defluxum in arena resederat, expugnarent: At enim naves iisdem cum instrumento deerant.

Quod vero posteaquam dictae jam naves omnes Hollandicae Glückstadium evasissent, saepe dictus Senatus non consenserit, ut naves ibidem a dictis Anglis ad privatam vindictam vel Piraticam armarentur, quinimo habita ejusdem notitia huic eorundem intentioni, naves omnes piraticas quousque de non offendendo in Albi fluvio cavissent cohibendo, se opposuerit: id sane eidem a nemine partium studiis alieno vitio verti poterit.

Ejusmodi namque armatura, tam prioris temporis, quam moderni praescripto, quo privatis aut cujuscunque nationis hominibus pro piratica in Albi exercenda omnis in ejusdem fluminis urbibus armatura districte interdicitur, e diametro repugnat; prout et jam antea cum Hollandica navis a privatis quibusdam ad piraticam ibidem instrui voluisset dictae civitatis Senatus iisdem se opposuit atque antevertit.

Enim vero si haec Anglorum intentio effectum suum sortita fuisset non solum totum cum Hollandis commercium, sed tertii quoque innocentis res mercesque in discrimen deductae fuissent; Id quod non ex eo solum jam satis apparuit, quod Angli Mercatoriam Hamburgensium mercibus, vino atque frumento onustam prope stadam cursoria navi assecutam detinuerint, nec nisi post complures apud Regis Sueciae regimen Stadense (quo eorundem cursoria dictam mercatoriam ageret) factas instantias dimiserint, verum etiam quod subito commerciorum quaedam cessatio in Albi flumine observaretur nullaque navis per octiduum hoc rumore durante, aut Hamburgo solvere, aut ibidem appellere auderet; adeo ut vicini etiam Glückstadienses suas Hamburgum tendentes naves conductu militari providere debuerint. Et tametsi quidem in principio Generalis Praefectus Suecicus Excellentissimus Dominus Comes Wrangel ad sinistram informationem Anglorum cursoriis portum Schevingen permiserit, is tamen melius postmodum informatus ejusmodi piraticam porro in Albi flumine pati noluit, quin potius jam dictum aliosque Bremensis Ducatus portus iisdem interdixit: Ad haec, praeterquam, quod jure gentium privatis impune arma contrahere non liceat taliaque attentantes, tanquam piratae, a quocunque Magistratu cohibendi veniant, a praedicta Curta Anglica nulla ad hoc a Rege suo commissio, quae caetero quin etiam in Sacri Imperii flumine inanis fuisset, exhibita.

Domini Generales Status ad Caesareas litteras anno superiori scriptas Civitatisque Hamburgensis instantias erga ejusdem civitatis Ministrum in eum se sensum declararunt, quod si Magnae Britanniae Rex Albim flumen pro neutrali habiturus sit, ipsi pari etiam id loco habituri essent. Verum Regia Sua Serenitas quantumvis Hamburgensis Ablegati humillime solliciteque instarent, nullatenus se desuper resolvere aut declarare voluit. Condolet Senatus Anglis pariter ac civi suo Joanni Warner de damnis hoc casu perpessis. At vero aliud hucusque facere non potuit, quam desuper cum Majestatem Suam Caesaream Principemque Commissarium et Directores informare, tum et apud saepedictos Generales Status conqueri competentemque satisfactionem postulare: ut ita neque dicto Senatui Civitatique aut innocuis ejusdem civibus imputandum sit. quod citra eorum culpam a potentiore in territorio tertii Principis via facti attentatum patratumque.

Translation: Full information, translated from German on 29 October 1666 along with the letters of the state Hamburg on the 6th of October

With the two major and two smaller concluding transports of Watten, the said Hollander ships, which on the 3rd of late September attacked the English on the River Albi, the situation is the same.

After the English had escaped victorious in the ocean, and had scoured not only the ships of the Ulie and Schellinga in a fixed number, but also the Schellingam itself, the Dutch were excited to convey to the Lords of the Admiralty of Amsterdam, to the more private operations deputies of the General of States for more private operations that some, which were already some months laden with divers wares, and destined for England, were to be overthrown in the River Alb, below the Alten, and were covered with an English hired-mill near a new mill.

And while the command of 2nd September was to be brought up near Glückstadt by the two smaller ships of Amsterdam, Captain Brederode and one of the aforesaid major ships, the commander of the above-mentioned ships, the fleet having arrived near Glückstadt, about the evening. Eleven of these, having cut off their anchors, and now spread their sails with a second wind, made one for the second wind, and made for Hamburg, and there, under a garrison of artillery, took their seats near the other ships fixed at the port of Hamburg, which lots, together with the Hamburgians, were assigned to Spain, and, clinging on by chance, came up there. He stormed the other two, and the third Hamburgh, called the Commodore, and took off with him, the fourth, as well as the Suevi (which, however, at the request of the Lord General of Vrangelius, he preferred to release the longer they should return to Glückstadt).

This attack of the Dutch occurred in the evening about one hour after the closing of the harbour of Hamburg; and when continuous explosions were heard in the City, and the air from time to time was brightened by the burning of the English ships, the senate was immediately assembled in the House of Civic, with whom the Secretary of English Curta was surrounded by some other Englishmen around the evening as a port it should be opened, and three hundred soldiers should be supplied to aid him, or at least some artillery should be speared, he insisted, for, because it did not appear on a dark night, what danger was threatened by the said State, or could be concealed under this action; most of them were understood either of the English who appeared before the said eleven, and so the most important part of their ships had fled under the very walls of the city and the fort of Saint John, to the other ships of Hamburg, which, on account of the bulk of their harbours, had fled, and were now in safe and without danger. Nevertheless, the senate of Hamburg consented to this, that, for the sake of alarm, and that the Dutch should no longer be pursued by the said ships which had slipped away by several engines. it should happen.

From the supply of three hundred soldiers, the senate excused himself for these reasons: 1° that in the dark at night it was not expedient, as has been said, for the security of his state, or because a great number of the same people would flock there; she would have left add that the flow of the river had also impeded the same opening. That the arrival of the Dutch fleet was not evident to the senate no more than the English themselves, nor was it known whether they were the aggressors of the Danes or Holland, or any others. or that it would have been drawn up; and if soldiers had to be placed on smaller ships, that would have been contrary to the true military method (for example, that they were drawn up against the larger and other smaller arms and engines of war only to be brought out to execution). From that time they were able to convince the Magistrate of the partiality, and to dispute the neutrality and freedom of trade among themselves and their citizens.

And sixthly, indeed, that this aggression occurred not in the territory of the state itself, but in the Danish territory; in which case differences or hostility would necessarily have emerged. But on the other hand, the English, as though they were private citizens on the river Albi, with smaller and not marshalled ships, without any hope of success, would have been inconsiderate, and very close to the destruction of both ships and men; as it was easily proved by the testimonies of the distinguished men, and those of the distinguished military and artistic artists of that time, who, if necessary, were at that time living at Hamburg.

For the rest, the state knows that it does not object to the said English Curta for protection, which is due to him and his property being entered into by the contract; which indeed he acknowledges, all else being equal, so much as to offer him as yet ready to do so. But, indeed, in the present case, in which, of course, the ships of our own citizens, one was burnt and the other carried off with wares, it could not be asserted from the relevant accounts of the alleged mouldings; for instance, that the same aggression occurred against foreigners, and indeed allied with the Dutch aggressors; In the ensuing days, after a halt from the aggressors, the senate did not fail to join with the petitions of the said Curta, not only to guard and save the wares that remained from the fire, but also to make restitution by sending to and demanding the same from their neighbours as well as those who had withdrawn from it.

The aforesaid senate only wished that the said Curta had already received his admonition and advice, since in Majesty (as he imposed several ships of war on the repression of the Pirates) the English Resident, at the same time, demanded one for the security of his own ships, through his syndicate, Doctor Garmers, and Philip Jacob Meurern, and not even the English Secretary, when the Dutch were watching the Thames, had sent them through Caspar Westerman to a civic house in which he had been summoned; they were not going to stay secure enough, rather to advance their own ships, and put out a garrison of urban artillery, as they did on this kind of approach.

But that the mentioned new mill is still asserted to be subject to the jurisdiction of Hamburg, and it is erroneous to say that the city of Hamburgh, besides a mill and a restaurant, for sailors, possessed not even a foot of land there—at least, as by reason of the rent, which is contrary to the state of the said house the record is advanced, and the issue is still at issue and doubtful to this day.

In the ensuing days, no demand was denied by the English, much less by the state, to prevent the Dutch from attacking one of the larger ships, which had sat in the sand along the flow of the river; for there were some ships with the same equipment.

But that after all the Dutch ships of the said Gluckstadt had escaped, the said senate often did not consent, that all the ships of the said English should be armed there for private vengeance or a piracy; he has raised himself against it: this will, of course, be turned against him by no other fault of the interests of the parties.

For this kind of armament, as well as the provisions of former time and of modern times, in which private persons or persons of any race of any race are strictly forbidden to engage in piracy in the towns of the same river, are diametrically opposed. Inasmuch as he had already previously wished that a Dutch ship should be formed there by some private persons for piracy, the senate of the said state opposed and anticipated it.

For if this intention of the English had not had its effect on them, not only had the whole trade with the Dutch, but also the innocent third, had been brought into jeopardy; That which has not already appeared sufficiently from that alone, that the English have restrained a cursory boat which had reached the ship of the Hamburgh Merchant, loaded with wine and corn, near the stadam, and not until several years after, before the government of the King of Sweden, the Stadense (whereby their runner sent the said businessman) that a sudden cessation of commerce was observed in the river Albus, and no ship during this report would dare either to destroy it at Hamburg for eight days, or to appeal there; so that even the Glückstadts, their neighbours tending to Hamburg, ought to provide for military conduct. And although in the beginning the Swedish Prefect General, the Most Excellent Lord, Count Wrangel, permitted the harbour of Schevengen to the left of the English couriers, he, however, being better informed, did not wish to suffer further piracy of this kind in the river White; that by the private law of the nations it is not lawful to contract arms with impunity, while attempting such things as pirates, from whatever magistrate they come to restrain, from the aforesaid Curta of the English, no commission has been made for this by his King, which would otherwise have been empty even in the river of the Holy Empire.

Letters of the Lord General of State to Caesarea, written the year before, and the solicitations of the State of Hamburg against the Minister of that state, have made clear to him the meaning that if the King of Great Britain would consider the river Elbe as neutral, they would also have the same position. But his Royal Serenity, however humbly and diligently the abrogates of the Hamburgers were pressing on them, wished by no means to resolve or declare themselves upon them. The Senate is saddened by the English and its citizen John Warner for the damage suffered in this case. But hitherto he could not do anything else than from above to inform his Majesty Caesarea and Prince the Commissary and Directors, and then to complain to the aforesaid Generals of the State, and to ask for a competent apology, which without their fault was attempted and accomplished by the more powerful man in the territory of the third Prince.

Litterarum Caesaris ad Regem Angliae (185)

Leopoldus (titulus). Serenissimae benevolae justaeque Serenitatis Vesti-ae in conservanda Sacri Imperii fluminum ejusque commerciorum libertate atque securitate voluntatis, Nobis per litteras suas Vestra Majestate nuperi scriptas repetita contestatio uti perquam grata, ita ex adverso grave molestumque Nobis accidit ex iisdem intelligere apud Serenitatem Vestram Nostram et Sacri Imperii Civitatem Hamburgum tacitae cum Serenitatis Vestrae hostibus contra neutra litatis jura conlusionis insimulari. Quem sane aegrum sensum meum et Ejusdem Serenitatis Vestrae Ablegati, Generosi sincere Nobis dilecti Comitis de Carlingford contra eandem civitatem ad instantiam nonnullorum Mercatorum ad Nos delatae querelae, ac si in aggressione nuperrima navium quarundam Anglicarum in Sacri Imperii flumine Albi ab Hollandis facta mercatores Anglios a sui defensione prohibuisset proindeque ad refusionem damnorum ab iisdem perpessorum teneretur, haud parum auxerunt. Et sane quemadmodum nihil Nobis prius antiquiusque quam ut culta hucusque inter Nos Sacrumque Imperium ac Serenitatem Vestram amicitiae neutra litatisque hoc prae primis bello Anglo-Belgico durante jura intemerata conserventur: Ita hoc ipsum studium nostrum in eo quoque explicare sedule anniteremur, ut praefata civitas, si damno huic quoquo modo factove suo causam dedisse convinceretur, illius nomine opportunis etiam mediis compulsa condigne satisfaceret. Caeterum ex transmissa Nobis ab eadem super memorato facto haud ita pridem plenaria informatione (quam ut Serenitati Vestrae hisce communicaremus non una inducti fuimus ratione) id Serenitatem Vestram prospecturam confidimus, ut sin minus dictam civitatem omnis culpae vacuam damnique accepti consortem potius, quam dati complicem judicatura, id saltem justitiae, ordini, cognitaeque Nobis aequanimitati suae datura sit, ut si quidem praefati Mercatores prae tensioni contra Eandem suae insistant, rei ante omnia veritatem penitius investigari curet. Prout et nos Eandem Serenitatem Vestram benevole fraterneque requirimus velit eo usque suis, ne dictae civitatis naves ullatenus detinere, aut vero hosti litatis quidquam in dicto Albi aliisque Sacri Imperii fluminibus attentare aut exercere quoque modo praesumant, serio districteque inhibere: Quemadmodum et Generalibus foederati Belgii Statibus hanc a suis in Imperii flumine contra neutra litatis jura commerciorumque libertatem intentatam vim ea efficacia repraesentari curavimus ut suos quoque ab omni porro hostili excursione in Imperii ditiones efficaciter coercituros confidamus. Quod reliquum etc… etc…Viennae, 7. Septembris 1666.

Translation: Caesar’s Letters to the King of England

Leopold (title). To the most serene, benevolent and just vestment of Serenity in preserving the sacred rivers and the freedom of commerce and the security of our will, your Majesty recently wrote to us in a letter that is a very nice and offensive contest, so it’s a very unpleasant and painful thing for us to understand from them at our Serenity and Sacred Empire Unspoken city of Hamburg with your Serenity foes against neutral fawns conflicting rights to be accused of. What a sick sense of mine and of the same Your Serenity Abrogates, our sincerely noble and dear earl of Carlingford, against the same city, at the request of some Merchants to complain to us. The river Albus, an empire made by the Dutch, prohibited the English merchants from self-defence, and therefore they did not greatly increase the extent of the losses incurred by those who suffered the losses. And of course, just as nothing is more ancient for us than that hitherto cultivated between us and the sacred empire and your serenity of friendship, neither is it plausible that during the early Anglo-Belgian wars our rights may be preserved untouched. That the aforesaid state, if he were convicted of any loss to this man in any way or done in his own way, would satisfy him fittingly, when compelled by his name, even by the appropriate means. But from the full information sent to us by the same person mentioned above, not so long ago (which we were not led to share with your Serenity by this method), we are confident that your Serenity will look forward to the fact that, if not, the said state is free from all faults and losses incurred by it rather than given that he will judge an accomplice, at least with justice, order, and, as soon as he knows, he will give us his equanimity. Just as we also kindly and fraternally request your Serenity, please go so

far as to not detain the ships of the said state, or of any hostility toward the said Albus and other rivers of the Sacred Empire Strictly check: As the United States General of the Netherlands, we have taken pains to bring this force into effect against the territories of the Empire on the river of neutral commerce and freedom. Let us trust. What remains etc… etc…

Vienna, 7 September 1666

SUPPLEMENT TO THE EARL OF CARLINGFORD'S CORRESPONDENCE

B. G. Donnily[245] to Lord Viscount Taaffe. 14 January 1660/1 (189)

May it please Your Lordship,

The message that no protection can be had constrains me to trouble Your Lordship with these lines, that the protection is craved for debts made by disbursements (unpaid) in the late king of blessed memory his service, and no other. That to own me for a servant cannot be the owning of an obnoxious, since if I had committed sins of ignorance (yet untold to me), His Sacred Majesty hath been graciously pleased to declare that there must no mention be made of what is past, and that all is pardoned.

So as the claiming right by Patent under the great Seals to an office during life can neither make me odious on that score.

His Sacred Majesty's will is a law to me, if his service in that office must be executed by another person, yet doth his just soul know and his prime minister of state can tell that the immunities, rights and privileges belong to me, nor wants His Sacred Majesty means for a compensation, and if left to my task to find means, they would soon be had, if but one of ten expedients, which men of affairs proffer for the increase of His Majesty's revenue be put in practice, nor should I be to seek had I accepted £30,000 Sterling from the towns of Brabant and Flanders to move the king of blessed memory to grant a modification in a debt of £1,000,000, and for the which the town of Dunquerque[246] doth as yet stand bound.

I cannot be prodigal of my last moments; I cannot conceal the good which is meant to His Majesty; I can prove the justice of the claim of that great debt; I do crave a Protection and His Majesty's justice and mercy is too notorious to suffer the final destruction of my harmless family, who craves to be rescued; and that therefore Your Lordship would he pleased to reflect on the premisses, and to represent them to His Sacred Majesty as they are by Your Lordship's,

Most humble obedient servant, B. G. Donnily, 14 January 1660/1

…to the Earl of Carlingford. London, 11 July 1663 (190)

My Lord,

I shall have nothing to say to you of our particular business till I hear from you, and the only public transaction now spoken of, is the impeachment brought in yesterday by My Lord of Bristoll[247] against

[245] I was not able to identify B.G. Donnily (or Donnelly). The topic of conversation, probably flows out from the 1659 Treaty of Pyrenees between France and Spain in which certain lands in the Spanish Netherlands were ceded to France.

[246] *Dunqureque*, better known by its English name, *Dunkirk,* at the tip of north-western France. With a large harbour and its proximity from England (across the English Channel) and Belgium was an area fought over by France, Spain, the Germany, and many others.

[247] George Digby (1612-1677), the 2nd Earl of Bristol, a handsome, mercurial figure in Parliament was easy offended, held grudges, and seemed to bounce between brilliance and stupidity. He disliked Catholics, the English courts, church hierarchies, and many of his colleagues, but loved to try to impeach people. And engage in palace intrigues. He picked on the wrong people to impeach, was accused of treason, and fled to Holland where he hid behind the skirts of Queen consort Henrietta Maria of France. Disguising himself as a Frenchman, he sneaked back into England to visit King Charles and then made his way back to Holland where he was immediately arrested. Somehow, he talked his way out of jail, into the army, was wounded, and made his way back to Oxford, England. In 1643 he was appointed high steward of Oxford University, but soon returned to making questionable choices and schemes. Oddly, he converted to Catholicism,

My Lord Chancellor consisting of 14 or 15 heads, whereof I know you will have diverse copies sent thither by this post. In Court it is spoken of as the most ridiculous thing that ever was, and I confess I am one of those that think My Lord of Bristoll has brought himself into more danger by it, than My Lord Chancellor, it being certain that if he do not prove what he says against My Lord Chancellor touching the King's marriage, he will be himself impeached as a mover of sedition, which this will be understood to be in the highest degree and it is doubtful what the judges will say of the charge.

The Queen mother has laboured very much to prevent the impeachment as well by her power over My Lord of Bristoll, as her credit with His Majesty with whom she laboured to cause things to be accommodated and did prevail upon My Lord of Bristoll to forbear one day when he was ready to charge, but His Majesty refusing to intermeddle therein His Lordship would forbear no longer. The judges are required by the house to declare on the 13th whether the matter have any reason in it or not, and whether the impeachment be duly brought in or not, it being allayed that a Peer could not be impeached by another Peer without leave of the house and answered that the leave of the house was obtained by the granting that the impeachment should be read.

My Lord of Bristoll having in a few words declared before presenting thereof that it was an impeachment of treason against the Earl of Clarington Lord High Chancellor of England. I think there is hardly a lover at London that speaks of anything but this matter to His Majesty's since it happened, least there should be any opinion of his Majesty's connivances at My Lord of Bristoll's proceedings, or of his having any favour aide thoughts of His Lordship.

His Highness Royal declared in IIis Majesty's name, that My Lord of Bristoll's proceedings of late were highly displeasing to him and did farther speak sharply against His Lordship on his own score, to which (I hear) My Lord of Bristoll made answer in a higher style, than was comely, whereof you shall have more particular knowledge the next postday. The intrigues that I know here are so admirably foolish that they are not fit to be written; present my humble service to Kingston, I am Your,

My Lord Chancellor to Father Donellan. Bruxelles, 19 October 1658 (191)

Very Reverend Father,

I obey the King's commands very willingly and exceedingly comply with my own inclination, in letting you know how much His Majesty is satisfied with the constancy of your affection to his service and the good offices you are every day ready to perform towards it, of which His Majesty has a very particular and large account, and not only of your willingness but of your interest to promote his affairs in that court, and truly I have not the least doubt but that as his Majesty can never be without a fast sense and value of your merits, so that he will in a short time be able to reward as well as acknowledge your services and to call you home which honour to your own country to serve him conveniently. I doubt not you have heard long since of the happy expiration of Cromwell[248] and I doubt not as little that you have been since a little disquieted that you hear no greater consequences of it from England and that the King remains still in the same posture at Bruxelles, but you cannot expect that after so long and violent a storm the waters should in an instant be without any trouble, and the condition of our friends abroad

perhaps to gain favour with Charles II of England and Philip IV of Spain, or perhaps he felt comradeship in their persecution by protestants. In 1663 he attempted to dislodge the Earl of Clarendon from leadership of Parliament, and when that didn't get him anywhere hurled insults at the King. That did get him somewhere, namely expelled from Parliament. He would renounce his Catholicism only to reclaim it agin when convenient, regain status in Parliament only to lose it again, and finally passed away in 1677. He was, in every sense, a man of passion and contradictions.

[248] Oliver Cromwell died 3 September 1658, which allows us to date the letter even though the year is missing in the original.

is not so good as to enable us by any notable attempt of our own to disturb our enemies at home, we must therefore have a little patience till their own humours work and better prepare them for the remedies we have to apply, and we are very far from being disturbed with the calm they are now in, but I am very confident before many months pass, you will hear of great divisions amongst them, and then we shall make the right use of them. The truth is, our expectation of assistance from hence is not great except such advantages be administered at home, their own affairs being in a very ill posture, the French being possessed of more than half Flanders, and upon the matter commanding the rest. I know not that we can demand in your Court anything of right, the Emperor having taken time to perform what his father then promised till the next Diet, but you will do the King a very good service if you could persuade the Archduke Leopold to pay his Quota, which was granted at the Diet at Ratisbonne and hath been ever since due to His Majesty, and though the property be not very considerable (and therefore His Majesty will make no farther instances about it, yet it will come very seasonable in the insupportable straight the King is. I shall trouble you no farther at present, than to assure you, that if it shall ever fall within my power to do you a service you shall find very heartily, My very good father,

Your most humble and affectionate servant, Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon

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Lord Chancellor to Father Donellan. Bruxelles, 13 April 1658 (192)

My very good Father, I do assure you your congratulation of the last of the last month was very welcome to me s from a person I have a great reverence for and who hath in this annoyous [annoying] and malicious age, where few men escape some unworthy aspersion, the rare felicity to be loved and commended by all, even those that do not love each other. I am heartily glad that you are present in a place, where so much good may be done for the King and where in such a conjunction of Princes there ought to be some public crusade declared against that prodigious wickedness, which at once disturbed and threatened the peace of Christendom. I am sure you will perform all good offices towards it and give Mr. Roper all the assistance you can, who acknowledges himself much beholding unto you. Our good friend Mr. Beling will inform you of the news of these parts, and how much we want letters from other places. I do again thank you for your very kind letter and desire you to believe, that I do much long to be more particular acquainted with you and to have some opportunity to let you see the power you have over,

My good Father, your most affectionate servant, Edward Hyde

The Duke of Ormond to the Earl of Carlingford. Whitehall, 26 June 1668. (193)

My Lord,
I did not receive yours of the 9th till the 24th of this month, which I tell you that you may not suspect me of negligence when anything of moment relating to you is in question. I am not able to judge whether your disappointment can he repaired by what lands remain undisposed of by the Commissaries till they shall have given an account of the quantity and quality of them and of the pretenders to them, in which number I cannot think My Lords of Owen and Anglesea will think fit to be enlisted, or to proceed in passing anything disposable by the acts of settlement in virtue of their grants; to which I know it was never intended it should extend, but if they should, it may be proper by caveats in the proper line and place to give stop to it, which I take to be a more regular way than by subscribed petitions unless such petitions may be understood and intended as caveats. I have already assured the king you had not

received the full benefit of his warrant from My Lord of Anglesea[249], but if it were safe to advise a friend to spend his money, apart the uncertainty of gaining his pretensions too many or too loud at this time, I should tell you I think your presence most necessary and perhaps (for it is but perhaps) I may be able to serve you in it, if you appear whilst I am here, who am and will in all occasions be found to be

Your Lordship's, most affectionate and most humble servant, Ormond

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Nicholas Taaffe[250] to his brother the Earl of Carlingford. St. Isidore, 11 August 1671. (194)

I am resolved to be always troublesome till I by some way or other right or wrong overcome your unwillingness in bestowing one line upon me, which is the least comfort I promised myself I should receive from Your Lordship at this distance, which though great, yet so convenient that letters are sure never to miscarry. I must not forget that Your Lordship was pleased to promise, that if I did ever come off and clear myself of those aspersions which were laid to my charge, no assistance or favours front that court should be wanting to me. Therefore now I must challenge your word, and I beseech you My Lord be not wanting nor slow in a thing so easily compassed and so necessary for the everlasting settlement of a brother. Had you known the necessity thereof and how much it may conduce not only to my particular interest but also to the advantage of my friends, especially such of them as live in these parts, I am confident you would not be at rest before you had compassed it. Your Lordship knows what I demand by my former letters and especially of my last which was three days ago sent by the way of Flanders. 'Tis only a letter from the Queen to Cardinal Altieri, the Pope's nephew, in my behalf, seriously recommending my concerns in this court and desiring that no information of any other persons given here to my prejudice may reflect upon me or be a hinderance or an obstacle unto my receiving the effects of the several recommendations which Her Majesty's glorious predecessor the Queen Mother has presented formerly in my behalf. Her Majesty writes often to this Cardinal and will certainly write now to His Eminence (especially if she be moved thereunto) congratulating with him for his new title lately conferred upon him by His Holiness of being Protector of Ireland; he is an extraordinary good man and embraces passionately any occasion to sere tier Majesty. I know Sir Richard Beling[251] will do anything for Your Lordship and in as much as he is Secretary to the Queen will be favourable in this particular. I suppose Mr. Barnewall has acquainted Your Lordship of that happened here to me by this time, and but that I feared to abuse your patience I would have acquainted you of every particular, which was laid to my charge: My Lord I know you would admire, for it would move any stony heart to hear how shamelessly and impudently my enemies endeavoured and concurred to my everlasting ruin. I thought and so Your Lordship was persuaded that I was only accused of having usurped a power which was not conferred upon me, this was the only thing which I was in my own opinion to answer for and to make clear, which that I might the better compass to the satisfaction of all well-wishers, I thought myself obliged to repair hither, though it had cost my life (as it was like to do having been desperately sick by the way), where I doubted not but that truth and justice should bear the sway. But this was nothing to that which was deposed against me, and be sure that if I had not been accused of other crimes, this court had never denied to have employed me, but having had such strange and unexpected information against me, had all reason to disavow my being employed by them, though

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249 Arthur Annelsey, 1st Earl of Anglesey (1614-1686). Born in Dublin, he served as Lord Privy Seal for Charles II from 1673-1682. At the time, that position was to protect the Royal seal of the King. Today, that position is usually held by a member of the Cabinet of the Prime Minister.

250 Nicolas Taaffe, Theodorus' brother. He would succeed is him as the 2nd Earl of Carlingford after his death.

251 Sir Richard Bellings (1622-1716) was an Irish Catholic noble, Knight secretary to Catherine of Braganza, wife of King Charles II.

this same was never publicly brought in question, nor I condemned for any such transgression, so as this was not the main point that I was to answer for. You may know and bear it as patiently as I do, that never appeared in this world a man neither Luther nor Calvin so abominably represented to some ministers of this court, as I was. There is not a vice in nature which was not laid to my charge: drunkenness, gaming, and all idle and worldly pastime I was so given unto that I overcame therein all the rest of my name and family. These are the very words written hither: nay that I myself being impotent of committing other vices, I served others as a Pempe, and that so publicly that I was not ashamed in England to keep company with my brother's whore, and that I carried her into Ireland, that I lived there with her to the great scandal of both secular and clergy, that I never went to bed sober, omitted all other functions of my profession, that my only design in Ireland was to break the hierarchy of the church, conversed ordinarily with heretics and served as a spy from the king to find and hunt out those who were not Ormonists, that I was so covetous that I forced all Prelates and Pastors to give sums of money, otherwise I should have deposed them, upon which score, I have excommunicated and deposed several Vicar generals and instituted others in their places such as gave greater sums respectively. When I appeared here I did but little think I should find such infamies deposed against me, yet I listened to all, and though there was not a living soul in all Rome, but hated the very sight of me, yet I was nothing frightened, and though often times told my least punishment should be a perpetual Galley, yet I appeared unfrightened and desired only the favour to be admitted before a judge and juridically proceeded against, that if I should be found guilty, I would willingly embrace any punishment: and to that purpose made it my request that my accusers should appear also and make good what they were not ashamed to depose at so just a tribunal. I was confident that my dear God would assist and protect my innocence against all the world, ay he was most graciously pleased to do, for none ever had the heart to show his face against me, and though several letters were written to my disadvantage, yet by their tenour[252] 'twas found they proceeded out of mere malice. I am highly obliged to the whole congregation and especially to My Noble Cardinal Spinola[253] by whom I within all my proceedings directed. At last, after strong debates all was concluded to my advantage, only that my accusers are supposed to have had some ground to depose this against me in as much as they are not reprehended, as for the rest all is put to a perpetual silence, and I declared innocent in as much as I am restored to all degrees and dignities whatsoever, I was ever capable of. Now any Lord is the time to show yourself a good brother and if you ever had the least thought or suspicion of my being incapable of the favours of this court, be pleased to frame a better opinion of me: do you but try by those means which I proposed whether I be in the good opinion of this court, and you shall do yourself a great deal of honour, and do me a great deal of justice; — thus concluding I remain,

Your own brother.
Count Carlingford. London, Bambour Street

Nicholas Taaffe to his brother the Earl of Carlingford. St. Isidore, 19 December 1671. (197)

My Lord, This day sennigh I wrote to Your Lordship in such haste by reason that I was to assist a function acted abroad, that I had not the leisure to send you the enclosed copy of the letter I mentioned, which seemed grateful and welcome, but what effect it shall take as yet I know not, but it is thought the same person expects and loves to be courted and interested by that court in all things concerning our country especially now that he accepted to be Protector thereof. I am confident he will heartily embrace

[252] *Tenour.* "Tenor," the intended meaning of something,
[253] Giulio Spinola was a Cardinal of the Catholic Church. From 1655-1667 he was ambassador to Austria, where he likely met Taaffe.

any recommendation from the Queen in my behalf, which people has reason to admire you could not easily obtain as well as others of far less power at court, and let nobody persuade you that such letters from Her Majesty was not been formerly obtained, for though I have not seen them yet others who saw and read them assured me of the contrary and that she has written particularly in the behalf of Talbot and of Captain Poore: but it may well be, that Her Majesty did not write, but only gave orders either to her Confessor or to some other person at court to signify her will and pleasure to the Internuncio of Brussels or to some other Minister of this court which was sufficient. Mr. James Hamilton has been very civilly treated here, particularly by Cardinal Altieri, the Pope's nephew, and the last letters which the Cardinal wrote to the Queen were addressed to him, so as a letter from him to the said Cardinal insinuating, that any favour done to your brother shall be agreeable to Her Majesty, would be well looked upon. Nay a civil letter from Mr. Hamilton to the said Cardinal expressing how sensible you be, and how much you are displeased that your brother is detained from you, whose absence brings no small prejudice upon yourself and your family, so as you arc moved to withdraw your wanted protection from such persons of his character, without which they could not live peaceably etc…such a letter (I say) from some known person in that court would take effect; and it were more handsome that such a person should write in your name, than that you yourself should write, especially being not known here, where many bad characters has been given of you by ill affected and malicious persons. Our friends here assure me that the Queen keeps corresponding with Cardinal Altieri, so as she cannot scruple to recommend your brother to him, much less can she scruple to write or charge her Confessor or her Secretary to write to the Internuncio of Brussels. I know not (as I have written formerly) if the king were informed how your brother is dealt with upon the information of ill affected persons for having so highly concerned himself in His Majesty's interest according to his obligations and loyalty and that he has suffered for being accused at this court to have designed and endeavoured (a thing I shall never deny or excuse myself in) to discover to the King and government such as might be found seditious and disloyal, but that His Majesty would surely charge the Queen to protect so true and faithful a subject etc…'Tis really sad, that such as are known to be sincere and faithful, and who. would sooner run the hazard of losing their lives than seem in the least degree backward or slow in performing their loyalty to their King and Sovereign, should suffer both at home and abroad by persons ill affected to the crown, who always studied and endeavoured to breed distensions and troubles in the country under the colour of religion and piety, and by this famous pretext make themselves only great and worthy of the favours in the court of Rome, excluding all others who are not of their rank or faction, as you may easily perceive by my last wherein I sent you a few lines copied out of a printed libel, which they have presented to the said court of Rome to the prejudice of Your Lordship and of all persons well affected to the crown. 'Tis not fit it should appear in writing the contents of that libel, but I intend never to part with it until you see it; and this same is the greatest passion I have at present to go homewards that I might have one days conference with you to the incredible satisfaction of both, to this effect the letter whose copy I send you was by the advice of several of our well-wishers presented, which begins with a compliment well becoming a person of your quality and ends with far less resentments than Your Lordship should write in the behalf of a suffering brother. In your last you were pleased to tell me, that you would write to Cardinal Hesse,[254] but fearing your letter should not overtake him here, he being to part soon for Germany to his Government of Silesia lately conferred on him by the Emperor, I had a compliment framed in your name in French to his Highness recommending likewise your brother to his particular protection. To all these I suppose you will receive a civil answer, which I beseech you by all means to send to me with what instructions you think fit. I think it very necessary that a civil reply should be made unto each of them, rendering them thanks for their wonted favours etc.…yet that you seem very unsatisfied with what severity is used to so obedient a brother, whose retention in Rome must of necessity bring no small prejudice upon yourself and your family, besides that your enemies by

[254] Possibly Frederick of Hesse-Darmstad. More…

his absence take greater liberty to continue their malice etc… and that Your Lordship has of late discovered the chief persons who acted against your brother, whom you know how to be easily revenged of, but that your inclinations and profession invites. you not to prosecute persons of their character, yet that you mightily apprehend, that their too much provoking you will at last force you to deny your protection to undeserving persons etc.…

A letter of this nature will be very requisite, which I hope you will not scruple in this conjuncture. Let me but only know what you would have me write and how far you desire to engage yourself in this quarrel and be sure I shall not add a syllable to what you will prescribe. You know that the business concerns you as much, and if Your Lordship did but know all, and how much, you and the best of our nobility are herein concerned, I am sure you would sooner suffer, than permit such scandalous proceedings of unknown persons, who to arrive at the height of ambition, thought it their surest way to render your brother, who was the only block in their way, odious at this court, and to give you and others of the best of our nation an indelible bad character by which you are undervalued so as people imagines, you are not capable of doing but little or nothing either to the advantage or prejudice of any body. This is so great a truth, to wit, that people here at court are possessed of this slight opinion of you, that I was ashamed to have seen a worthy person one Kenedy, a Vicar General, excluded from being Bishop, for having been recommended by Your Lordship and by other Lords of our Nation. Should not this move any nobleman's heart to be revenged of such knaves. 'Tis true I would not have you imbrue your hands in their blood, yet if I were in your place I would assuredly hinder, that they should enjoy in Ireland, that which they got unto by unpracticable foul means. He, whom you call the worthy Prelate, was very nimble and busy in this stratagem. I have written enough at this time and perhaps more, than I should at this distance. I beseech you above all things be very secret and careful that nobody may sec my letters or know the contents thereof. I refer myself to my former letters and so conclude

Your most affectionate humble servant B.

Excuse the changing of my pen, for I was forced to use a friend's hand by reason of being not very well.

The Earl of Clanricarde[255] to the Earl of Carlingford. Loghreagh, 27 October 1676. (201)

I received yours of the 24th and do humbly thank Your Lordship for the kind trouble you give yourself in my concerns, as to Mr. Browne My Lo. let him make the best he can of his proceedings against me, they are unhappy to admit my title to those lands he pretends to be as bad as he would have it: the least he could have done, as being my council and privy to all the evidences of my estate, were to acquaint me with the defect of my title before he discovered it upon the stage, and then if I had refused to do him right, something might be said for him, though even that could not excuse him from unkindness in purchasing any lands I had pretence to, but much good may it do him, I have learned some wit by it, though it cost me a little too much.

I have written to James Donellan to conclude with Col. Power upon the terms Your Lordship mentions, viz. 4 years time without any exchequer fees and allowance to be given for the sums already paid of that money, for the performance of which he shall have all the security he can expect, nor ought My Lo

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[255] William Burke was the 7th Earl of Clanricarde. He fought with his brother, Richard, his predecessor is the Irish wars against Richard Cromwell of England. He would be killed in 1688 in the Siege of Buda in Hungary. He would be succeeded in title by his oldest son Richard.

to complain of this payment since on my conscience next to the lapse money, I think this is the damnedest tax in nature, God grant us patience.

The greatest motive I had to approve of my brother Justin's proceedings for the lapse money was the slow payment (or rather the no payment at all) of the contributions intended for Carrynigon, that work of which I gave Garret Moore notice, and do believe Justin and he will agree very well upon it, nothing but want of money can prevent my being there by the time you advise, and I have many reasons to fear, I shall want that, for by the agreement at last concluded by Garret Moore with the Lo. Purbeck, there is near £3,000 must be immediately paid and several other sums forthwith expected from me, which the poverty of the country (and no commodity there of yielding money) makes me almost despair of raising and consequently of being able to go hence. My dear Lord Taaffe left me a Tuesday,

I am My dear Lord, etc…, Clanricarde

To the Right Honourable Earl of Carlingford.

Dublin, Portumna, 8 January 1677. (202)

Dear Carlingford,

The fates ordering it so, that we three were together, when the most unwelcome news of your dear father's[256] (and our most noble friend's) decease arrived to us, you cannot well imagine the surprise it put us in, nor are our resentments to be expressed by letter, but we hope you will easily believe, we lament your loss (and ours) with all the regret that mortals are capable of for their most dire misfortunes. The first motions of it struck us into a dismal silence and astonishment, which forced us to have recourse to a healing brimmer[257] of Claret and that allaying in some measure the first assault of our grief, straight brought to our thoughts the incomparable solace of Your Lordship's not only surviving your noble father with all the advantages of his excellent qualities, but also that we shall enjoy in you the same friendship and goodness we all of us found in him. This reflection, My Lord, of a sudden turned our just grief into a satisfaction that wanted nothing to complete it but Your Lordship's company, which we all heartily wish for, and begot another brimmer to your health and happiness, which was no sooner down but it produced this epistle at once to condole Your Lordship's irreparable loss and to congratulate Your Honour to the increase, of which to the world's end we are just going to begin the third brimmer, but before we do that we think it convenient to subscribe ourselves with all the affection in nature,

Your Lordship's most faithful and humble servants, Clanricarde, Dillon, Galmoy.[258]

Sir,
A little of your patience, upon my weak apprehensions humbly supposing it not improper your notice.

The Canary Company was only granted a settlement in regard England did consume more thereof than all the world, and that of late years the Canary Islands[259] had doubled their price for ready silver, to

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256 Theobold's father, Sir John Taaffe, died 31 December 1677.

257 Brimmer. A cup.

258 These three men are obviously good friends of the Earl's and his father. Their multiple toasts in his honor demonstrate a comradeship and pathos typical of many societies, but none more so than the Irish.

259 The Canary Islands lie off the west coast of Morocco. Originally settled by indigenous North Africans, the islands were visited by European sailors starting around the 14th century., probably much earlier by the Phonetician, Greeks, and

what formerly they used to be paid with English manufactures. The regulation of this company was thought to bring it to its original price.

The probability whereof I would represent although immediately against my own benefit as in many such cases I have preferred my Country.

For by reason Canary wines may not be imported in England they are dispersed in sundry other parts not used before, where although the Adventurers have not quite so great a rate as England used to give yet it bath already (in one year to my knowledge) taken such root in these Netherlands as well as Holland, and Zealand besides Hamburgh and farther Eastward as also France, that an absolute settlement of a constant consumption is already placed, whereby the rate is like not only to continue high without the English vent, but whenever the English resolve to look that way again, a greater rate than ever was is like to follow, whereby not only the nation will find to have been misinformed, but pay dear for it with a certain prejudice to the consumption of such commodities usual to be shipped from England to the Canarys, which is already begun from Hamburgh. These and other parts to my knowledge. This considered in time may yet recover the prejudice approaching especially considering the English navigation concerned.

I can produce a sad example parallel to this case. The English Cloth Company called Merchants Adventurers did at Delph in 1637 upon a nicety of terms with the Dutch drapers about measuring, confine all English manufactures from sale 9 months, which in place of bringing the Dutch to their terms brought them to looms and spinning, so that to this day continues 40 M. cloths and stuffs yearly which used never to be made there.

A Monsieur le Comte de Carlingford. (201)

Monsieur,

J’ ai parlé a nos amis, scion que vous l’avez trouve a propos, sur le sujet que volts savez, lesquels ont trouve votre dessein tout-à-fait raisonnable et d’ importance, mais ils prévoient que la réponse que vous recevrez sera que cette affaire n’ aye pas été ni commencée ni protégée de sa personne, mais bien consultée et conclue par des ministres principaux de la cour, a quoi it ne serait pas mal de préméditer la réponse laquelle est remise a notre volonté absolument, mais afin de mieux vous résoudre, ils croient que vous pourriez montrer le papier ou le commencement dit exprès, que la réjouissance universelle se joint a celle de E., done la fête dénote rien d’ autre que sa réjouissance, et vous pourriez aussi ajouter que toute la cour du ministre remet la chose a sa direction, quoique la chose ait été négotiée avec des ministres de cette cour et par la elle peut voir, que tout ce qui sera de mal-a-propos dans la fête sera impute a sa personne, ou vous pourriez représenter la grandeur et quantité des propos qu’ it y a dans la chose même outre les inconvénients publics même que vous avez devent du grand Chambellan que le ministre ne serait pas contraire si la chose ne se ferait pas, ou vous pourriez donner conseil par lequel 1’ on s’ en pourrait excuser, le plus civilement enfin c’ est superflu de vous renouveler la matière qui êtes assez adroit et plus fin que quatre et moi qui suis de tout mon coeur

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Roman. In 1402, Spain began it colonization of the islands, led primarily by private investors rather than the Spanish government. This led to battles with the local inhabitants accompanied by the usual brutality towards and genocide of those who resisted. The Spanish crown got involved about seventy-five years later, the islands were converted to the grow crops sugar cane and grapes (for wine), with enslaved Africans providing the labour. The Canary Company earned a British Royal Charter on 17 March 1664. The writers of the letter are making business complaints that the English government was not allowing them to import Canary wines, wines that were being instead imported and enjoyed in other countries, thereby missing out on a goad business opportunity.

Monsieur, Votre très-humble et obéissant serviteur, W. C…ff

Translation: To the Earl of Carlingford.

Sir,

I have spoken to our friends, if you find it relevant, on the subject that you know, who find your purpose quite reasonable and important, but they anticipate that the response you will receive it will be that this business has not been neither begun nor protected by his person, but well consulted and concluded by the principal ministers of the court, to which it would not be bad to premeditate the answer which is given to our will absolutely, but in order to better resolve you, they believe that you could show the paper or the beginning said on purpose, that the universal rejoicing joins that of E., therefore the party denotes nothing other than his rejoicing, and you could also add that the whole court of the minister puts the thing to his direction, although the thing has been negotiated with ministers of this court and by this he can see, that all that will be inappropriate in the party will be imputed to his person, or you could represent the magnitude and much of the talk in the thing itself besides the very public inconvenience you have of the Grand Chamberlain that the Minister would not be contrary if the thing were not done, or you might give advice by which one I could excuse myself, most civilly finally it is superfluous to renew the matter to you who are quite skilful and finer than four and I who am with all my heart,

Sir, Your most humble and obedient servant, W. C…ff. .

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF FRANCIS TAAFFE EARL OF CARLINGFORD. 1670 — 1704. (205)

Preface to The Correspondence of Francis Taffee

Francis Taffee (1639-1704), 3rd Earl of Carlingford, 4th Viscount of Corren, and 4th Baron of Ballymote, army officer, and son of Theobold Taaffe. Born in in Ireland, at age 13 he accompanied his father and siblings into exile with King Charles II and his retinue. He studied at the University of Olomouc in Moravia, now part of the Czech Republic, and is listed by the university among is notable alumni. As a young man he would be a page in the Imperial Court of the Emperor of the HRE in Vienna.

In 1676 he would wed Helena Maximiliana von Traudisch at age 17 and begin what would be a successful career as a military commander, eventually rising to the tank of Field Marshal, and participate in many battles during the Franco-Dutch Ware, the Great Turkish Ware, and the Battle of Vienna. He would end his career having been decorated into the Order of the Golden Fleece and as a chancellor to Duke Leopold of Lorraine. He and his wife never had children. He died in Nancy, France 1704 where his body was buried in the Cathedral of Our Lady of the Annunciation.[260]

His letters, frequently written in French, are comprised of both personal correspondence to relatives and reports from on various events surrounding battles between the Holy Roman Empire and others. Some are ambiguous as to whom they are being addressed to.

Louis Taaffe places these letters into three sections without explaining his rationale:

- *Chapter 1, 1670-1701,*
- *Letters to his Brother, the Earl of Carlington, and*
- *Chapter 2, 1695-1704.*

Here's my guess at what is going on. The patriarch of this line of Taaffe's was Sir John Taaffe. He and his wife, Anna Dillon had fifteen children. Their birth order is unknown, with the exception of the three eldest boys, Theobold, Nicholas, and Francis.

Letters in Chapter 1 include those from Francis to his father, his brother Nicholas, and unnamed recipients.

[260] While several authorities state this as the burying place of Francis, the timeline seems a bit off to me. Construction of the present cathedral did not begin until 1703 and would take decades to complete. Other churches preceded it in the same vicinity, including a chapel for Saint Sebastian in 1603, a portion of which is reserved inside the Cordeliers church in Nancy, a former convent which contains the tombs of the Dukes of Lorraine, including his good friend, Leopold I. Others (or parts of others) are buried there as well, but no mention of a Taaffe. With no proof of a grave marker, we have no proof as to the actual location of Francis' remains.

All of the Letters to His brother, Earl of Carlingford, are to Nicholas, who had inherited the title of Earl of Carlington on Theobold's death in 1677.

Chapter 2 contains correspondence between people. Much of it is about the interminable negotiations about the marriage of Leopold I, Emperor of the HRE to Margareta Teresa, daughter of King Philip IV of Spain and his much younger second wife and niece, Mariana of Austria. Her grandparents, were Kinh Phillip IIIof Spain and Archduchess Margaret of Austria. This was meant to be a purley political marriage.

The representatives of each couple distrust one another, each jockeying for the greater financial advantage, and bicker about all manner of things. One point of contention is about the residence in France where the couple will reside: a fortified castle.

The representative of the princess wanted the fortifications removed while those of the prince want them to stay. Removing the fortifications threaten the integrity of the structure, weakening its walls and, natural, making it less safe in a time when wars seem to occur with some frequency. Each side's representatives get snippy with each other. The princess's people demand that the prince first move to Nancy as a show of good faith. The prince say he won't come until the house is ready.

This sets the stage for more arguments for everything from the wine to the served at the wedding and the carriages for prospective newlyweds. Convenges, the head negotiator for the prince, gets so fed up with it that he begs to be relieved of this duty and let someone else take over. Meanwhile representative for the princess relishes conflict and just digs his heels in deeper. If you like palace catfights, these are the letters for you.

Personally, I find the first two collections to be of most interest as they contain family letters, with bits of brotherly humour occasionally thrown in as well as personal observations about themselves, their challenges, and occupations. There are several heartfelt exchanges upon the death of their father.

His first letter of 1670 is from Francis to his father, John. Then there is a five-year gap, when there is another letter to dad, followed by letters to others while he is engaged in battle after battle, rising in the ranks, and clearly proud of his troops until 1884 when another gap appears, resuming in 1701.

In 1683, Francis' letters will focus on the Siege of Vienna, a bloody conflict between the Ottoman Empire and the HRE. This is a major even in European history, and as such has been well documented. To provide a short and helpful introduction to the conflict, I reviewed several video documentaries of the conflict and settled on one that is relatively brief and seems to offer a fact-based and engaging overview. They were produced by a website called Extra History. There are three episodes, which should be watched in sequence:

Siege of Vienna 1 – Opening Bombardment

Siege of Vienna 2 – Tunnel War

Siege of Vienna 3 – Charge of the Winged Hussars

The footnotes and hyperlinks will also be of assistance in the fast-moving events of war and the intrigues of European politics.

—ST

First Chapter: 1670 — 1701. (207)

Francis Taaffe to His Father the Earl of Carlingford; 20 June 1670. (207)

From the camp in Hungary three miles, from Eperies, the 20th of June 1670.

I have received Your Lordship's letter of the 9th of May with greater joy than I can express, though the knowledge of your being indisposed has abated a good part of it.

I have written Your Lordship a later letter than that you have received from Bresselo.[261] Since then, His Highness the Prince of Lorraine,[262] is come to the army with a patent of General of the horse, and after five or six weeks constant march without the least opposition we are come to the borders of Prince Ragotzy's[263] territories, who is so submissive to His Imperial Majesty and has given so manifest tokens of his repentance by discovering all the accomplices of this rebellion and delivering some of them into our hands, that it is believed very confidently we will pass no further, his pardon being granted to him, so he perform with what he has promised by his envoy at court, which is to take garrison into Moncats, Pattac, Saros and Edtseek, four of the strongest and considerablist places in Upper-Hungary; and then if we can bring Cashaw and Eperies, the very nests of all the troubles, that ever ensued in these parts, though now as humble as can be wished for, to do the same.

The Emperor is absolute master in Hungary, which is more than ever any of his predecessors could compass, though they have had far greater armies here, than ours is at present, which is more considerable for the quality of our troops, than for the quantity. Never rebellion was so ill begun and so senselessly carried on as this, since that of Ireland, but indeed I believe they relied upon the usual slowness of our court, which in this business has shown more than ordinary vigour and resolution, and I am confident will do so henceforth in all other matters since the removal of the Prince of Augsberg,[264] a known coward and as you suspected yourself at your being here, bribed by the enemies of the house of Austria.

The Duke of Holstein,[265] my former Colonel, and General Heister are parted from hence yesterday to know Prince Ragotzy's final resolution, which will be the rule of our actions. I make no doubt but he will accept of whatever conditions will be offered him, he having already disbanded his troops, and declared he would wholly rely upon His Majesty's clemency.

As for my particular I am sorry with all my heart, we have met with an enemy that gives us no occasion of gaining any experience in the war, or merit in our master's service. Your letter to the Prince of Lorraine has miscarried, I have made your excuses to him. His answer was that in so great a distance he wondered more that mine was come safely, than that his was lost. Yet some reparation will be necessary, and your letters will come safely if you address them to himself with this inscription: To His Highness Monsignor the Prince of Lorraine in Vienna. Mine may be enclosed in his letters.

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261 Bresselo (Brescelo) is a region in Italy located about 80 kilometres (50 miles) northwest of Bologna.

262 The Prince of Lorraine was Charles IV and was actually a Duke by rank. More…

263 Francis I Rákóczi (1645-1676), Hungarian Prince of Transylvania. Initially a protestant, he was converted by his mother to Catholicism, thus earning him some favour with the HRE. The conversion was short-lived. In 1666 he married a Croatian, Jenelna Zrinska, whose father would conspire against the Hapsburgs via a military revolt, which was quickly put down. While other leaders of the revolt were executed, Rákóczi's mother intervened and after paying a hefty ransom and giving up several properties, his life was spared.

264 Johann Christoph von Freyberg-Allmendingen (1616-1690), Prince of Augsburg.

265 More formerly, the title is Duke of Schleswig and Holstein at Gottorp, the post being occupied at that time by Christian Albert.

I am most infinitely obliged to His Highness not only for the great favours he has done to me already, but also for the kindness he showed to have for me at the late report there was of his coming to the government of Flanders.

Your friend Count Herberstein[266] who since your departure has commanded a Regiment in Italy, made it his request to His Highness to be Captain of his guards in case he came to that government. The Prince told him, that in his pretension to the crown of Poland he had intended his guards for me, and that I had served him so faithfully that if I would stick to his person he could not recall the promise he had given me of that place, but for anything else that lay in his power he would be very glad to serve him. The greatest obligation Your Lordship may lay upon him will be to send him a pack of good hounds, hunting being the greatest divertissement that he has.

I beg of Your Lordship once more to be mindful of sending me some relief of money. I assure you I would not be troublesome without I was in great want of it.

The Marquis de Grana is here with us, Colonel of a Regiment of foot, he presents his service to Your Lordship; he is the dearest friend, that I have in this country. I am very much beholding to Count Chavagnac,[267] a French gentleman, that came to see you a few days before you parted from Vienna: he is now Major-General in this service and governs the Prince of Lorraine's house and is chief in his favour.

I am infinitely rejoiced at my brother Nick's being employed. If Your Lordship will but bestow a year or two's education upon my brother John in the academy at Paris, I promise to get him by that time a troop of horse in this Regiment. He is capable of learning anything and yet it will be hard to employ him without having the advantage of speaking some foreign language.

Francis Taaffe to His Father the Earl of Carlingford. Ulm, 7 February 1675. (209)

My lord,

'Tis near a twelve month since I have heard a word from Your Lordship, which gives me just reason to complain of being deprived of the greatest satisfaction I can have. You will find by the annexed relation the ill conduct of our affairs, neither is there any amendment to be expected till we be commanded by other generals than those we have had for the last campaign. There is so great a disproportion between them and Turenne[268] and Conde,[269] that it's a wonder we came off at so good a rate. Nothing could have saved us but the vigour of our soldiers, which are so good as any in Christendom, if they be well led and carefully entertained.

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266 Johann Ferdinand Herberstein II, (1663–1721), a Knight of the Order of Malta, Lieutenant Field Marshal, Vice President of the Inner Austrian Court War Council, Großbailli of the German l'ongue of the Order of Malta (1709 to 1711.) More…

267 Possibly Gaspard de Chabagnac (1624-1695) a French army officer and diplomat. In 1672 he was appointed ammassador to Poland by Emperoro Leopold I of HRE.

268 Henri de La Tour d'Auvergne, Viscount of Turenne 1611-1675) was a successful French general who is revered as one of their greatest military commanders and tacticians. He would be killed on 26 July of 175 in the Battle of Salzback, ve month after this letter was written.

269 Louis, Grande Condé 1621-1686), was a French general and the child of parents with close ties to French King Henry IV. After Turenne's death, he took charge of his army, he was able to repel the enemy., led by Count Montecuccoli.

It's assured that Count Montecucoli[270] and the Prince of Lorraine will command the Imperial armies next year. It's very likely the great experience of the first and the extraordinary application, judgement and vigour of the latter may redress our affairs. The Elector of Brandenburg's troops, which were the strength of our army, came to us but very late, and since his coming had no engagement with the enemy. I am confident he has not lost a hundred men before the enemy the whole campaign, he commanded all the confederates in chief, and it's believed will not easily hazard his army which is his greatest subsistence.

The generals have given the Emperor a very favourable account of my behaviour, which I hope may produce a good effect for my preferment. The Prince of Lobkowitz is banished from court. The Empress is again big with child. Your friend Count Lamberg[271] is to be Grand Master, Dietrichstein[272] Grand Chamberlain, and Harrach,[273] now Ambassador in Spain, Grand écuyer.[274]

Francis Taaffe to His Brother Nicholas. Siege de Philipsbourg. (210)

Monsieur le Prince Pio m' a hier offert le plus obligeamment du monde une compagnie pour lui dans son régiment, qui est un de nos vieux corps d' Infanterie. Je vous supplie, Monsieur, de ne m' envoyer plus de ces sortes de recrues sans m' avertir. Un jeune Dall' on est arrivé ici, aussi en trais-méchant état, et sans autre bien du monde que celui de votre recommandation. Je le ferai enseigne dans quelque régiment d' Infanterie, où il aura moyen de se pousser, s'il vaut quelque chose. Flammarin est toujours mal a la cour, quoique je sois très-persuadé que ce soit sans sujet. On a encore assez d'égard pour lui, pour ne pas le classer du service, mais on lui a donné à entendre qu'on serait bien aise qu'il en sortit, et pour lui en faire venir l'envie on se sert de son régiment sans se servir de lui. Il ne s'y rend pourtant pas encore, et je crois que ce soit pour ne pas savoir où donner de la tête. J'ai reçu depuis mon arrivée ici deux de vos lettrés, qui m'ont infiniment réjoui. J'ai envoye a Augsbourg celle qui y était pour ma femme; je l'ai vue en allant a la cour, et en retournant. Je suis fort embarrassé de sa dernière lettre, parce qu'elle me mande qu'elle croit être grosse. C'est une bene-diction de Dieu qui accommoderait mieux d' autres que moi. Mais enfin vous ne pourrez pas trouver mauvais, si je vous envoie un petit Taaffe, pour deux ou trois dont vous m'avez chargé.

Translation: Francis Taaffe to His Brother Nicholas. Siege of Philipsburg

Yesterday, Prince Pio most obligingly offered me a to lead a company in his regiment, which is one of our old infantry corps. I beg you, sir, not to send me any more of these sorts of recruits without letting me know. A young Dalton on has arrived here, also in a very bad condition, and with no good in the world but your recommendation. I will make him an ensign in some infantry regiment, where he will have the means to push himself, if he is worth anything. Flammarin is always ill at court, although I am quite convinced that it is without cause. We still have enough respect for him, not to declassify him from the service, but we gave him to understand that we would be very happy if he left it, and to make him want to do so we use his regiment without using him. However, he is not going anywhere yet, and I believe it is because he does not know where to turn. Since my arrival here I have received two of your letters, who have delighted me immensely. I sent to Augsburg the one who was there for my wife;

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[270]Count Raimondo Montecuccoli (1609-1680) was a brilliant Italian military commander working for the Hapsburgs of Germany, who faced off against equally brilliant commanders Henrri de La Tour d'Auvergne, Viscount of Turren and Louis, Prince of Condê, both of France.

[271]Possibly Franz Joseph von Lamberg (1638-1712),

[272]Possibly Ferdinand Joseph (1628-1598), Prince of Dietrichstein.

[273]Possibly Ferdinand Bonaventura I Graf Harrach (1637–1706);

[274]Écuyer, bore!

I saw her going to court and returning. I am very embarrassed by her last letter, because she tells me that she thinks she is pregnant. It is a blessing from God that would accommodate others better than me. But anyway, you won't be able to think it bad, if I send you a little Taaffe, for two or three that you charged me with.

Du Camp Impérial Prés de Weissenbourg, 13 July 1676. (211)

Immédiatement après l' affaire de Saverne je fus envoyé à la cour par Son Altesse de Lorraine pour donner part à Sa Majesté Impériale de la résolution qu' elle avait prise d'assiéger Philipsbourg puisque la posture de l'ennemi ne donnait pas lieu a l'attaquer, tout son camp étant couvert de la Sore, petite rivière qui coule de Saverne à Haguenau, son aile droite derrière Saverne, son Infanterie dans un pare à muraille, et son aile gauche couverte d'un bois et d'un village qu'ils avaient fortifiés et le tout sous le canon de la place. J' ai trouve partout ou je suis passe dans l' Empire, aussi bien qu'a la cour, un applaudissement général tant pour les avantages qu' on avait eus sur l'ennemi en le poussant avec perte considérable et de son monde et de sa réputation dans le trou où il était, que pour la résolution du siège de Philipsbourg que Son Altesse avait prise au grand contentement de tout l' Empire. Apres quatorze jours de sollicitations j'ai été renvoyé ici avec des remises considérables pour fournir aux frais du siège. L' Empereur m'a témoigne une entière satisfaction de la conduite de Son Altesse et m'a commande de l' assurer qu'il avait toute sa confiance en lui. J'ai été depuis mon retour devant Philipsbourg de la part de Son Altesse, ou les choses allaient un peu lentement parce que le monde destine au siège n'y était pas tout arrivé. Son Altesse y a été hier elle-même, et y a mis si bon ordre qu'on n espère bien. Cependant Monsieur de Luxembourg campe aux environs de Haguenau, et nous l'observons avec le gros de notre armée, résolus d'empêcher le secours de Philipsbourg a quel prix que ce soit. Le pauvre Hamill' on a été fort regrette même dans notre armée. Il a été tue a l' affaire de Saverne ou il faisait l' arrière-garde (honneur qu'ils ne manquent jamais de faire aux sujets du Roi notre maitre, et avec beaucoup de raison, parceque infailliblement ce sont les meilleurs gens qu'ils aient). Ses gens ont été pousses par le Régiment de Caprara et le notre, qui ont été les premiers a joindre l'ennemi. Pour le reste de ce rencontre permettez que je vous remette a cette relation écrite par Monsieur Bois-Davis a un de ses amis h Paris et intercepte par nos gens. Les prisonniers qu'ion a faits mettent leur perte de 1500 a 2000 hommes. Il est très-assure qu'on n'a jamais vIl de retraite plus précipite, quoique pour gagner Saverne il n'eut que la moitie du chemin a faire que nous faisions et c' est bien ce qui l'a sauve. Il y a perdu du bagage, et le Marquis Douglas en a etc pour son Kosoli et ses provisions de cuisine. Ils abandonnement aussi un canon qu'ils ont crevé ne le pouvant emporter, et plus de 50 barils de poudre, qu' on leur a rendue a grands coups de canon les trois jours qu' on les a tenus rencognes dans les montagnes de Lorraine. Lorsque nous les avons quittes pour aller au siège de Philipsbourg, ils appréhendaient tellement quelque feinte, qu'ils ne sortirent pas de leurs trous quoiqu' ils y fussent trais-incommodément que deux jours âpres notre départ. J'ajouterai a la relation de Monsieur Bois-Davis que le premier jour que notre armée parut, Monsieur de Luxembourg se voyant assure par un j)petit ruisseau marécageux de deux cotes qui nous séparaient nous fit l'appel par trois volées de canon, que Son Altesse n'y répondit pas disant qu'il le ferait a son temps. Que du Régiment de Chavagnac nous n' avons perdu que cent hommes tout au plus, et entre ceux-la un jeune homme nomme Bartolomé Taaffe, qui m'avait été recommande par Monsieur Skell' on, et a qui j'avais procure l' enseigne Colonel de ce Régiment trois heures devant l' occasion ou il est reste en brave homme. Sa perte est réparée par l'arrivée de mon Cousin Jean Taaffe, qui est venu depuis quelques jours de Flandre. Il est encore malade de son voyage, et des qu'il sera guéri, je enverrai au

Translation: From the Imperial Camp Near Wissembourg, 13 July 13 1676.

Immediately after the Saverne affair, I was sent to court by His Highness of Lorraine to inform His Imperial Majesty of the resolution she had taken to besiege Philipsburg since the enemy's posture did not give rise to an attack. His whole camp being covered by the Sore, a small river which flows from Saverne to Hague, his right wing behind Saverne, his infantry in a defensive wall, and his left wing covered with a wood and a village that they had fortified and all under the cannon of the place. I found everywhere I went in the Empire, as well as at court, a general approval both for the advantages we had over the enemy by pushing him with considerable loss both of his people and of his reputation in the hole where he was, than for the resolution of the siege of Philipsburg which His Highness had taken to the great satisfaction of the whole Empire.

After fourteen days of requests I was sent back here with considerable invoices to provide for the expenses of the headquarters. The Emperor showed me complete satisfaction with the conduct of His Highness and ordered me to assure him that he had all his confidence in him. I have been since my return to Philipsburg on behalf of His Highness, where things were going a little slowly because the forces destined for the siege had not quite arrived there. His Highness was there yesterday himself and put so good order there that one does not hope well. However, the Lord of Luxembourg[275] is encamped around Hague, and we observe him with the bulk of our army, resolved to prevent the help of Philipsburg at any price whatsoever. Poor Hamill' was very much regretted even in our army. He was killed in the Saverne affair where he was in the rear-guard (the honour they never fail to do to the subjects of the King our master, and with a lot of reason, because infallibly they are the best people they have). His people were pushed by the Caprara Regiment[276] and ours, who were the first to engage the enemy.

For the rest of this meeting allow me to refer you to this report written by Mister Bois-Davis to one of his friends in Paris and intercepted by our people. The prisoners we took put their loss at 1,500 to 2,000 men. He is quite sure that we have never seen a hastier retreat, although to reach Saverne he had only half the distance to go than we had done and that is what saved him. He lost some baggage there, and the Marquis Douglas[277] got some for his Rosoli and his kitchen supplies. They also left behind a cannon which they had burst, unable to carry it, and more than 50 barrels of powder, which had been returned to them with great cannon fire during the three days that they had been held back in the mountains of Lorraine. When we left them to go to the siege of Philipsburg, they were so apprehensive of some pretence that they did not come out of their holes, although they were inconveniently there only two days after our departure.

I will add to Mister Bois-Davis' account that on the first day that our army appeared, Mister de Luxembourg, seeing himself secured by a small marshy stream on two sides which separated us, called us by three volleys of cannon, that His Highness did not answer it, saying that he would do so in his time.

That from the Chavagnac Regiment we only lost a hundred men at most, and among them a young man named Bartholomay Taaffe,[278] who had been recommended to me by Mister Skelton, and to whom I had procured the ensign Colonel of this Regiment three hours before the occasion where he remained a

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[275] Probably John Joseph of Austria, the illegitimate son of Phillip IV of Spain, and Govenor-Genral of Spanish Netherlands.

[276] Probably a military regiment led by Count Aeneas Sylvius de Capara (1631-1701), and Autrian Field Marshal. More…

[277] *James Douglas* (1646-1700), 2nd Marquis of Douglas, privy councillor to King Charles II. The Scottish folk song, *Waly Waly* (better known as *The Water is Wide),* speaks of the end of the marriage between Douglas and Barbara Erskine, based on a false rumour that Barbara was seeing another man.

[278] Unknown

brave man. His loss is repaired by the arrival of my Cousin Jean Taaffe,279 who came a few days ago from Flanders. He is still ill from his trip, and as soon as he is cured, I will send…

Du camp Imperial a Quatre Lieues de Basle, 26 October 1676. (212)

La ci-jointe de Monsieur de Louvois a Monsieur de Luxembourg vous donnera des lumières sur ce qui s'est passe cette campagne. Vous y trouverez le net des forces de ennemi, et je vous assure en foi de garçon de bien, que nos deux armées ensemble, tant celle qui assiégeait Philipsbourg que ceUe qui couvrait le siège n'y sont jamais arrives. La place prise Son Altesse de Lorraine prit la résolution de marcher droit a l'ennemi, qui s'était campe dans le Brisgow, pays en-deca du Rhin appartenant a l'Empereur, et faisait mine d'en vouloir a Fribourg au seul bruit de notre conjonction il se retira sous le canon de Brisac, et des qu'il nous vit a portée en-delà du Rhin. Nous sommes dans le dessein de le suivre par le pont de Rhieinfelden, mais l' humeur grossièrement jalouse de Messieurs les Suisses, qu'il faudra toucher pour aller a ennemi, une rivière nommes la Birst sur notre passage d'une garde trais-aise, et toute l'arme de Monsieur de Luxembourg à la garde, et surtout un manquement très-grand de forage du cote qu' il faudra agir, sont des obstacles qu'on aura peine a forcer, et selon toutes les apparences nous voici it la fin d'une campagne qui aurait bien aplani des difficultés, et donne beaucoup de facilite a la médiation pour la paix, si nos allies en eussent tant fait que nous. Messieurs de Brunswick et de Münster promettent de faire encore quelque chose vers la Sore, et Son Altesse leur a envoye mi renfort de cavalerie de notre armée; mais de la manière qu'ils s'y prennent, je ne sais pas si on en doit espérer grande chose. lis trouveront Monsieur de Crequy en tête avec un corps considérable compose de détachements de l' armée de Flandre, et de celle de Monsieur de Luxembourg; il tachera sans doute de réparer les malheurs de sa campagne passée, mais il aura affaire aux memes gens qui l'ont si mal mené.

La mort du Prince Pio fut cause que mon cousin n' eut pas la compagnie qu'il lui avait promise dans son Régiment, je lui en ai fait avoir une de Dragons dans celui de Chavagnac. LI est encore bien jeune et bien ignorant: si je l' avals connu plu stot, tout Capitaine Espagnol qu'il a été, je l'aurais fait servir deux ou trois ans de Cornet, cola lui aurait fait grand bien, au lieu que j'appréhende que son avancement trop précipite ne fasse beaucoup de tort a lui-même et a sa compagnie. J' en am-ai toujours beaucoup de soin a l'égard de votre recommandation, et pourvu que je n' aye pas plus de sujet de me plaindre de lui de ce qu'il aura de se plaindre de moi, tout ira bien. Monsieur Tuste, a ce qu'on me dit, est en Italie, je ne l'ai pas vu depuis l'hiver passé.

Le Marquis de Flammarin a quitté de bonne grâce la lieutenance Colonel du Marquis de Grana, voyant que ses services n'étaient point agrées. Il tire pourtant toujours gages de Colonel réformé et fait le volontaire auprès de l' Evêque d' Osnabruck. Notre Marquis de Grana est déclaré Chevalier de la toison d'or.

279 Unknown

Translation: From the Imperial Camp Four Leagues from Basel 26 October 1676.

The attached of the Lord of Louvois[280] to the Lord of Luxembourg[281] will shed some light on what happened this campaign. You will find there the net of the forces of the enemy, and I assure you in good faith as a good boy, that our two armies together, both that which besieged Philipsburg and that which covered the siege never arrived there. The place taken His Highness of Lorraine took the resolution to march straight to the enemy, who had encamped in Brisgow, a country below the Rhine belonging to the emperor, and pretended to be angry with Freiburg for the only noise of our conjunction he withdrew under the cannon of Brisac, and as soon as he saw us carried beyond the Rhine. We are planning to follow him by the bridge of Rhieinfelden, but the grossly jealous mood of the Swiss gentlemen, whom we will have to touch to go to the enemy, a river called the Birst on our way of a treacherous guard , and all the weapon of the Lord of Luxembourg to guard, and above all a very serious lack of drilling on the side which it will be necessary to act, are obstacles which it will be difficult to force, and according to all appearances here we are at the end of a campaign which would have well smoothed out difficulties, and makes mediation for peace much easier, if our allies had done as much as we have. Messieurs de Brunswick[282] and Münster[283] promise to do something more towards the Sore, and His Highness has sent them a reinforcement of cavalry from our army; but the way they go about it, I don't know if we should expect much. They will find Mister de Crequy at the head with a considerable body composed of detachments of the army of Flanders, and that of the Lord of Luxemburg; he will no doubt try to repair the misfortunes of his past campaign, but he will have to deal with the same people who led him so badly.

The death of Prince Pio was the cause that my cousin did not have the company he had promised him in his Regiment, I made him have one of Dragoons in that of Chavagnac. He is still very young and very ignorant: if I had known him sooner, Spaniard Captain though he was, I would have made him serve two or three years as Cornet[284], it would have done him great good, instead of I fear that his over-hasty promotion will do great harm to himself and his company. I always take great care of your recommendation, and provided I have no more reason to complain of him than he has to complain of me, all will be well. Mister Tuste, I am told, is in Italy, I haven't seen him since last winter.

The Marquis de Flammarin left the Colonel lieutenancy of the Marquis de Grana[285] with good grace, seeing that his services were not approved. However, he still draws wages from a reformed Colonel and volunteers with the Bishop of Osnabruck. Our Marquis de Grana is declared Knight of the Golden Fleece.

D' Eslingen en Schwabe. 4 January 1677. (214)

Je ne doute pas, Monsieur, que Vous n'ayez reçu la relation du siège et de la prise de Philipsbourg, que je vous ai envoyée par la voie de Monsieur Coventry. On n'a pas pu suivre r ennemi en-delà du Rhin a cause des Suisses qu'il fallait toucher et qui s' étaient mis en état de s'y opposer, et plus bas le pays

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280 Francois Michele Le Tellier (1641-1691), French Secretary of State for War, commonly referred to as Louvois.

281 Charles IV of Spain. Hi life and legacy are complex. Beset by physical and mental challenges, he was sometime called Charles "the Bewitched." More…

282 Likely George William (1624-1705), Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg.

283 Probably Christopher Bernhard von Galen (1606-1678), Prince-Bishop of Münster, nicknamed in the Netherlands as "Bommen Berend," which translates to "Bombing Bernard," for his use of artillery.

284 *Cornet* is the lowest rank of commissioned officers in the British cavalry and carried the standard or banner.

285 Ottone Enrico del Caretto (1629-1685), Marquis of Grana.

était tellement ruine de fourrage qu'on n'y aurait pas pu subsister un jour. Au mois de Novembre on prit résolution de part et d' autre de se retirer aux quartiers d'hiver, les Français en Lorraine, Bourgogne et chez eux, et nous en Schwabe et Franconie. Nous sommes assurément mieux qu'eux tant pour 'avantage des officiers et du soldat, que pour la remonte et les recrues, étant dans un pays qu'on ne peut pas épuiser d'hommes et de chevaux, et qui en a fourni toute cette guerre a nous et même aux ennemis, malgré tout ce qu'on a pu faire pour l' empêcher. À présent on observe tellement tous les passages, qu'ils n'en tireront plus guère, ce qui les incommodera extrêmement. L' armée de l'Empereur sortira en campagne aussi belle et plus nombreuse que jamais, et tout cela aux frais du pays ou nous sommes. Et néanmoins dans l' état ou je vois les affaires je ne suis pas fort éloigne de votre sentiment qui est qu'on pourrait avoir la paix; le méchant état des Pays-bas et de la Sicile, l'impuissance que les Espagnols se font d'y remédier, les mésintelligences qui se mettent entre eux et les Hollandais, le peu de vigueur et d' envie qu'on découvre clans ceux-ci de continuer la guerre comme il faut. D'autre cote la France, quelque mine qu'elle fasse, épuisée de chevaux, d'hommes et d' argent, ne peut apparemment pousser plus loin ses avantages en Flandre sans armer l'Angleterre contre elle, ni en Sicile sans alarmer tous les princes d' Italie, et qui par l' expérience clés campagnes passées voit bien qu' il y a beaucoup d' appréhender du cote de l'Allemagne, et pour elle, et pour ses anciens allies les Suédois. Tout cela joint h la désolation de tant de peuples qui la demandent a mains jointes, pourrait nous produire la paix au milieu des apprêts de la guerre, et l'Empereur qui n'est entre dans la guerre que pour procurer une paix lionne te et de durée, y donnera les mains toutes les fois qu'il le pourra faire avec honneur. C'est a Vous, Messieurs, a en trouver les moyens. Le seul avantage que je m'en propose est celui de vous voir, c'est un bon lieur que je souhaite passionnément et ma femme autant que moi. Elle s'en va vers la fin de Février a Vienne pour s' y accoucher. Je l' aime trop pour la bazarder dans un pays où elle n' a aucune con naissance, et je serai beaucoup plus en repos, quand je l'aurai mise entre les mains de sa soeur et de ses parents.

On traite de donner la Reine de Pologne à Son Altesse Serenissimi de Lorraine, c'est une récompense proportionnée à la grandeur de l'Empereur et au mérite de Son Altesse. On parle aussi de lui donner le Gouvernement de Flandre, je ne le trouve pas trop d'humeur a l' accepter a moins que l'Empereur ne le lui ordonne, pour qui il a toute sorte de déférence et de soumission, et effectivement dans l'état où il est, il perdrait au change. Vous aurez de mes nouvelles de Vienne, j'espère d'y trouver encore Monsieur Skelton, on me mande qu'il n'y est pas si agréablement que vous l'avez été, je contribuerai tout ce que je pourrai pour sa satisfaction. Mon cousin est logé avec sa compagnie au pays de Mayence. Je n'ai aucune nouvelle de Monsieur Tuste. Je vous prie. Monsieur, de me faire envoi er le blazon de nos armes distingué par ses couleurs. Dieu vous conserve encore cent ans.

Translation: From Eslingen in Schwabe. 4 January 1677.

I have no doubt, sir, that you have received the account of the siege and capture of Philipsburg, which I sent you by way of Mister Coventry. We couldn't follow the enemy beyond the Rhine because of the Swiss, whom we had to hit and who had put themselves in a position to oppose them, and lower down the country was so badly ruined that we could not have survived there for a day. In the month of November, resolution was taken on both sides to withdraw to the districts of winter, the French in Lorraine, Burgundy and at home, and we in Schwabe and Franconia. Officers and soldier, only for the remount286 and the recruits, being in a country which cannot be exhausted of men and horses, and which has provided all this war with us and even with the enemies, in spite of all that what we could do to prevent it. Now we observe so many passages that they will not get much out of them, which will inconvenience them extremely. The Emperor's army will go out into the field as beautiful and more numerous than ever, and all this at the expense of the country where we are. And nevertheless in the

[286]Remount. A rested horse to replace an exhausted one.

state where I see the business, I am not very far from your feeling which is that one could have peace. The bad state of the Netherlands and Sicily, the impotence that the Spaniards have to remedy it, the misunderstandings that come between them and the Dutch, the little vigour and envy that one discovers in those to continue the war as it should. On the other hand, France, whatever she looks like, exhausted of horses, men and money, cannot apparently push her advantages further in Flanders without arming England against her, nor in Sicily without alarming all. The princes of Italy, and who through the experience of past campaigns sees that there is much to apprehend on the side of Germany, and for her, and for her former allies the Swedes.

All this, added to the desolation of so many peoples who ask for it with joined hands, could produce peace for us in the midst of the preparations for war, and the emperor, who entered the war only to procure a peaceful peace and duration, will join hands there whenever he can do so with honour. It is up to you, gentlemen, to find the means.

The only advantage that I propose to myself is that of seeing you, it is a good binder that I desire passionately and my wife as much as me. She is leaving towards the end of February for Vienna to give birth there. I love her too much to throw her away in a country where she has no knowledge, and I will be much more at ease when I have put her in the hands of her sister and her parents.

There is talk of giving the Queen of Poland287 to His Highness Serenissimi of Lorraine, it is a reward proportionate to the greatness of the emperor and to the merit of His Highness. There is also talk of giving him the Government of Flanders, I don't find him too much in the mood to accept it unless the emperor orders him to, for whom he has all sorts of deference and the state it is in, it would lose by the change. You will hear from me from Vienna, I hope to find my Lord there again. Skelton, I am told he is not so pleasantly there as you have been; I will contribute all I can for his satisfaction. My cousin is lodged with his company in the country of Mainz.288 I have no news from Mister Tuste. Please, Sir, send me the blazon of our arms distinguished by its colours. God keep you another hundred years.

D' Eslingen, 13 February 1677. (215)

Enfin Son Altesse Serenissimi de Lorraine s'est démise de son Régiment en ma faveur d' une manière qui fait réparation du peu de retardement qu'il y a mis par des raisons que je n' ai jamais pu désapprouver quelque envie que j'ai eu de l' avoir. Monsieur le Marquis de Grana, a qui j'ai mille obligations essentielles. lui avait propose qu'il écrirait a l' Empereur pour que je puisse commander son Régiment avec le titre, rang et a...anité de Colonel que quoique la chose ne fut pas ordinaire dans le service, il assurait Son Altesse qu'a son égard, et de l' inclination que Sa Majesté Impériale avait a me faire du bien, on en viendrait a bout. Sur quoi Son Altesse m'a fait appeler et me dit le plus obligeamment du monde que c'était trop peu faire pour moi, quo je méritais quelque chose de plus, et que quand il s'agissait d'obliger des gens comme moi il ne fallait pas faire les choses a demi, qu'il me donnait son Régiment quoiqu'il l'aimât tendrement, et qu'il n'assurait que j'étais le seul pour qui il s'y serait pu résoudre, qu'il ne se réservait autre droit sur le Régiment que celui de nous procurer tous les avantages, qu'il pourrait, qu'il me le donnait d'autant plus volontiers, qu'il savait qu'il serait en bonnes mains et que j'en aurais le même soin, que j'en avais eu sous son commandement, qu'il en écrirait a l'

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[287]Marie Casimire Louise de La Grange d'Arquien married to Jan Zamoyski in 1658. Together they had four children, all who died in infancy, and Jan himself would die in 1665. She remarried a few months later to John Sobieski in July of that year. They would have thirteen children, only four of whom would survive into adulthood. In 1674, with the help of his wife, Sobieski was elected King of Poland. His wife lost favour with the locals for her support of a French-Polish alliance which benefited her French family members. She died in 1716.

[288]*Mainz* is a city along the Rhine, now part of the Frankfurt Rhine-Main Metropolitan Region.

Empereur d'une manière a se pouvoir promettre qu'il ne lui refuserait pas cette grâce. Et effectivement nous eûmes deux semaines après la réponse de l'Empereur la plus favorable du monde pour moi, ou par une lettre écrite de sa main il faisait des éloges a Son Altesse sur sa générosité, et témoignait lui avoir obligation de lui avoir donne lieu d'avancer un aussi honnête homme et un aussi bon officier qu'était le Comte de Taaffe—Je vous dis la chose sans façons, et les paroles mêmes de l'Empereur, parce que vous y avez plus de part que moi, et si je tiens quelque chose de l'honnête homme je le tiens de vous. En tout cas il est avantageux d'être cru tel par son maitre. Ma patente de Colonel fut expédiée ensuite avec une promptitude qui n'est pas ordinaire a notre cour, et je vous assure que le Régiment, tout vieux corps qu'il est, et absolument le plus beau qui soit au service de l'Empereur, ne me réjouit pas tant que la générosité de Son Altesse Serenissimi a le quitter en ma faveur, et la bonté extraordinaire avec laquelle Sa Majesté l'a agrée. Son Altesse Serenissimi m'a voulu elle-même donner la patente, je l'ai eue le 10. de ce mois, quelques, heures après que ma femme s'était accouche d'une fille. Elle se porte bien Dieu merci, après avoir essuyé trois semaines devant ses couches de très-facheux accidents, qui m'ont fait appréhender pour sa vie et qui en efFet out précipite son accouchement. Cependant l'enfant se porte bien. Ma femme m' ordonne de vous faire ses excuses de ce qu'elle n'a fait qu'une fille, et vous promet un fils pour la fin de cette année.

Me voici; grâce à Dieu, établi pour le reste de mes jours fort agréablement et fort solidement dans le service du meilleur maitre du monde. Mon Régiment et ma femme me donneront dix mille écus a dépenser par an, qui est un joli revenu pour un cadet d'Irlande. Si mon frère Jean avait quelque fils bien fait dont on put faire un honnête homme; je m'en chargerai très-volontiers, on n'aura qu'a l'envoyer a quelque bon College de Jésuites a Paris, où je payerai cent ducats par an pour ses études, en attendant qu'il soit en age d'aller a Académie, et pour peu qu'il réussisse je le metterai en état a faire lui-même fortune. Le fils de mon oncle Don Tomas ne fait rien qui vaille, c'est un enfant gâte et fort adonné a la débauche. Apres l' avoir mis en équipage et lui avoir procure une compagnie a l' entrée du quartier d'hiver, dont il tirait cent ducats par mois, au lieu d'en réparer son équipage et de se mettre en état de pouvoir fournir a la campagne, il est allé fripper tout son argent a un cabaret de Francfort, et sans l'honnêteté du Comte de Chavagnac qui a ma considération l'a retire du cabaret, on l'y arrêtait pour des dettes qu' il y avait faites. Il faut avouer que ces dérèglements sont factieux dans un garçon qu'il faut reconnaitre pour parent, il s'en corrigera ou s'en ira ailleurs.

Translation: From Eslingen, 13 February 1677

Finally, His Highness Serenissimi of Lorraine has resigned from his Regiment in my favour in a way that compensates for the little delay he put into it for reasons that I have never been able to disapprove of, whatever desire I have had to have it. The Marquis de Grana,[289] to whom I have a thousand essential obligations, had proposed to him that he would write to the Emperor so that I could command his Regiment with the title, rank of Colonel that although the thing was not ordinary in the service, he assured His Highness that his regard, and the inclination his Imperial Majesty had to do me good, we would come to the end of it. Whereupon His Highness summoned me and told me most obligingly that it was too little to do for me, that I deserved something more, and that when it came to obliging people like me he things should not be done by halves, that he gave me his Regiment although he loved it tenderly, and that he did not assure me that I was the only one for whom he could have resolved it, that he reserved for himself no other right over the Regiment than that of procuring for us all the advantages he could, that he gave it to me all the more willingly, that he knew that he would be in good hands and that I would take the same care, as I had done under his command, that he would write to the Emperor in such a way as to be able to promise himself that he would not refuse him this pardon. And indeed, we had two weeks later the most favourable response from the emperor in the world for me, whereby a

[289] Ottone Enrico del Carretto (1629-1685), Marquess of Savona and Grana, military leader and diplomat.

letter written by his hand he praised His Highness for his generosity, and testified to him that he had an obligation to have given him to advance such an honest man and such a good officer as the Comte de Taaffe was.

I tell you this without any fuss, and the very words of the emperor, because you have a greater share in it than I do, and if I got something from the honest man, I got it from you. In any case it is advantageous to be believed such by his master. My Colonel's license was then despatched with a promptness which is not ordinary at our Court, and I assure you that the Regiment, old body as it is, and absolutely the finest in the service of the emperor, does not rejoice me so much as the generosity of His Highness Serenissimi has left it in my favour, and the extraordinary kindness with which His Majesty has accepted it. His Highness Serenissimi wanted to give me the license himself.

I got it on the 10th of this month, a few hours after my wife had given birth to a daughter. She is doing well, thank God, after suffering three weeks before her childbirth from very unfortunate accidents, which made me apprehend for her life and which in fact hastened her delivery. However, the child is doing well. My wife orders me to apologize to you for having only had a daughter and promises you a son by the end of this year.

Here I am, thank God, established for the rest of my days very pleasantly and very solidly in the service of the best master in the world. My regiment and my wife will give me kc10,000 to spend a year, which is a handsome income for a cadet in Ireland. If my brother Jean had some well-made son of whom one could make an honest man, I will take care of it very willingly, we will only have to send him to some good Jesuit college in Paris, where I will pay a hundred ducats[290] a year for his studies, until he is old enough to go to school at the Academy, and if he succeeds, I will put him in a position to make his own fortune.

The son of my uncle Don Tomas does nothing worthwhile, he is a spoiled child and very addicted to debauchery. After putting him in crew and getting him a company at the entrance to the winter quarters, from which he drew a hundred ducats a month, instead of repairing his crew and putting himself in a position to be able to supply the campaign, he went and lost all his money at a cabaret in Frankfurt, and without the honesty of the Comte de Chavagnac[291] who, in my consideration, withdrew him from the cabaret, they arrested him there for debts he had made there. It must be admitted that these disturbances are insubordinate in a boy who must be recognized as a parent, he will correct himself or go elsewhere.

Francis Taaffe to Mr. Coventry. D' Eslingen, 26 February 1677. (217)

Je suis fort persuade. Monsieur, que vous ne serez pas fâché d'apprendre que Son Altesse Serenissimi de Lorraine s'est démise en ma faveur le plus généreusement du monde de son Régiment Imperial et que l'Empereur a eu la bonté de témoigner a Son Altesse qu'il lui avait de l'obligation de lui avoir donne le moyen de m'établir dans son service. Me voici a la tète du pins beau Régiment de cavalerie qu'il y ait dans l' armée Impériale, et établi fort agréablement et solidement dans le service d'un très-bon maitre.

Le mariage du Due de Lorraine avec la Reine Douairière de Pologne, soeur aînée de l'Empereur, est arrête, et il n'est plus question que du temps qu'il se doit faire, on ne désespère pas d'en voir la consommation avant la campagne; on se prépare à' la faire vigoureusement de notre côté, et la marche

[290] A *ducat* was a gold coin used as current for several hundred years in Europe consisting of about 3.5 grams of 98.6% pure gold.

[291] Gaspard de Chavagnac (1624-1695), a French officer and diplomat. About this time he would an ambassador to Poland, on behalf of Charles of Lorraine, brother-in-law to Leopold I, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

est arrêtée pour le 15. d'Avril. Les Français ont démoli Haguenau et Saverne, et brule plus de 400 petites villes, bourgs et villages entre le Rhin et la Sore avec une inhumanité que toutes leurs maximes de guerre et d'état ont peine a justifier. Il semble que tout leur effort va fondre sur les misérables restes de Flandre, et il est impossible quelque complaisance qu'on ait en Angleterre pour la France, qu'elle puisse aller jusqu'a lui accorder la conquête de ce pays la. Du reste, ou nous n'aurons point de paix, ou elle se fera en Angleterre. Sa Majesté Impériale a destine pour son Envoye Extraordinaire en Angleterre le Comte Charles de Wallenstein, fort honnête homme, des premières maisons d'Allemagne, grand écuyer de l' impératrice Douairière et Chevalier de la toison d'or. Je prends la liberté, Monsieur, de le recommander a Votre amitié, et vous prie de lui donner a entendre que dans le caractère que je vous en ai donne, j'ai rendu la justice que je devais a son mérite. Je suis du meilleur de mon âme.

Votre, très-humble et très-obeissant serviteur etc.

Translation: Francis Taaffe to Mr. Coventry. From Eslingen, 26 February 1677.

I am strongly persuaded, Sir, that you will not be sorry to learn that His Highness Serenissimi of Lorraine has most generously resigned his Imperial Regiment in my favour and that the Emperor has had the kindness to testify to His Highness that he had an obligation to have given him the means of establishing me in his service. Here I am at the head of the finest regiment of cavalry that there is in the Imperial army and established very agreeably and solidly in the service of a very good master.

The marriage of the Duke de Lorraine with the Dowager Queen of Poland, the Emperor's eldest sister, is over, and there is no longer any question of the time that must be done, we do not despair of seeing its consummation before the campaign; we are preparing to do it vigorously on our side, and the march is stopped for the 15th of April.

The French demolished Haguenau and Saverne, and burned more than 400 small towns, towns and villages between the Rhine and the Sore with an inhumanity that all their maxims of war and state have difficulty in justifying. It seems that all their effort will fall on the wretched remnants of Flanders, and it is impossible, whatever complacency one has in England for France, that she can go so far as to grant him the conquest of that country. Besides, either we will have no peace, or it will be in England.

His Imperial Majesty has designated as his Envoy Extraordinary to England Count Charles de Wallenstein, a very honest man, from the first houses of Germany, grand squire to the Empress Dowager292 and Knight of the Golden Fleece. I take the liberty, Sir, of recommending him to your friendship, and ask you to give him to understand that in the character that I have given you, I have done the justice that I owed to his merit. I am from the best of my soul.

Your very humble and very obedient servant etc…

Francis Taaffe to His Brother Nicholas. Ratisbonne, 21 January 1678. (218)

Je suis ici par ordre de Son Altesse Serenissimi de Lorraine qui m'y a donne rendez-vous pour l' accompagner a son mariage avec la Reine de Pologne, qui se doit faire a Neistadt six heures de Vienne au commencement du mois de Février. L'Empereur et l' 'Impératrice y seront, on ne s'y arrêtera que dix ou douze jours, ensuite de quoi La Reine ira résider à Innspruck en Tyrol et Son Altesse retournera a l' armée. Je me suis donné l'honneur de vous éerire vers la fin de la campagne line petite relation de ce qui s'était passe jusqu'a la perte de Fribourg. C'est le premier échee que l'Empereur ait re'u de cette

[292] *Dowager,* a widow with a title and/or property derived from her late husband.

guerre ici, par la perfidie et lâcheté d'un vieux radoteur et d'un jeune poltron, dont le premier commandait a la ville et l' autre au château. Je me souviens de vous avoir mande dans ma dernière que la ville n'a jamais valu grande chose, mais le château n'était pas mendiant, et tout ce qu'on prétendait d'eux n'était qu'une défense de deux jours encore pour donner le tems a Son Altesse d'arriver avec l' armée; on a trouve moyen de les en avertir, et nonobstant tout cela les infâmes se sont rendus sans que le château ait jam.ais été attaque. Les suites n'en sont pas telles que la France s'est promise, et je puis dire avec vérité que cela n'a change aucune chose a la disposition qu'on avait faite pour les quartiers d' hyver, que les ennemis prétendaient avoir bouleverses par la. On a tellement garni les passages et la frontière de Schwabe qu'on n'appréhende rien pour cet hiver, et au printemps il faudra les en dénicher. Il court un bruit partout d'une rupture de l'Angleterre avec la France. Dieu la veuille, c'est bien l'unique moyen de réduire la France a la raison. Si vous vouliez, Monsieur, me nommer quelque marchand de votre connaissance a Londres, ou ce qui vaudrait mieux quelque ami a Nimegue, qui voulut vous faire tenir a Londres mille écus que je lui ferais center la, je ferais cette dépense pour avoir deux ou trois beaux chevaux d'Angleterre.

Monsieur Justin Mackartie m'a fait mille honnêtetés la campagne passée, comme aussi Monsieur Dungan. Je meurs d'envie de les voir tous deux bons Impérialistes.

Translation: Francis Taaffe to his brother Nicholas. Regensburg,[293] 21 January 1678.

I am here by order of His Highness Serenissimi of Lorraine who has arranged to meet me there to accompany him to his marriage to the Queen of Poland, which is to take place at Neistadt six hours from Vienna at the beginning of February. The Emperor and Empress will be there, we will only stay there ten or twelve days, after which The Queen will go to reside at Innsbruck in Tyrol and Her Highness will return to the army.

I have given myself the honour of writing to you towards the end of the campaign a brief account of what had happened up to the loss of Freiburg. It is the first check the Emperor has received from this war here, by the perfidy and cowardice of an old dotard and a young coward, the first of whom was in command in the town and the other in the castle. I remember telling you in my last that the city was never worth much, but the castle was no beggar, and all that was claimed of them was but a two-day defence again to give His Highness time to arrive with the army; We found a way to warn them, and notwithstanding all this the infamous surrendered without the castle ever being attacked. The consequences are not such as France promised itself, and I can say with truth that this did not change anything in the arrangement that had been made for the winter quarters, which the enemies claimed to have upset by it. We have so filled the passages and the border of Schwabe[294] that we don't fear anything for this winter, and in the spring, we will have to find them.

There is a rumour everywhere of a rupture between England and France. God grant it, it is indeed the only means of reducing France to reason. If you wanted, Sir, to name me some merchant of your acquaintance in London, or what would be better some friend in Nijmegen, who wanted you to hold a kc1,000 in London, which I would give him right there, I would spend the money to have two or three beautiful horses from England.

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293 *Regensberg* (Rattisbone)is a city in southeast Germany and the confluence of three rivers: the Danube, Naab, and Regan. It was the site of what was known as *The Perpetual Diet,* a meeting of the representatives of the Holy Roman Empire that continuously met from 1663 to 1806. Afraid that if the adjourned the Emperor would not re-convene it, they never called a recess. One assumes, however, that they did take bio-breaks.

294 Probably a reference to Swabia, a region in southwestern Germany. During the time of the HRE, it would have been referred to as the *Circle of Swabia*, overlapping areas of modern Germany, Switzerland, and Austria.

Mr. Justin Mackartie[295] gave me a thousand honest things for me last campaign, as did Monsieur Dungan. I am dying to see them both good imperialists.

Kempten, 19 April 1678. (219)

Etant a la cour aux noces de Son Altesse Serenissimi de Lorraine, la nouvelle de la mort de mon cher Père fut envoyée à l'Empereur par Monsieur le Comte de Wallenstein Son Envoye extraordinaire en Angleterre. Le mariage de Son Altesse Serenissimi avec la Heine de Pologne avait redouble les divertissements ordinaires a la cour an temps de carnaval, et Sa Majesté Impériale m'ayant ordonne d'en être, eut la bonté de commander qu'on ne m'annonça pas line nouvelle si affligeante que Ic carnaval ne fut fini. Apres quoi Elle me dit qu'Elle était fort fâchée de la perte que j'avais faite d'un si honnête homme de père, qu'Elle avait toujours beaucoup aime et estime, et me promit qu'Elle aurait toujours soin de moi et de ma fortune. Vous pouvez juger de l'affliction extreme que j'en ai eue par v'ous-même. Il me restait cependant une petite consolation d'en pouvoir douter, n'en ayant encore rien reçu de vous. La votre du 27. Novembre de Dublin souscrite encore de lui que j'ai reçeu deux jours âpres la nouvelle arrivée de sa mort, flattait un peu ma douleur, celle du 14. du même mois, que j'ai reçue deux semaines âpres, ne parlait que de l' amitié que vous aurez la bonté de conserver toujours pour moi, dont je vous ai des obligations éternelles. Des compliments de condoléance, que j'ai reçus quelque temps âpres de Nimegue des Ambassadeurs de l'Empereur et de celui de Lorraine, ont renverse le peu d'espérance qui me restait, et enfin la votre du 20. Février ne m'a que trop assure de mon malheur. Vous me croirez facilement quand je vous dirai que de ma vie rien ne m'a touche si sensiblement; j'ai toujours eu pour lui tout le respect et la tendresse qu'on peut avoir pour un bon père et un bon ami. Il est vrai qu'il a un peu néglige les affaires de sa maison; mais soixante et huit ans passes a la vue des plus grandes cours d' Europe avec la réputation établie d'un homme d' honneur, avec une fidélité inébranlable envers son Roi et son Dieu, toujours dans les bonnes grâces de son maitre, ne font-ils pas réparation a cela? Ce n'est pas un petit héritage que l'exemple qu'il nous a laisse a suivre, et je lui ai encore cette obligation particulière d'avoir laisse l' entière disposition des affaires de sa maison a votre conduite, qui m'est tellement connue, que je m'en promets toute chose, et je suis très-persuade que vous les gouvernerez d'une manière a n'avoir pas a demander pardon la-dessus a vos enfants. Je vous recommande sur toute chose un bon mariage où la qualité et les richesses ayent plus de part quo l'amour et la beauté. Experto crede Rob.

My journey to Vienna has cost me kc6,000; I do not regret the expense it having been employed to the Duke of Lorraine's honour, to whom I owe what I am, but am very sorry that this and the necessary charges of the campaign have hindered me from sending you some supply, which could not but be welcome to you in the beginning of your government. I do not despair of finding some means of doing it this summer and assure you that nothing shall ever be in my power, but you may absolutely command, and I promise myself the same from your kindness. If the pretension you intend to make for me at court may be put in account for another more profitable to your own interest, I pray desist from it, but if we go on in it, remember that a German Prince can ambition no less title, than such a one as carries along with it that of the King's cousin. I do not know what a share I may have in my father's will, but let it be great, or small, or none, I assure you it will never occasion on you or me one minute's ill humour.

[295]Justin McCArthy, Viscount Moutncashel (1643-1694). In 1678, he returned from excile to London and became friends with future King James

Translation: Kempten, 19 April 1678.

Being at court at the wedding of His Highness Serenissimi of Lorraine, the news of the death of my dear father was sent to the Emperor by the Count of Wallenstein, His Envoy Extraordinary in England. The marriage of His Highness Serenissimi to the Queen of Poland had redoubled the ordinary amusements at court at carnival time, and His Imperial Majesty, having ordered me to be there, had the goodness to order that I should not be told a news so distressing as the festivities were not over. After them, she told me that she was very sorry for the loss I had of such an honest man, my father, whom she had always loved and esteemed very much, and promised me that she would always take care of me and of our needs.

You can judge the extreme affliction that I had for yourself. However, I still had a small consolation in being able to doubt it, having not yet received anything from you. Your letter from Dublin of November 27th, subscribed again from him, which I received two days after the news of his death, lessened my pain a little. The letter of November 14th of the same month, which I received two weeks later, spoke only of the friendship which you will have the goodness always to preserve for me, for which I am enterally indebted.

Expressions of condolence, which I received some time after from Nijmegen from the Ambassadors of the Emperor and that of Lorraine, overturned the little hope that remained to me, and finally yours of February 20th persuaded me of my misfortune.

You will easily believe me when I tell you that in my life nothing has touched me so deeply; I have always had for him all the respect and tenderness one can have for a good father and a good friend. It is true that he has somewhat neglected the affairs of his household; but sixty-eight years old in the sight of the greatest courts of Europe, with the established reputation of a man of honour, with an unshakable fidelity to his King and his God, always in the good graces of his master, don't they make amends for that?

The example he left us to follow is no small heritage, and I still have this particular obligation to him to have left the entire disposition of the affairs of his house to your conduct, which is my responsibility, so well-known that I promise myself everything about it, and I am very convinced that you will govern them in such a way that you will not have to ask forgiveness for this from your children.

I recommend to you above all things a good marriage in which quality and wealth have more of a share than love and beauty. I trust your judgment.

Francfort, 12 May 1678. (221)

Depuis la mienne du mois passe de Kempten j'ai été avec Son Altesse Serenissimi de Lorraine sur la frontière de Tyrol a une entrevue qu'il out avec sa belle Reine. On se sépara le 4. de ce mois, et Son Altesse allant joindre l' armée pros de Strasbourg m'ordonna de faire une course ici pour faire marcher les troupes de Saxe. A mon arrivée ici une grande altération m'a saisi qui me tient au lit depuis cinq jours. Mais Dieu merci, je me trouve a présent sans fièvre, et le médecin ne demande plus que trois ou quatre jours pour me mettre en état de retourner a l' armée. Tout se dispose ici a faire vigoureusement la campagne, et on se promet merveilles de l'Angleterre. Il faut remettre a la raison la fierté française, et faire payer cher a cette nation la vanité qu'elle afFecte a faire la guerre a toute l'Europe. Je vous enverrai des nouvelles plus particulières de l' armée par la voie de Nimegue, et vous prie, Monsieur, de m' en donner souvent aussi des vôtres; les préparatifs qu'on fait par la pour la guerre, la part qu'y doivent avoir Son Altesse Royale le Prince Robert, le Due de Monmouth, etc… l' état de vos affaires domestiques, les résolutions que vous allez prendre, soit pour le mariage, soit pour la guerre, soit pour

autre chose, ne vous fourniront que trop de matière a écrire, et de mon cute je promets de vous donner aussi fort régulièrement part de tout ce qui se passera par ici, et d'autant plus libre nient que n'ayant dorénavant qu'une même cause on ne sera plus oblige aux égards qu'on a eus par ci-devant. Enfin, Monsieur, soyez persuade que je vous aime au-delà de ce qu'on doit raisonnablement aimer un frère aine, et que je ne saurais avoir de plus grand plaisir que de voir souvent par vos lettrés que vous vous souvenez aussi de votre F. T. — Ma femme vous baise les mains. Elle passe la campagne a Innspruck, auprès de la Reine de Pologne. Mes très-humbles respects a Monsieur le Comte d' Ossory et Monsieur le Comte d' Aaron. Je suis bien oblige a la rupture d'Angleterre puisqu'elle est cause que notre brave Justin Mackartie ne sera plus de mes ennemis. Raillerie a part, je vous assure que nos gens iront bien plus gaîment a la charge a cette heure qu'ils ne trouveront plus en tête les Monmouths, les Douglas, les Dungans et tous ces diables a justaucorps rouge. Vous aurez de mes nouvelles de Armeline avant la fin de ce mois ci.

Adieu.

Translation: Frankfurt 12 May 1678.

Since this month past I have been with His Highness Serenissimi of Lorraine on the border of Tyrol as he visits with his beautiful Queen. We separated on the 4th of this month, and His Highness, going to join the army of Strasbourg, ordered me to go to Kempten and to march the troops of Saxony.

On my arrival here a great distemper seized me which has kept me in bed for five days. But thank God I now find myself without fever, and the doctor only asks for three or four days to put me in a condition to return to the army. Everything is ready here for a vigorous campaign, and we promise each other marvels from England. We must bring French pride back to its senses, and make this nation pay dearly for the vanity it affects in waging war on all of Europe.

I will send you more special news from the army by way of Nijmegen,[296] and ask you, sir, to give me yours often as well. The preparations that are being made for war, the part to be played in it by His Royal Highness Prince Robert,[297] the Duke of Monmouth,[298] etc… the state of your domestic affairs, the resolutions you are going to take, either for marriage, or for war, or for something else, will only provide you with too much material to write, and of my love I promise to give you too very regularly part of all that will happen around here, and all the more freely deny that having henceforth only the same cause we will no longer be obliged to the respects we had previously.

Finally, Sir, be persuaded that I love you beyond what one should reasonably love an elder brother, and that I could not have greater pleasure than to see often by your visiting students that you also remember your F. T.

P.S. My wife sends her love. She spent the campaign at Innsbruck, with the Queen of Poland. My most humble respects to Count d'Ossory and Count d'Aaron.

I am obliged to the unrest of England since it means that our brave Justin Mackartie will no longer be my enemy. Mockery aside, I assure you that our people will go to the charge much more cheerfully at

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296 *Nimegen (Nijmegen*) is a city in the Netherlands close to the German border. It hosted the Congress of Nijmegen in 1676 that would bring an end to the Franco-Dutch war.

297 Perhaps this refers to Prince Rupert of the Rhine (1619-1682), a German-English military and naval officer. In 1678 he was Head of the English Navy's Admiralty Commission, the "General of the Sean and Land;" basically the commander of all England's military.

298 James Scott (1649-1685), Duke of Monmouth, was born in the Netherlands, but served as an English nobleman and military officer. Things would not end well for him when, in 1685, he led a rebellion against his uncle, King James II and he was beheaded on 15 July 1685 on Tower Hill in London.

this hour than they will no longer find in front the Monmouths,[299] the Douglases, the Dungans[300] and all those devils in red jerkins[301]. You will hear from me from Armeline before the end of this month. Goodbye.

Je me suis donne l' honneur de vous éerire deux fois le mois passe l' une de Kempten et l' autre de Francfort par la voye de Nimegue. Monsieur le President Canon Envoye de Son Altesse Modernissime de Lorraine a mis mes lettrés entre les mains de Monsieur l' Ambassadeur Jenkins, qui s'est charge de vous les faire tenir. Apres avoir manque le vrai temps de reprendre Fribourg, faute des dispositions nécessaires qu'on a négliges de faire durant l' hiver, nous avons de la peine a y arriver h présent quoique nous avons une très-belle armée sur pied. Monsieur de Crequy s'est poste tout prés clc la place avee une armée peu inférieur en nombre de la notre. Lo pais entre Fribourg et Brisac est extrêmement embarrassasse de rivières, bois, montagnes et marais, et par conséquent très-avantageux pour qui se poste le premier. Il y a dix jours que Son Altesse tourne a l' entour de leur camp dans l' espérance de trouver le moyen d' engager le combat; qui est l' unique moyen d'arriver a Fribourg; on a expose tout exprès des arrière-gardes et des avant-gardes, pour les attirer a quelque engagement, mais tout eela n'échauffe pas la prudence de nos ennemis, qui ne veulent pas exposer au hasard d'une bataille les avantages d'une paix que leur maitre impose avec une hauteur inouïe a toute l' Europe. Il n'y a point d'homme de bon sens qui ne se scandalise du procède de quelques mutins dans le Parliament d'Angleterre. Au diable que soient les bêtes, ne pouvaient-ils pas prendre mieux leur temps a débiter leurs caprices, et comment reponderont-ils à la postérité d'avoir enlevé par un contretemps si peu raisonnable au Roi et a la nation Anglaise la gloire d'être les arbitrés des affaires de l' Europe. lis ont plus servi la France dans une seule session, que cinquante ministres du Roi pensionnes de la France n'auraient pu faire en vingt ans, mais ils s'en consoleront pourvu qu'ils trouvent le moyen de faire bannir encore trois ou quatre misérables Jésuites, qui se sont peut-être caches dans quelque coin du Royaume.

On dit la paix faite entre la France, l' Espagne et la Hollande, et qu'on accorde six semaines de temps aux allies -pour se résoudre a avaler le calice. Il faudra bien selon toutes les apparences passer par la; la paix sera détestable, et ne durera qu'autant qu'il plaira a celui qui la donne, mais elle me donnera le moyen de vous revoir qui est le plus grand bonheur qui me puisse arriver. Quand vous voudrez m'honorer de quelque réponse, vous n'avez qu'a la donner a Monsieur le Baron de Serenslian, Envoye de Son Altesse Serenissimi de Lorraine; je vous prie de lui faire toutes les honnêtetés que vous pourrez, aussi bien qu'a Monsieur le Comte de Wallenstein.

Translation: From the Camp Between Friborg and Brisac, 17 June 1678.

I have given myself the honour of writing to you twice in the past month, one from Kempten and the other from Frankfort by way of Nimegen. Sir, the President Canon Envoy of the new Highness de Lorraine has placed my letters in the hands of Ambassador Jenkins[302], who is in charge of delivering them to you.

After having missed the opportunity to retake Fribourg for lack of the necessary arrangements which we neglected to make during the winter, we are having difficulty in getting there at present, although

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[299] Possible James Scott, First Duke of Monmouth (1649-1685). He was an illegitimate son of Charles II and his mistress Lucy Walter. His Yopunger sister, Mary Corfts, may have been fathered by Theobold Taaffe. More…

[300] Possibly Thomas Dongan, 2nd Earl of Limmerick (1634-1715). More…

[301] *Jerkins* are sleeveless garments worn on the upper body, usually covering from the shoulders to below the waist. A lot or armies wore them, and a lot of armies wore red, so I don't know to whom he is referring.

[302] Dir Leoline Jenkins (1625-1685), an English diplomat to the Congress of Nijmegen.

we have a very fine army on foot. Monsieur de Crequy's[303] post is quite close to the place with an army slightly inferior in number to ours. The area between Friborg and Brisac is the diverse collection of rivers, woods, mountains, and marshes, whoever gets their first will have three advantages. His Highness has been circling their camp for ten days in the hope of finding a way to engage in combat. This is the clever way to get there from Friborg: rear guards and vanguards have been exposed on purpose, to attract them to some engagement, but this does not lessen the prudence of our enemies, who do not want to expose to the hazard of a battle the advantages of a peace that their master imposes with incredible haughtiness on all of Europe.

There is no man of good sense who is not scandalized by the action of a few mutineers in the Parliament of England.[304] To the devil be the beasts, could they not take their time better to pay their whims, and how will they answer posterity for having taken away by such an unreasonable setback from the King and the English nation the glory of to be the arbiters of European affairs. They have served France more in a single session than fifty ministers of the King, pensioners of France, could have done in twenty years, but they will be consoled provided they find the means of banishing three or four more wretches. The Jesuits, who are themselves of the perhaps giving some corner of the Kingdom.

It is said that peace has been made between France, Spain, and Holland, and that the allies are given six weeks of time to resolve to swallow the cup and accept it. It will be necessary, according to all appearances, to go through this; the peace will be detestable and will only last as long as it pleases the one who gives it, yet it will give me the means of seeing you again, which is the greatest happiness that can happen to me.

When you want to honour me with some answer, you have only to give it to Monsieur le Baron de Serenslian, Envoy of the Son of the Most Serene Highness of Lorraine, I beg you to do for him all the good things you can, as well as the Count of Wallenstein.

Innspruck, 16 July 1680. (224)

My lord,

La peste ayant chasse l' Empereur de Prague, il vient a Linz, villc capitale de l' Autriche supérieure. J'y vais demain, charge des commissions de Son Altesse Serenissimi de Lorraine pour Sa Majesté Impériale, et je crois que Son Altesse emmielle y suive ra dans peu de jours. Je vous ai marque dans ma dernière que le Comte de Thun, Chevalier de Malte, que vous avez connu a Vienne, s'en va en Angleterre: je vous prie de lui faire toutes les honnêtetés que vous pourrez. Le voyage du Roi de France nous alarme extrêmement pour les Pays-Bas et pour la ville de Strasbourg, et nous appréhendons, qu'il ne nous enlevé des pièces trais-considérables avant que nos alliances puissent arriver a la maturité. Dum Romae consulitur Saguntum capitur. Le salut de toute l' Europe dépend de l'Angleterre, et tout ira bien, pourvu que le Parliament s'accommode aux résolutions vigoureuses du Roi et ne s'amuse pas, par son acharnement centre le Due de York, a élever le Roi de France a un degré de puissance qui sera cent fois plus danger eusse a leur liberté et a leur Religion qu'un Roi Catholique, centre qui ils peu vent prendre toutes les précautions qu'ils voudront, et n'avons-nous pas vu dans notre Allemagne un Due de Hanovre Catholique maitre d'une armée de quatorze mille hommes, sans que dans son petit état un seul homme se soit converti, et les Dues de Saxe-Lauenbourg Catholiques depuis quarante ans, sans que

[303] François de Créquy (1629-1687), a French solider. As the treaty was being negotiated to end the Franco-Dutch war, he was basically told to avoid battles when he could, but to ensure that France retained possession of Freiburg, which he did, but in doing so had to do battle with Imperial forces.

[304] A reference to the "Popish Plot."

cela ait produit la moindre innovation dans leur état. Vous aurez de mes nouvelles de Linz que j'adresserai a Monsieur le Pin, correspondant du Baron de Serenshan. Je suis avec le respect que je dois.

Votre, F. T.

Translation: Innsbruck 16 of July 1680.

My lord,

The plague having driven the Emperor from Prague, he came to Linz, the capital city of Upper Austria. I am going there tomorrow, in charge of the commissions of His Highness Serenissimi of Lorraine for His Imperial Majesty, and I believe that His Highness himself will follow there in a few days. I told you in my last letter that the Count of Thun, Knight of Malta, whom you knew in Vienna, is going to England. I beg you to do him all that you can for him. The trip of the King of France alarms us extremely for the Netherlands and for the city of Strasbourg, and we apprehend that he will take very considerable coins from us before our alliances can come to maturity.[305] While Saguntum is consulted at Rome, he is taken. The safety of all Europe depends on England, and all will be well, provided that Parliament accommodates itself to the vigorous resolutions of the King and does not amuse itself, by its relentlessness against the Duke of York, in elevating the King of France has a degree of power which will be a hundred times more dangerous were it to their freedom and their Religion than a Catholic King, centre whom they can take all the precautions they want, and have we not seen in our Germany a Catholic Duke of Hanover master of an army of 14,000 men, without a single man being converted in his small state, and the Catholic Dukes of Saxe-Lauenbourg[306] for forty years, without this having produced the slightest innovation in their condition. You will hear from me from Linz, which I will address to Monsieur le Pin, correspondent of the Baron de Serenshan. I am, with due respect.

Yours, F.T.

Francis Taaffe's Letters, to his Brother the Earl of Carlingford (225)

from the Imperial Camp, For the Earl of Carlingford at London.

Passaw[307], 24 July 1683.

I had the honour to hear from you by my Lord Lansdowne,[308] who had he not been very full of courage and bravery, the unhappy state of affairs here had certainly diverted him from so generous a design, but since he is resolved to try his fortune with us, the duty I owe to the King and his Royal Highness's commands, the pleasure I have in obliging so gallant a gentleman as my Lord Lansdowne, and the

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[305] Latin for "While Saguntum is consulted at Rome, he is taken prisoner." This refers to the siege of Saguntum (a town in what is now Spain). The battle occurred in ca 219 BCE, pitting the Sagunites against the invading the Carthaginians. Leading the Carthaginians was Hannibal, who famously lead them in a battle versus the Romans. His invasion of Saguntum would signal the start of the Second Punic War. The quote refers to Rome not taking the threat of invasion seriously, and is probably taken by a long poem written by Sillius Italicus entitled *Punica. A*nd yes, Sillius Italicus is a real name.

[306] Referring to several dukes of the Ratzeburg-Lauenberg line: Augustus (r. 1619-1656), Julius Henry (r. 1656-1665), Francis (Erdmann (r. 1665-1666), Julius Francis (r. 1666-1689).

[307] *Passaw or Passau* is a city in south-eastern Germany. It was mostly destroyed by fire in 1662. Adolph Hitler lived in from as a young child from 1892-1894l,

[308] Probably Bernard Granville (1631-1701) a member of Parliament and aide to King Charles II, or his brother John Granville, 1st Earl of Bath. The former spent more time abroad, the latter had more titles and wealth.

interest you take therein engages me to omit nothing for his service, as well as to seek an opportunity to acquire a friend of his merit.

Instead of 70,000 men, which was promised the Duke of Loraine to carry on this terrible war, he never mustered yet above 30,000. For these two months we have lain idle in Hungary, attempting little for fear of lessening our strength before the arrival of the Ottoman forces, having already, what through sickness, and necessary detachments reduced our army to 23,000 men, and that was the utmost of our force, when the Grand Vizier on the seventh instant, with an army of at least one 160,000 fighting men posted himself within cannon-shot of us, the small river Raab running between. Neither do I speak the most, but on the contrary all the prisoners we have taken as well as other advice make them above 200,000, besides the Tartars and the Hungarian rebels.

You may easily imagine, my Lord, whether this appearance did not surprise us, having always pleased ourselves with the hopes, that our alliance with Poland might have obliged the Turk to divide his forces. However though we found the contrary, we yet maintained our post that day, and repulsed 20,000 Tartars, who forded the river under our very noses. The enemy thus finding how difficult it was to force his way to us, ordered out a detachment of 30,000 horse to spread themselves all along the river over against our right wing, with a reserve of Hungarians commanded by the Count Budiani, a nobleman of that country lately revolted. And being informed at night, that the Turks were come over the river without any difficulty, Budiani, with the said Hungarian rebels, joining with them and declaring for the rebel Teckeley, as also considering the disproportion in our numbers, that the river was fordable in several places. The enemy possessed of all the advantageous grounds and able when they pleased under protection of their cannon to force this passage, and at the same time a great body of their horse, who being already on this side, were in a posture to charge us, either in flank or rear. His Highness judged that post not safe, quitting it that night, having first put 6,000 men into Raab, which of all places seemed most in danger to be besieged. Our foot marched towards Pressburgh by the isle of Schutz,[309] where they were out of the reach of their insulting numbers, and our horse through the plains which extend from Raab to Pressburgh.

The thirteenth instant I commanded the rear-guard of four hundred horse, when I was attacked by 2,000 Tartars upon the plains of Peternel, and at the same time as ill luck would have it, they had alarmed our avaunt-guard,[310] with a party falling upon our baggage, and his Highness fearing least the enemy might cut us from Vienna, where the Emperor with the whole court as yet was, made the horse march with all possible speed thither, leaving only behind one regiment to mount the guard, This regiment seeing the hasty march of our troops, supposing it was occasioned by the terror of those that fell upon us in the rear, under that apprehension in the most shameful manner in the world fled.

Without once drawing a pistol or offering to stand the least shock of the enemy, whereupon those 400 horse of the rear-guard under my command were surrounded, and I cannot tell by what providence I was delivered, having for at least half an hour marched pesle-mesle [pell-mell] amongst the enemy. There was at this time so great a dust, that those who fled could not yet discern the coming of their succours, and in that confusion disordered several of our own squadrons that were wheeling to their relief. The first that rallied were five troops of my regiment, one squadron being wholly broken by the regiment which fled, the other behaved themselves so bravely, that the poor Prince of Aremberg and

[309] Possibly Sihot' Island, the largest river island on the Danube, located in Bratislava.

[310] *Auvant-guard*, a combination of French and English words, meaning an advanced guard that leads an army into a new area to prepare for the main force.

Count Millini[311], brother to a cardinal of that name and at present Nuncio in Spain, both Captains in my regiment, with Prince Aremberg's[312] cornet, and eighty cavaliers[313] were killed upon the place.

The Duke of Loraine at length having with much difficulty drawn up the rest of the horse hastened himself to us, where finding the foremost squadrons yet under a panic fear, alighted from his horse at the head of his men to let them see there was no danger. This example gave fresh courage to our troops, and the dust being somewhat abated, we discovered, that all this disorder was only occasioned by 6,000 Turks and Tartars. We made up then to them, his Highness being in the head of us, but they would not endure the very sight of our troops, and 'twas in vain to follow them with our heavy German horse, since our light horse was wanting, the enemy flying with an incredible swiftness. But we learned from this, that which we since found, that these 6,000 horse were only to cover the gross of their army, with the which they thinking it not so much for their purpose to attack Raab, as supposed was first designed, were marching directly to Vienna.

You will perhaps think it very strange that we should be no better informed of the design and marches of the enemy, but not so much when you hear that all Hungary was against us, and not so much as a peasant but for Teckeley. And as for the party that we sent out to scout on the plains between Raab and Vienna, there could not a man of them have escaped had they been discovered. Such is the number and swiftness of the enemy. To conclude, my Lord, we are in a very desperate condition.

All Hungary is against us, the Court removed to Passaw, all Austria round Vienna from Newstadt[314] and St. Hippolit[315] in flames, and we not able to hinder it, having now only a body of 10,000 horse, at most, left with the Duke of Loraine; Vienna has been besieged these ten days, and had not his Highness, out of his great prudence and conduct, clapt[316] in 10,000-11,000 men into the town, in that nick of time, and the which was all the foot he had in his army, by this time the place had certainly been lost. Bavaria is sending us 10,000 brave, but unexperienced soldiers, and we shall be reinforced with 10,000 more from the Emperor. The King of Poland is obliged by our treaty to march himself in person at the head of his army to the relief of Vienna, and the least delay is looked upon as most dangerous. Saxony, Franconia and Brandenburgh promise us their troops, God grant they may all come in time. If Vienna should be taken, I cannot see the end of our miseries, but I hope God will not forsake his cause, nor the house of Austria that has been ever so devoted to him.

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311 This would make him the brother of Cardinal Savio Mellini, son of Mario Millini and Ginevra di Neri Capponi, both of noble families. Unfortunately, I have not been able to determine his given name.

312 Phillipe Charles d'Arenberg, 3rd Duke of Arenberg (1663-1691). He would be killed 8 years later in the Battle of Slankamen. More…

313 *Cavalier*, in its original meaning as a noun, referred to a gallant soldier; nowadays it is more often use as an adjective, as a slight insult to describe someone who is as shallow, dismissive, and arrogant; or a certain spaniel…

314 *Newstadt*, aka *Neustad* (Newtown), located in southeastern German. It was conquered at various times by the Spanish (1662), Sweden (1631), Holy Roman Empire (1635), Weimar (1638), France (1639 and 1644).

315 *St. Hippolit, (St. Hippolyt)* is a town in Germany, now named Sankt Pölten, *Pölten* being derived from Saint Hippolytus of Rome, a third century theologian with little know about his personage. The towns of Neustad and Sankt Pölten are about 400 miles (680 km) from one another.

316 *Clapt.* An unfamiliar past participle use of the verb "clap." In this case it takes on the meaning as when used in the sentence "The judged clapped him in jail," as in *suddenly and forcibly*. This makes sense when paired with the arrival of troops "in the nick of time."

For the Earl of Carlingford at London. Angrem, 17 August 1683. (228)

I received yours of the seventeenth of July from London and render God a thousand thanks for saving our Royal Master the King and the Duke from that execrable design of those wicked assassins.[317] Good God! What madness is this? Let us view all Europe, and see, if we can find any subjects so well treated, or who do enjoy so blessed a peace as those of England, or if there be any nations in the world that do not envy the happiness of ours. I have so great a detestation for those infamous villains, that I shall henceforth look upon Turks and Tartars as the most honest men.

You have by this time doubtless received the account I sent you of our campaign from Passaw. The Lord Lansdowne delivered it to the Spanish Ambassador, who promised to send it in his pacquet to Don Petro de Ronquillio into England. The Duke of Loraine has since had the good fortune with 14,000 horse to give a defeat to Teckeley's army, consisting of 20,000 Hungarians and 6,000 Turks near Pressburgh, where he was going to possess himself of the town, and to be crowned King of Hungary. We marched up towards them by a defile, which they had lined with dragoons, and though the enemy were drawn up in good order, they had not the courage to make any opposition: our avaunt-guard was scarcely past, when a panic fear so seized those rebels, that they presently fled, leaving the Turks to shift for themselves, who for a time retreated orderly, but the Poles seconded by some regiments of our cuirassiers fell so furiously upon them that at last they were routed, leaving a thousand of their men dead behind them, with twelve hundred waggons of baggage, whereof our men had the plunder, the rebels' cavalry saving themselves by the swiftness of their horses, and the few foot they had in woods and mountains, which were inaccessible to our horse; this blow was such a terror to Teckeley that we saw him no more.

Vienna has now been five weeks besieged, and although the enemy took their post the first day at the foot of the Glacis under protection of the suburbs, which we neglected to demolish, they have spent four weeks in only gaining one point of the counterscarp[318] betwixt the bastion of the palace[319] and that of Lebell. Five days ago, they sprung a mine under the point of the ravelin[320] betwixt the said two bastions,[321] where they gave a furious assault, in hopes to have made a lodgement of it: but they were repulsed with great loss, and we have it from the prisoners themselves, as well as spies we have in their camp, that they have already lost above 12,000 Janizaries.[322]

The Bavarian succours of 9,000 men are already arrived at the bridge of Crembs, those of Franconia being eight thousand will be here tomorrow. The Elector of Saxony with 10,000 men more is upon his march but can hardly be with us before the end of the month. The King of Poland is also coming with three or 24,000 men, and we are now about 23,000 Imperialists, with which troops we are resolved towards the end of this month to succour Vienna or die in the attempt; but if the King of Poland delay

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317 This refers to the *Rye House Plot,* a plan to assassinate King Charles II and his brother James, Duke of York. The royals travelled from Westminster to Newmarket, about 65 miles (105 km), to attend a horse race. But a fire on March 22 in the town (half of it destroyed) caused the race to be cancelled and the royals returned early. The plot was probably related to growing anti-Catholic sentiment, including Charles' (a protestant but sympathetic to Catholics) friendship with Catholic King Louis XIV. Charles' brother, James, was Catholic and so conspirators wanted to eliminate both the king and his heir. Rye House was a fortress-like home along the route from Newmarket to London and would serve as a base of operations for both panning and launching the attack. More…

318 *Counterscarp* is the exterior slope of a wall or ditch.

319 This probably refers to Schönbrunn Palace, or at least its predecessor structure, attacked to a previously built home called Katterburg mansion.

320 *Ravelin* is a triangular fortification outside of a castle, meant to spit the forces of an attacking army and, if high enough, can prevent artillery from firing on the walls of the castle itself.

321 *Bastion* is another type of fortification, an outward projection from a wall, often located at the corners of the castle wall to allow defenders to fire on troops along both walls.

322 Elite solders in the Turkish army.

comings and we find the town much pressed, we shall endeavour the relief of it without him. They assure us that the emperor intends to be with us in person, and I heartily wish it for his greater glory.

We think to pass the Danube at Crembs, a little town about ten leagues up the river from Vienna; the country thereabouts is very mountainous and woody, till you come within a little league of the place. We shall have a body of 30,000 foot. If the enemy come to meet us they must then forsake some of their posts, if they do not we shall have them betwixt us and the town, and the situation thereof is such, that their horse will be of little use to them, in which consists their greatest force.

My Lord Lansdowne is in great esteem with his Highness the Duke of Loraine, and extremely beloved by all the officers and best men of our army.

For the Earl of Carlingford at London. From the camp at Korn[323] Area upon the Danube; 25 August 1683. (230)

I have given you in my letters under cover of Don Petro de Ronquillio[324], as well as those from the camp at Maregg, sent in the Governor of Flanders's pacquet, a faithful account of the state of affairs here, as also what hath happened most remarkable in this campaign. The twenty first instant the Duke of Loraine left the Mark, a little fordable river that divides Austria and Moravia from Hungary, that he might the better get to the banks of the Danube, above Tulln and Crembs, there to pass over for the disposing matters for the great affair, I mean the relieving of Vienna, hoping that those two blows the enemy had already received, as well as the King of Poland's march towards their confines, might for a while retard their advancing in the siege.

Yesterday we encamped at Stockeraw,[325] where we were told, that a considerable body of Turks and Tartars had passed the Mark, and we were quickly convinced of the truth of it, by the flames of five or six villages, which we saw burning within a few miles of our camp, it being a barbarous custom amongst those infidels to set all on fire wheresoever they march.

Upon this his Highness with a flying body of 10,000 horse resolved to march immediately towards them, we found them, being about 12,000, drawn in battle near the bridge of Vienna. His Highness personally charged on the right wing, where the Turks gave a furious onset, disordering some of our Polish troops, but being presently seconded by some of our German horse they were put to flight with the loss of three hundred of their men, and five hundred more that were sent from the Grand Vizier's camp over the Danube in boats thinking by the same means to save themselves, were so hotly pursued, that they were most of them drowned in the river, leaving their horses for a booty behind them.

Our right wing extended itself to a little wood, the left wing where I commanded spreading itself all along the plains, which the enemy seeing encouraged them to bend their chiefest force against us, that they might fall upon us both in the flank and rear; but Prince Lewis of Baden ordering some of the horse on the right wing, by easy movements to close in with us, and the enemy finding after several attempts that they could not break us, but were always repulsed with loss, despairing of success, they drew off their squadrons upon a little hill within musket shot of us, by which they kept us from seeing any reserve, that might possibly have lain hid behind them.

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323 Possibly Komárno, Slovakia, at the juncture of the Danube and Váh rivers. On the other side of the river of Komárom in Hungary. The was a fort there; a natural place for Francis and his troops to stop.

324 Spanish ambassador to England.

325 *Stockeraw, Stockerau*, a town in north-eastern Austria. The town is sometimes referred to by its nickname, Lenaustad, in honour of Austrian poet Nikolaus Lenau.

At the same time that they seemed thus ready to engage us, a hundred and fifty desperate Turks and Tartars, perceiving the distance that was betwixt our squadrons and the right wing, slipping behind the wood fell upon us in the rear, but I ordering two squadrons of our second line to charge them, they were quickly dispersed, and few of them escaped.

We did expect the enemy would have made use of this disorder to attack us with their whole body, but it was far otherwise, it serving them only as an opportunity to save themselves by a hasty retreat; We by this time finding that those squadrons of theirs drawn up before us upon the said hill were only to amuse and cover the retreat of the rest, and it had been time lost to pursue them with our Cuirassiers, who could not overtake them in a race-campaign they never keeping together, and are very nimble and run with great swiftness, and impossible to get them into a body, unless they please themselves: our Poles might have indeed pursued them, but seemed unwilling, and his Highness judging that they might probably be reinforced by Teckeley, who but few days before was encamped near the Mark, thought it not fit to pursue them any further, but to return to mind the great affair, which now drew near.

The enemy lost besides those killed on the place, several kettledrums[326], and above twenty colours in their retreat. His Highness with singular courage and bravery conducted this engagement with the enemy, but too much exposed his person, as he does too often upon all occasions. We are here still intent, and at the eve of our great business, the relief of Vienna. His Majesty of Poland with above 20,000 men will be with us in seven days. Bavaria, Saxony, and Franconia have already sent us 27,000 men, and we are above 20,000 Imperialists.

If God be not against us, I hope in a few days to send you a relation of a glorious victory. My Lord Lansdowne did particularly signalize himself in this action, being always in that part of the fight where it was hottest, and he is certainly a very gallant young man.

For the Earl of Carlingford at London. From the Grand Vizier's camp at Midnight, 12 September 12 1683. (232)

We have relieved Vienna, but if the victory be not so complete, as we promised ourselves it should, it proceeded only from the cowardice of our enemies, whom from morning till night we drove before us, beating them from post to post, without their having once the courage to look us in the face, and that through several defiles, which had they any reasonable courage we could never have forced.

The combat held longest where the King of Poland was, but that only added to his glory, having beaten them with the loss of their cannon and a great number of their men; they have left us their whole camp in general, with their tents, bag and baggage, and time will tell us more particulars.

We intend to follow them tomorrow, and it is impossible but there must be much more than we yet know. If night had not come on at our very entering the suburbs, we had certainly given them a total overthrow.

My Lord Lansdowne hath done me the honour to accept the command of a troop of horse in my regiment. He is a very brave youth, and courts all occasions to show his courage, and to distinguish

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[326]Drums have been used by the military for ages. Many people think of military drums being used to create a cadence for marching but they were much more than that. Initially, their primary use was for battlefield communications, similar to how way think of bugles being used to signal different instructions to troops, such as *charge! o*r r*etreat! The Europeans first encountered the use of* kettledrums by Islamic forces in the Crusades. More…

himself attracting the friendship and esteem of all our army. I am just now told we have taken all the Grand Vizier's treasure; you shall hear more by the next.

For his Excellency the Marquis of Grana, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands etc. From the Grand Vizier's camp at Midnight, September 12 1683. (233)

Instead of Vienna, and the enemy forced to fly away, which was not our fault, for from Kalemberg[327] as far as Filberg-Bastie we pursued them from hill to hill, and from one defile to another, they never having the courage to stand before our troops.

I refer myself for the rest to Mister Proudhomme, who is a very good man, and deserves a reward for the news he carries, in the which he bore a very particular part, but less than he hoped, through the cowardice of the enemy, and I beg he may receive some mark of your favour.

I have heretofore told you that the King of Poland is le plus honeste homme [most honest man] of his kingdom, and I must now tell you again, that there are few kings now in the world, who deserve better to be so than he himself; and that his competitor, our Duke of Loraine, hath performed all the parts of a great captain and excellent soldier, and hath withal so managed matters, and found the way in this conjunction of our troops to accommodate so many Majesties and Electoral Highnesses and Sovereign Princes together, that there hath not been the least dispute or difference arisen amongst them.

I take the freedom to send you some of our plunder from the Turks, being a very small present: We have taken all the enemies' tents in general, and you will admire the moderation of our troops, who amidst so great a booty, pursued the infidels from camp to camp; neither officer nor soldier once offering to touch anything till they had first made sure of the victory.

I cannot yet learn how many were killed on the right wing, against whom the King of Poland fought in person, Monsieur Proudhomme will tell you the rest. 'Twas night before we got hither, which hindered us from pursuing them farther, but tomorrow early we shall be at their heels. I am for ever Yours etc.

From the camp near Pressburgh, 22 September 1683. (234)

For the Earl of Carlingford at London.

I did myself the honour, my Lord, to give you a rough draught of the action of Vienna, the very same night that it happened, by an officer of the Marquis of Grana's, whom he sent express from Flanders, to bring him that great news, and I must add, that never victory of so great importance cost so little blood.

There were no officers killed on our side but the brother of the Prince de Crouy[328], the Count de Trautmanstorf Major,[329] the Count de Batzi Captain of dragoons, and some people of quality among the Poles, who stood the shock of a very rude encounter with a transcendent bravery.

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[327] *Kalemberg (Kahlenberg)* is a hill located in the Vienna Woods from which King Jan Sobieski III of Poland launched his attack on Ottoman forces during the Second Siege of Vienna.

[328] Charles Eugène de Croÿ-Millendonck was the Prince mentioned; he had a half-brother, named Matthias Thissen, but I don't know if this is the brother who was killed.

[329] Possibly Adam Matthias von Trauttmansdorff (1617-1684), a rich land owner in Bohemia and associate of Ferdinand III of the HRE, but given the date of his death, possibly one of his sons.

If the Grand Vizier had mastered of his trade, we could never have passed from the hills of Kalemberg to Vienna, without a bloody and desperate engagement, and upon very disadvantageous terms, we having three terrible defiles[330] to pass from the mountains to the city. But God did so infatuate them, that they let our foot and dragoons quietly post themselves in such a manner, as to secure our cavalry, who passing but one and two at a time posted themselves under their very noses.

Their retreat was so hasty that they left us all their artillery in general, and the account being made they are found, what in their approaches and camp, to amount to above one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, with a prodigious quantity of provisions both of ammunition and victuals, and all their camp, without giving themselves so much time as to take down a tent.

The field was covered everywhere with all sorts of rich booty. Our German troops marching through the middle of all this spoil, and not a soldier, either foot or horse went one step out of his rank to pillage, and we value the glory of this continence and exactness of military discipline more than all the booty of the Poles, which was incredible. All the Grand Vizier's treasure fell to their share, the King confesses he hath gotten great riches, and the equipage of the Grand Vizier alone, which fell to his lot, is valued at kc100,000 crowns.

The Poles have also taken the great standard of Mahomet, and the horsetails which the Sultan himself gave the Grand Vizier on this great expedition. Some of our cavalry next day in rummaging their tents, found betwixt 5,000-6,000 ducats in ready money, and amongst other things the Imperial Resident, who following the army, was forgot behind their camp, who assured us, that since the beginning of the siege, their army was lessened 70,000 men, and the Turkish prisoners avow, that of 40,000 Janizaries which came before the place, there are not gone off 18,000.

If night had not come on us, at the very suburbs of Vienna, we had made it an entire victory, having already gained the defiles, and the enemy was in an extreme confusion, and had we but two hours more daylight, we should have driven them to the little river of Schwechat, where we might have had them at our mercy, but they passed it in the night, and though the Duke of Loraine would have next morning pursued them at break of day, yet the King of Poland thought it not fit, because his horse had not drunk in eight and forty hours before. But those who are given to detract say, that the Polish troops, with whom the King is sometimes obliged to comply, had demanded one day more, to make an end of pillaging the Turkish camp.

We hope before the end of this campaign to take some place on the frontier. Teckeley applies himself to the King of Poland for his mediation. The Grand Vizier enraged at this shameless loss, has since caused the heads of the Vizier of Buda, of two Bassas[331] and five hundred officers to be cut off; this will be a ready way to make an end of his army, if he kills thus on one side, and we on the other.

Adieu, in fine, it was high time to succour Vienna, there being two considerable breaches in both the bastions, and half of the curtain undermined, the garrison which consisted of 12,000 men reduced to 4,000, and certainly never any garrison behaved itself better.

I am endeavouring to get a draught of the place and the attacks to present to the King and his Royal Highness, and here's an engineer upon the place has promised to do it very well. My Lord Lansdoville will have the honour to see the closing of this campaign, as thinking it not sufficient to have bore his part in the relief of Vienna and defeating the Turk. It was to be wished the Elector of Saxe[332] had taken

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[330] *Defiles* in this sense of the word means a steep and narrow gorge which requires troops to move in single file, rendering them more vulnerable to attack.

[331] Probably Pasa, an honorary rank in the Ottoman military like a knight. The word was derived from "basha." More…

[332] John George III (1647-1691) was the Elector of Saxony at this time, succeeding his father. Like many of his time, he had a mistress, a Venetian opera singer (Margarita Salicola) who started a new trend in opera in Saxony, where singers

the same consideration along with him, but he quitted the army the very day after the succour of Vienna, finishing his campaign with the glory of relieving the town. The Elector of Bavaria[333] with his troops as well as those of Franconia march with us still, being resolved to see the end of this campaign.

For the Earl of Carlingford at London. From the camp near Barrakan[334] Over Against Gran, 10 October 10 1683. (236)

I sent you a short account of the relieving of Vienna, and of the shameful flight of the enemy before it, of which that advantage was not made that might otherwise have been by reason of the backwardness of the Poles to follow the pursuit next day. But the Grand Vizier being enraged at this disgrace, discharged the fury upon the officers of his army, having strangled the Vizier of Buda, a man of eighty years of age, (and as he was perhaps the most able person of the Ottoman Empire, so would he have proved the more dangerous enemy to him,) with four other Bassas, and four or five hundred other officers, upon pretence that they did not do their parts, and disobeyed his orders.

The Count Budiani, a Hungarian Lord who after our retreat at Raab, revolted with a considerable party of his countrymen to the rebel Teckeley, to give the Emperor a convincing proof of his sincere repentance, cut in pieces 2,000 auxiliary Turks that the Grand Vizier had sent to reinforce him, and though the advantage we got by his treason was very great, yet we could not but abhor the traitor.

On the fifth instant the Polish army with our cavalry passed the Danube at Comorn, leaving our foot one day's march behind; but the Duke of Loraine having resolved to attack Barrakan, was forced to stay some time for the foot, because those of Bavaria were for some unhappy reasons six days' march from us.

The King being told that there were not above 5,000 Turks in Barrakan made his troops hastily advance towards it, without once acquainting his Highness with the design, and thinking himself sure, and that his very avaunt-guard would have carried Vizierit, he did not so much as march his troops in battalia,[335] but his ambition and the great contempt he had of the enemy upon the success of Vienna cost him dear. Instead of the 5,000 men which he was told of, he found in a bottom under the very cannon of Barrakan a body of 12,000, who instantly attacked the avaunt-guard of the Poles with such a fury, that though they behaved themselves bravely, they were at last forced into their main body, and that in such confusion, that the whole army which had not then time to draw up into bataillia, seized with a panic fear had been entirely routed, had not the Duke of Loraine (who by this time heard of the King's departure) made his troops hastily follow, and so kept them from farther disorder.

My brigade had this day the avaunt-guard, and his Highness ordering me to make haste, though we had a defile to pass about half an hour's march from the enemy, yet our troops carried on with a desire to redress the loss and repair the affront received by their allies, passed it with all cheerfulness, and so in a very little time we drew up in a line of 15 squadrons. The arrival thus of our troops put soon a stop to

had formerly been Casterati. One assumes that boys across the region breathed a sigh of relief. He did well in the Battle of Vienna and earned the complements of King John III of Poland.

333 Maximilian II Emanuel (1662-1726) was Elector of Bavaria at this time.

334 *Barrakan, (Párkány),* now called Štúrovo, is in Slovakia. The Battle of Párkány was fought October 7-9, 1683 in two stages. The first round went to the Turks, with King John III Sobieski tasting defeat after victory at Vienna. Reinforced with troops under the command of Charles V, Duke of Lorraine, they turned the tables and captured the city.

335 *Battalia,* an obsolete term with two meanings, both unsurprisingly related to battles. The first meaning is the order of the types of troops attack the enemy, such as archers, then lancers and other foot soldiers, followed by cavalry. The second meaning is the arrangement of the troops, as they prepare for battle.

the carriere[336] of the Turks and gave us an opportunity thereby of passing the rest of our men, and to the Poles —of knowing each other. The enemy thus contenting themselves with the advantage they had gotten over the Poles, retired in good order into the bottom where they were first, and we thought it not then safe to follow them farther with the Poles, who were as it were stunned with the blow they had received, and under an apprehension that the Grand Vizier's whole army was there.

They thereupon encamped themselves about an hour's distance from Barrakan near the Danube, and the King was then of opinion to stay for the coming up of the foot before they should attempt anything farther. There were about 1,000 Poles killed, most of them dragoons, who having alighted from their horses in a plain were abandoned by the horse, and so cut in pieces by the enemy. The King ventured as far as any man with his usual undaunted courage, and had it not been for a German cavalier that served him, he had certainly been either killed or taken prisoner; and his Majesty in requital made him Colonel.

The next day the Mareschal Comte de Starhemberg[337] who so bravely defended Vienna came with 8,000 foot to us. The Poles were so disheartened by their wounds, which were yet bleeding, and apprehending, that the Grand Vizier with the rest of his army might be near at hand, that they did endeavour to divert the King from any farther vigorous action at that time, but the Duke of Loraine did so strongly press the contrary, that they were at last brought to it.

We marched in battalia the ninth instant towards the enemy, His Highness giving the Poles their choice where to post themselves, but instead of the right wing which till then they always affected, they divided themselves on both the wings, and on our reserve. The enemy seeing us thus march towards them came out of their bottom, ranging themselves in bataillia, and by the confession of those prisoners that make them the most, the Turks did not exceed 16,000 men, and certainly there never was committed a greater nor worse supported rashness, but yet they stood us with that boldness at first, that the whole Grand Vizier's army could not have done more, and not being able to front our whole line, they drew up to the right, and without once attempting to attack the German squadrons fell with an incredible fury on those Poles they found on our left, hoping to find as cheap a business of it as they had done the day before,

But the great General of Poland Jablonowsld received them so briskly, that it stopped their fury, and at the same time we are charging them with our first line of cuirassiers put them totally into disorder. The defeat of those was immediately followed with a general rout of all their troops, and the shock of the first line of our said left wing was so vigorous and successful, that neither my Lord Lansdowne, to whom I had given the command of a squadron in my regiment, nor I myself, who commanded the second line of the wing that was attacked had either of us occasion to fire a pistol.

His Highness let loose the first line of cuirassiers, the Croats, and some Poles to the pursuit of those that fled, whom we chased with the points of our swords in their backs to the very fort of Barrakan, making a most terrible slaughter of them, the crowd of those that thought to save themselves by the bridge was so great, that the bridge broke under them, and there were abundance of them who threw themselves into the Danube rather than they would stand the fury of our men, and the revenge of the Poles.

It is most certain that with those who were slain, and those who were drowned, the better half of their number perished, and one shall seldom find in a pitched battle a greater loss of men: these were the

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[336] I have struggle to find a meaning of the word *carrier* that fits for what Francis is describing. The closets I could come is that a *carrier* can mean a moveable piece in artillery which transfers a cartridge to a position where it can be place in a gun barrel. In this sense, he many mean that the arrival of his troops somehow shut down the Turks cannons.

[337] Ernst-Rüdiger von Starhemberg (1638-1701), military governor of Vienna. More…

very flower of the Turkish army, commanded by the new Vizier of Buda, Ali Bassa of Aleppo, and six other Bassas; the Vizier of Buda was killed, the Bassas of Aleppo and Silistria are taken prisoners, and a third Bassa was drowned.

We have also saved about six hundred prisoners from the fury of the Poles, and there are certainly taken above 3,000 horse and at least as many drowned. The taking of Barrakan was a consequence of this victory, our men entering without opposition, though there were several Janizaries, and many others retired into it. But the Poles having first sacked and pillaged, seeing some of their comrades' heads, which the Turks had pitched in parade all along the palizadoes[338] of the fort, did brutally in revenge burn that place of importance which we would have preserved.

Let us however give thanks to God who has thus so visibly shewn himself in his own and our cause by delivering our enemies into our hands. I shall continue to give you a faithful relation of what passes here, and do intreat you to communicate it to His Majesty and the Duke.

For the Earl of Carlingford at London. Lintz, 4 January 4 1684. (240)

About two days since I received two of your most welcome letters, one whereof hath (it seems) first made the tour of Hungary.

I am overjoyed to hear that the King and his Royal Highness seem satisfied with my relations, because they are two persons whom I infinitely love, and reverence as I ought, and whom I very well know to be of most discerning judgments. I confess I am proud to think that I have some part in their good opinions. My Lord Lansdowne hath been pleased to set too great a value upon those little services I have done him. He is a very brave cavalier, and the most obliging, best conditioned man I know, and as he does me the honour to love me, so he would procure me the like favour with my Lord his father, whom I most highly honour. The Emperor sends him into England with the quality of a Count of the Empire, to show the consideration he has for brave men, and although it cannot add anything to the lustre of his noble family, yet his posterity will have no reason to be displeased at his having gained it upon so glorious an occasion; nevertheless I desire you to publish nothing of this without the permission of my Lord of Bathe.

We have now by the taking of Gran, otherwise Strigonium, finished our campaign, notwithstanding the opposition of the Poles, who did all that was possible to divert us from it, in a season which in truth was not so proper to make war. The easiness that the Duke of Loraine found in making a bridge, convinced him of the consternation the enemy was in, and that he ought to make the best use of it. His Highness passed the Danube without the Poles, and in spite of the rain that fell continually, he pushed on the siege with that vigour, that at the end of five days he made himself master of the town. It is a place not strong, save only by its situation, nor considerable, but for passing the Danube, and commanding a great extent of the country. It is the Metropolis of Hungary, and in the last age cost the Christians as well as the Turks a siege of several months.

This taking of Gran was soon followed by a reduction of the rebels, who of themselves came in and begged pardon. The Poles for their quarters chose the upper Hungary, promising to reduce Cashaw and Eperies, but finding greater opposition than they imagined, they rather chose to leave it, than run the

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[338] *Palizadoes, pallisades.* A fence, in this case probably part of a fortification around the city. In war combatants would sometimes place the heads of the defeated on a post to show their contempt for them an to frighten the enemy; this was also sometime done following an execution of a particularly heinous criminal or political enemy.

risk of so troublesome a quarter, but the Imperialists made sure of theirs by the taking of Leutsch and many other castles, from whence they drove the rebels.

There are who suspect an understanding betwixt some of the Polish officers and the rebels, but for my own part I believe nothing of it, and the reason why I suppose they did not reduce Cashaw, was because they wanted both foot and provisions, thinking that by the sole reputation of their arms, and presence of the King, they might have carried it, and besides that besieging of towns is not their business.

My Lord Lansdowne will bear me witness that I did all was possible even before your sending to me, to find out a couple of fine Turkish horses for you, but upon my word we could find none worth the trouble, for all that were better than ordinary were taken by the Poles, and other of our Generals, who were more eager after plunder than myself; I have bought a Turkish tent without seeing it, but they say it is very fine, with some Turkish arms, which are also curious in the kind, which I intend to send by way of Hamburgh, and you may make a present of them to the King or Duke, if you think it worth their acceptance, or otherwise dispose of them as you think best.

I will send you when you please the Duke of Loraine's picture, and I will, if I can, procure that of the King of Poland too. My Lord Lansdowne's courier is just going, so that I cannot now say any thing of the business of Newheusell, but will by the first send you an account of that, as well as other matters which I purpose to write you. I am for ever Yours etc…

For the Earl of Bath at London. Lintz, 5 January 1684. (242)

My Lord,

I know not what my Lord Lansdowne can have written to Your Lordship in my favour, to draw from you such obliging expressions of civility and goodness to me, as I find all your letters filled with. The truth is it is I, who have a thousand obligations to my Lord, your son, for making his campaign with me, and giving me so distinct a mark of his friendship, as there is not a gallant man of the greatest consideration in all the army but would think himself honoured with it.

He found us in a condition which would have discouraged any man but himself. Our army by reason of the great garrisons which we were forced to leave in Raab and Vienna reduced to a flying body of 7,000 horse, the court in retreat, which might have justified him if he had followed so great an example, but he would finish what he had begun, and the truth is we may date our good fortune from the time that he came amongst us.

He had a part in the defeat of the Turks at Pressburgh, Korneiburgh, Vienna and Barrakan, and in the taking of Gran. He hath signalized himself everywhere, and done like the son of such a father and so illustrious ancestors; and if he have suffered in this campaign, which was one of the rudest that we have made a long time, he returns loaded with glory and the marks of a particular esteem from His Imperial Majesty, and leaves a memory behind him, which will ever do honour to his family and country.

I pray God, my Lord, that you may long enjoy one another and that I may enjoy you both, I will seek all occasions of meriting by my most humble services that part in the honour of your favour, which you allow me before hand by a mere effect of your generosity, and that I may have the means to do it, I conjure you as soon as may be to send us back our Lord Lansdowne. The King can employ no person in this court, who will be more acceptable, or more capable to serve him. I am with respect. My Lord,

Your most humble and most obedient servant, Taaffe

Monseigneur,

Comme Monsieur Poltney a assisté lui-même aux endroits les plus remarquables de notre campagne, il peut rendre à Votre Altesse Royale un conte fort exact des commencements très-heureux suivis d'une fin peu proportionnée aux espérances qu'on en a pû concevoir. Après le peu de résistance qu'on avait trouvé l'année passée à Gran, quoique nullement pressé, cette année ici à Vice grade, Wats et Pest, l'ennemi battu près de Wats, chassé à St. André, défait entièrement à Ertz, et tout cela quasi à la vue de Bude, la ville basse de Bude prise l'épée à la main avec le massacre de huit cent Turcs, le moyen de s'arrêter en si beau chemin? L'Empereur souhaitait l'entreprise de Bude, le Duc de Lorraine la croyait digne de son grand courage et depuis la défaite d' Ertz pas un des Généraux ne s'y était opposé. Nous étions entrés en campagne avec vingt-neuf mille hommes de très -bonnes troupes , dix-sept mille fantassins, neuf mille cuirassiers, le reste dragons et Croates. L'arrière-ban Hongrois, fort de quatre à cinq mille hommes, ne nous a joints qu'après le passage du Danube, d'assez bonnes troupes si on pouvait s'en assurer, mais comme ils ne s'assemblent que par boutade et par caprice, ils se débandent de même; les occasions qu'on avait eues avec l'ennemi n'y avaient pas fait de diminution considérable. Il y avait dans la place sept cent chevaux avec neuf ou dix mille fantassins, l'élite de l'armée ottomane, outre le peuple de la ville, des faubourgs et de la ville de Pest, qui s'y était réfugié, trois cent pièces d'artillerie et abondance de toutes sortes de provisions, dans une ville où on avait placé les magasins pour toute la campagne; tous les environs de Bude, de quel coté qu'on se tourne à six heures de chemin sont en friche, il fallait aller à deux et trois heures à l'herbe, et les chevaux d'Allemagne à la longue n'en subsistent pas. Cependant le siège fut résolu parceque la prise de Bude importait la conquête de tout le Royaume de Hongrie, coupait tout-à-fait Neuhäusel et pour le reste des petites places pas une n'aurait résisté quatre jours après la perte de celle-ci. L'impossibilité qu'il y avait de faire subsister la cavalerie longtemps, et la consternation où on croyait l'ennemi, furent cause qu'on attaqua la place sans s'arrêter à toutes les formalités d'un juste siège. Bude est situé sur une hauteur fort raide entourée d'une grande muraille de pierre dont la moitié est terrapienée de la montagne même, des grosses tours à l'antique à justes distances y tiennent lieu de bastions. Au pied de la muraille on avait creusé un grand fossé tant pour faciliter les sorties, que pour nous observer de plus près et s'opposer à nos approches. Nous n'avions que dix-sept pièces de batterie et celles-là assez mal servies. Les batteries furent faites sur une hauteur parallèle à celle de Bude, et la tranchée ouverte, à côté de la batterie, elle passait d'une montagne à l'autre par un fond qui était dominé de tout côté et où on n'avait qu'à rouler des bombes, grenades et pierres pour nous désoler. Quelque précaution qu'on eut prise, on aurait eu peine à s'en garantir tout-à-fait, dans un terrain pierreux, désavantageux par sa situation, et pour la fascine, il fallait la chercher fort loin, niais dans l'ardeur où on était d'emporter bientôt la place, on avait précipité les travaux, et je puis dire avec vérité qu'il n'y avait pas un seul endroit où on ne fût vu de la place. Il y avait une autre incommodité très-grande qui est que toutes les grandes pluyes qui arrivaient, et nous en avons eu de très-fréquentes, comblaient tous nos travaux d'une manière qui les rendait pour beaucoup de jours im- praticables et nous obligeait à relever la tranchée à corps découvert. Notre canon abattit sans peine cette partie de la muraille qui s'élevait par-dessus la montagne, mais pour la plus basse qui était soustenue de la montagne même, il n'y fit pas le moindre effet. Il fallût avoir recours à la mine, on y travailla à cette attaque et à l'autre qu'on faisait à la ville basse, mais soit fatalité, soit ignorance des mineurs, pas une de sept qu'on a tentées n'a réussi. Cependant la mort du Vizir de Bude et de l'Aga des Janissaires, la désolation que nos bombes faisaient dans la place, quoique nous n'en fassions que très-petitement pour v..., et l'approche du secours de Bavière nous opiniatrèrent tellement à l'entreprise que nous ne considérions pas les pertes très-grandes qu'on faisait tous les jours tant dans l'infanterie que dans la cavalerie. Dans ces entrefaits pour comble de mal- heur le Duc de Lorraine tomba malade d'une fièvre violente causée par les fatigues incroyables qu'il se donnait, couchant toutes les nuits à la tranchée et allant le jour aussi loin que ses moindres mousquetaires. Le siège commença à languir avec lui, et se tourna insensiblement dans une espèce de blocus mal sous-tenu , parceque l'ennemi reprenant

courage à mesure qu'il nous en voyait perdre, nous désolait, nuit et jour, par des sorties continuelles, et nous chassa de nos travaux avancés, qui étaient trop peu soutenus. Enfin l' Électeur de Bavière arriva avec un renfort de sept mille fantassins et de cinq mille chevaux. On lui offrit le choix des attaques et il choisit celle du château. L'Électeur est très-brave de sa personne, mais comme il était aussi mal pourvu d'ingénieurs et de mineurs, jamais il ne pût trouver le moyen de faire une ouverture à la muraille. D'autre côté le Sérasquier renforcé de quelques troupes fraîches vint attaquer notre camp et fût repoussé. Mais le lendemain, à la faveur d'un gros brouillard il fît un détachement de quelques mille chevaux derrière les montagnes qui règnent du côté d'Altoffen, et avant qu'on s'en pût apercevoir ils étaient déjà aux mains avec nos gardes. Le Duc de Lorraine tout incommodé qu'il était y accourût lui-même, quatre cent chevaux de l'ennemi avec sept cent de la ville, qui étaient sortis à leur rencontre, avaient déjà forcé une de nos lignes. Dans ce temps nos troupes arrivèrent et chassèrent ceux qui étaient passés clans la ville, et le reste des auxiliaires dans les montagnes. Le Sérasquier après ce coup eût l'assurance de camper à notre vue. Le Duc de Lorraine marcha à lui en bataille avec trois mille hommes de pied, et huit ou neuf mille chevaux qui lui restaient encore tant d'Impériaux que de Bavarois. Mais les Turcs décapèrent dès qu'ils s' aperçurent de notre mouvement, et nous n'étions pas en état de les poursuivre. À même temps que le Sérasquier nous serrait pour les fourrages du côté de Bude, le Bassa d'Erlau du côté de Pest tenait la campagne avec trois mille chevaux. Nos chevaux crevaient comme des mouches et jamais n'en a-t-on peut-être vu une mortalité plus grande. Ce malheur où il n'y avait point de remède, la rigueur de la saison et les maladies de Hongrie, qui avaient réduit et les Impériaux et les Bavarois dans un état pitoyable, nous obligèrent à la fin 246 à songer à la retraite. Elle s'est faite avec beaucoup de fierté en plein midi, sous le canon de la place, et à quatre heures du camp du Sérasquier. On campa le même soir dans la plaine d'Altoffen à un coup de canon de la place, le lendemain la garnison renforcée de quelques troupes de leur armée vint nous tâtonner, mais voyant la fermeté des nôtres, ils se contentèrent d'observer notre marche, sans nous donner la moindre incommodité. Tous ces malheurs ne rebutent pas ni la cour, ni le Duc de Lorraine. On travaille autant qu'on peut aux remontes et aux recrues, on s'assure de secours considérables de l'Em- pire. On cherche des officiers entendus aux sièges, que la nature de nos guerres, la plus part de campagne, rend rares dans ce service. On tâche d'affermir le Roi de Pologne qui cette campagne n'a rien fait de considérable, et les Vénitiens par les efforts qu'ils font paraissent assez animés d'eux-mêmes. L'Empereur a voulu arrêter ici le Duc de Lorraine pour assister à toutes les dispositions, mais comme il n'est pas tout-à-fait remis de sa maladie et que depuis quelques jours il en eût un accès assez violent, les médecins ont jugé que rien n'avancerait tant sa guérison que le changement d'air et la satisfaction de revoir sa famille. Il s'en va dans peu de jours à Innspruck pour re- venir au mois de Février en famille. Je ne puis pas m'empêcher de dire à Votre Altesse Royale que Monsieur Poltney a fort fait son devoir partout, et fort satisfait à l'honneur qu'il a d'être né sujet du Roi. Je suis avec un profond respect,

Monseigneur, de Votre Altesse Royale , le très-humble et très-obeissant serviteur , F. Taaffe.

Translation: Monsignor

My lord,

As Mr. Poltney has himself witnessed the most remarkable places in our campaign, he can give your Royal Highness a very accurate account of very happy beginnings followed by an end disproportionate to the hopes that one could have conceived of them. After the little resistance we found last year at Gran, though in no hurry, this year here at Vice Grade, Wats and Pest, the enemy beaten near Wats, driven out at St. Andrew, completely defeated at Ertz, and all this almost in sight of Bude, the lower town of Bude taken sword in hand with the massacre of eight hundred Turks, the means of stopping on such a fine road?

The Emperor wanted Bude's enterprise, the Duke of Lorraine believed it worthy of his great courage and since the defeat of Ertz not one of the Generals had opposed it. We had entered the campaign with 29,000 very good troops, 17,000 infantry, 9,000 cuirassiers, the rest dragoons and Croats. The Hungarian rear-ban[339], 4,000-5,000 strong, only joined us after crossing the Danube, quite good troops if we could be sure, but as they only come together in jest and by caprice, they disband in the same way; the opportunities we had had with the enemy had not reduced them considerably.

There were in the place seven hundred horses with 9,000-10,000 infantry, the elite of the Ottoman army, in addition to the people of the city, the suburbs and the city of Pest, who had taken refuge there, three hundred pieces of artillery and an abundance of all kinds of provisions, in a town where stores had been placed for the whole campaign; all the surroundings of Bude, which way you turn six hours away, are fallow, you had to go to the grass at two or three o'clock, and the horses of Germany in the long run do not survive.

However, the siege was resolved because the capture of Bude meant the conquest of the whole Kingdom of Hungary, completely cut off Neuhäusel and for the rest of the small places not one would have resisted four days after the loss of this one. The impossibility of keeping the cavalry in existence for long, and the consternation in which the enemy was believed to be, caused them to attack the place without stopping at all the formalities of a just siege.

Bude is situated on a very steep height surrounded by a great stone wall, half of which is terraced from the mountain itself, large antique towers at fair distances take the place of bastions. At the foot of the wall a great ditch had been dug both to facilitate exits and to observe us more closely and oppose our approaches. We only had seventeen pieces of battery and those were badly served. The batteries were made on a height parallel to that of Bude, and the open trench, beside the battery, it passed from one mountain to another by a bottom which was dominated on all sides and where one had only to roll bombs, grenades, and stones to desolate us. Whatever precaution we had taken, we would have had difficulty in completely protecting ourselves from it, in a stony ground, disadvantageous by its situation, and for the fascine,[340] it was necessary to seek it very far, but in the ardor where we were soon to take the place, we had rushed the work, and I can say with truth that there was not a single place where we were not seen from the place.

There was another very great inconvenience, which is that all the heavy rains which happened, and we had very frequent ones, filled up all our work in a way that made it impracticable for many days and obliged us to raise the trench openly. Our cannon easily knocked down that part of the wall which rose above the mountain, but for the lower part, which was supported by the mountain itself, it had no effect there.

It was necessary to have recourse to the mine, we worked there on this attack and on the other that we made in the lower town, but either fatality or ignorance of the miners, not one of the seven that we attempted succeeded.

However, the death of the Vizier of Bude and of the Aga of the Janissaries, the desolation that our bombs caused in the place, although we were doing very little for v..., and the approach of help from Bavaria were so obstinate in the enterprise that we did not consider the very great losses which were daily incurred both in the infantry and in the cavalry.

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339 Possibly two meanings. (1) a rear guard of troops. (2) reference to the French "arrier-ban," a group of peasants who are drafted into the army for duty. I lean towards the second given "as they only come together in jest and by caprice, [and] they disband in the same way." This does not sound like professional soldiers.

340 Fascine is a bundle of metal or wooden rods or sticks, bound in the middle and on both ends, used to reinforce fortifications such as trenches and ramparts. The rock terrain suggests that trees were scarce.

In the meantime, to crown his misfortune, the Duke of Lorraine fell ill with a violent fever caused by the incredible fatigue he gave himself, sleeping every night in the trenches and going by day as far as his least musketeers. The siege began to languish with him and turned imperceptibly into a kind of badly held blockade, because the enemy, regaining courage as he saw us lose some, desolated us, night and day, by continual sorties, and kicked us out of our advanced work, which was too sparsely supported.

Finally, the Elector of Bavaria arrived with a reinforcement of 7,000 infantry and 5,000 horse. He was offered a choice of attacks and he chose the one from the castle. The Elector is very brave in person, but as he was so ill provided with engineers and miners, he could never find a way to make an opening in the wall.

On the other hand, the Sérasquier [French for Turkish Commander], reinforced with a few fresh troops, came to attack our camp and was repulsed. But the next day, under cover of a heavy fog, he made a detachment of a few thousand horses behind the mountains which reign on the side of Altoffen, and before we could perceive it they were already in close contact with our guards.

The Duke of Lorraine, inconvenienced as he was, rushed there himself, four hundred enemy horses with seven hundred from the town, which had come out to meet them, had already forced one of our lines. At this time our troops arrived and drove those who had passed through the city, and the rest of the auxiliaries into the mountains.

The Serasquier, after this blow, would have the assurance of encamping within sight of us. The Duke of Lorraine marched towards him in line with 3,000 foot soldiers, and 8,000-9,000 horses, which still remained to him as many Imperials as Bavarians. But the Turks scattered as soon as they perceived our movement, and we were in no condition to pursue them.

While the Sérasquier was squeezing us for fodder on the side of Bude, the Bassa d'Erlau[341] on the side of Pest was holding the country with 3,000 horses. Our horses were dying like flies and never have we seen greater mortality. This misfortune for which there was no remedy, the severity of the season and the illnesses of Hungary, which had reduced both the Imperialists and the Bavarians to a pitiful state, forced us at the end of to think of retreat.

It was done with great pride at noon, under the cannon of the square, and at four o'clock from the Sérasquier camp. We camped the same evening in the plain of Altoffen at a cannon shot from the place, the next day the garrison reinforced by some troops of their army came to grope us, but seeing the firmness of ours, they contented themselves with observing our march, without giving us the slightest inconvenience.

All these misfortunes do not put off either the court or the Duke of Lorraine. We work as hard as we can on remounts and recruits, we make sure of considerable help from the Empire. We are looking for officers who are heard at sieges, whom the nature of our wars, most of them campaigning, makes rare in this service. Attempts are being made to strengthen the King of Poland, who this campaign has accomplished nothing considerable, and the Venetians, by the efforts they are making, seem rather animated by themselves.

The Emperor wanted to stop the Duke of Lorraine here to attend all the preparations, but as he has not quite recovered from his illness and since a few days ago he had a rather violent fit of it, the doctors judged that nothing would advance his recovery so much as the change of air and the satisfaction of seeing his family again. He is leaving in a few days for Innspruck to return in February with his family.

[341] Erlau puts this is the near Mittelsachsen in the Saxony state in Germany.

I cannot help telling Your Royal Highness that Mr. Poltney has done his duty well everywhere, and very satisfied with the honour he has of being born a subject of the King. I am with deep respect,

Monsignor, Your Royal Highness, the very humble and very obedient servant,

F. Taaffe.

Francis Taaffe, Earl of Carlingford to Osnabrug. 6 December 1701. (246)

J'aime mon neveu tous les jours de plus en plus, et je Vous assure, Madame, que ce serait un plaisir extreme pour moi que de pouvoir passer le reste de mes jours avec lui. Des que je me trouverai fixe quelque part, j'en chercherai le moyen, et cependant il faut travailler a mettre nos affaires en Irlande, qui sont la base de tout, dans le meilleur état qu'il se peut. Profitons des bonnes dispositions du Roi et du favori, et de l'amitié de Monsieur Hill.—My lord Albemarle m'a convoyé de la part du Roi un lit fort magnifique avec des chaises qui l'assortissent, je l'ai prié d'en faire a Sa Majesté mes remerciements très-respectueux. Mais j'écris plus franchissement a Monsieur Hill que rien n'est plus beau que le lit, mais qu' il est si exhausse qu' il n'y a point de chambre ni ici, ni a Nancy, où on le puisse tendre, et beaucoup moins dans mon vieux château en Irlande, démoli âpres la guerre par ordre de la Régence, et qu'ainsi le Roi pour soutenir son bienfait et le rendre complet, semblait s'être oblige a me faire donner de quoi bâtir une maison, où je le puisse placer dignement, en m'indemnisant de la démolition de la mienne, et de l'argent que j'ai avance a mon frère dans un temps, ou il allait du service de Sa Majesté de le faire sortir de la Cour Impériale; c'est la ou je souhaiterais placer le présent du Roi comme un nouveau titre de noblesse a ma famille, et un monument de sa considération pour moi, et le Roi le fera s'il en est bien recherche. Un placet présente au Roi par ma nièce, soutenu du favori et des bons offices de notre ami Monsieur Hill feront l'affaire. Vous aurez appris, Madame, par les lettrés de mon neveu, l'état de ma santé et de mes affaires, et Vous apprendrez aussi do lui T attachement inviolable dont je suis tout a Vous.

Translation: Francis Taaffe, Earl of Carlingford to Osnabrück, 6 December 1701

I love my nephew more and more every day, and I assure you, Madame, that it would be an extreme pleasure for me to be able to spend the rest of my days with him. As soon as I find myself settled somewhere, I will find a way to do so, and yet we must work to put our affairs in Ireland, which are the basis of everything, in the best possible state. Let us take advantage of the good dispositions of the King and the favourite, and of the friendship of Mister Hill.

My Lord Albemarle[342] has convoyed me from the King a most magnificent bed, with matching chairs, I begged him to convey to His Majesty my most respectful thanks. But I write more frankly to Mister Hill that nothing is more beautiful than the bed, but that it is so raised that there is no room either here or at Nancy where it can be stretched, and much less in my old castle in Ireland.

Ireland, demolished after the war by order of the Regency, and which thus the King to support his benefaction and to make it complete, seemed to have obliged himself to make give me what to build a house, where I can place it worthily, in indemnifying me for the demolition of mine, and the money which I advanced to my brother at a time, when it was in His Majesty's service to bring him out of the

[342] Probably Arnold van Keppel (1670-1718), 1st Earl of Albermarle. He was a page in the court of William III of Orange (and possibly a lover). He received multiple gifts of lands and money from the king and would finish his career in the military of the Dutch Army.

Imperial Court. It is where I would like to place the present of the King as a new title of nobility to my family, and a monument of his consideration for me, and the King will do it if he is well sought.

A petition presented to the King by my niece, supported by the favourite and the good offices of our friend Mister Hill will do. You will have learned, Madame, from my nephew's letters, the state of my health and my affairs, and you will also learn from him the inviolable attachment with which I am entirely to You.

Second Chapter. 1695 — 1704. (248)

The Earl of Carlingford to Monsieur de Parisot. (248)

Monsieur,

Je vous suis fort oblige, Monsieur, de l'honneur de votre cher souvenir, et vous souhaite de tout mon coeur cette année et beaucoup d'autres comblées de toute sorte de bon-beur. Son Altesse Serenissimi Monseigneur le Prince Charles m'ont ordonne de vous assurer de leur estime, et de l'envie qu'ils ont de vous en donner des marques dans les occasions qui s'en présenteront. Je suis de tout mon cœur.

Votre, très-humble et obéissant serviteur, Carlingford.

Translation: The Earl of Carlingford to Mister Parisot.

Sir,

I am much obliged to you, Sir, for the honour of your dear memory, and wish you with all my heart this year and many others filled with all kinds of goodness. His Highness Serenissimi Monsignor Prince Charles has ordered me to assure you of their esteem, and of the desire they must give you marks of it on the occasions that will arise. I am with all my heart,

Your Most humble and obedient servant, Carlingford

Inspruck ce 9. de l'an 95. (248)

Je vous prie, Monsieur, de faire tenir l'incluse a Monsieur Monsieur de Tordecillas âpres y avoir mis son titre.
My Lord,

Ayant mande a Son Altesse Royale mon Maitre les obligations que j'avais a Monsieur de Saraz, Elle m'ordonne de vous prier de sa part de souffrir, qu'il retourne a la Haye pendant le cours de la négociation. Je crois même, que la lettre qu'il vous écrit n'est que pour vous prier de recommander ses intérêts a vos amis; c'est pourquoi My Lord je me donne l'honneur de vous demander vos bons offices en faveur d'un Prince qui mérite assurément la protection des hauts Allies; Je connais l'dessus les sentiments des deux Généraux, et je suis persuade que vos recommandations ne feront qu'augmenter le désir, qu'ils ont de soutenir la justice des prétentions de Son Altesse Royale, surtout dans le temps, ou il semble que les Français n'attendent que la fin de la campagne pour tacher de renouer la négociation pressée par la misère de leurs peuples.

Je vous supplie, My Lord, de vous employer et vos amis pour nous faire comprendre dans les préliminaires; les conjonctures sont favorables, et rien ne peut être plus avantageux a la cause commune; me réservant a vous informer a fond du détail des intérêts de mon Maitre, lorsque j'aurai l' honneur de vous voir; mais souvenez-vous, My Lord, que la restitution de la Lorraine est absolument nécessaire a la barriéré de l' Empire. C'est la grâce que je vous demande, et celle de me croire avec toute la passion possible, My Lord, etc…

Translation: Innsbruck the 9th of Year 1695.

I beg you, sir, to forward the enclosed to Mister de Tordecillas after adding his title to it.

My Lord,

Having informed His Royal Highness my Master of the obligations I had at Monsieur de Saraz, she orders me to beg you on her behalf to suffer, that he returns to The Hague during the negotiation. I even believe that the letter he is writing to you is only to ask you to recommend his interests to your friends; this is why My Lord I give myself the honour to ask you for your good offices in favour of a Prince who certainly deserves the protection of the High Allies; I know the feelings of the two Generals above, and I am sure that your recommendations will only increase their desire to uphold the justice of His Royal Highness' claims, especially at a time when it seems that the French are only waiting for the end of the campaign to try to renew the negotiation pressed by the misery of their people.

I beseech you, My Lord, to employ yourself and your friends to make us understand in the preliminaries; the conjunctures are favourable, and nothing can be more advantageous to the common cause; reserving to inform you thoroughly of the details of my Master's interests, when I shall have the honour to see you; but remember, My Lord, that the restitution of Lorraine is absolutely necessary to the barrier of the Empire. It is the grace that I ask of you, and that of believing me with all possible passion, My Lord, etc.

Monsieur, (249)

J'ai reçu pendant la campagne de Son Altesse Serenissime au Rhein deux de vos lettrés avec un détail des affaires d'Espagne que les suites que nous en voyons depuis ne vérifient que trop. Son Altesse Serenissime les a lues avec plaisir et je vous en suis bien oblige; la Reine, Son Altesse Serenissime et l' Empereur m'ordonnent de partir dans huit ou dix jours en Lorraine, pour en prendre possession et y établir quelque Régence jusqu'a l'arrivée du Due; s'il y a quelque chose de votre service par la vous me trouverez partout,

Monsieur, Votre très-humble et obéissant serviteur, Carlingford

Vienne ce 31. Novembre 97. (249)
Son Altesse Serenissime a donne une lieutenance a Monsieur votre fils avec plaisir.

Translation: Sir,

During the campaign of His Serene Highness in the Rhein, I received two of your letters with a detail of the affairs of Spain which the consequences that we have seen since then confirm only too well. His Serene Highness has read them with pleasure and I am very much obliged to you; the Queen, His Serene Highness and the Emperor order me to leave in eight or ten days for Lorraine, to take possession of it and establish some Regency there until the arrival of the Due; if there is anything of your service there you will find me everywhere,

Sir, Your most humble and obedient servant, Carlingford. Vienna this 31 November 97.

P.S. His Serene Highness gave your son a lieutenancy with pleasure.

The Earl of Carlingford to Monsieur de Parisot. (249) 23 December 1697.

Monsieur,

Ce mot est pour vous apprendre la pitoyable nouvelle de la mort de Sa Majesté notre incomparable Reine, laquelle entre les 4 et 5 heures du matin du 17. de ce mois ayant etc touchée d'apoplexie rendit Fame a Son Sauveur avec une singulier résignation a la volonté divine. Dans quel pitoyable état nous mette cette mort, vous pouvez juger vous-même. Cependant comme le recouvre nient de la Lorraine est

a cette heure le principal point, auquel il faut songer, je pars par ordre de l' Empereur pour en prendre la possession et y établir quelque forme de Régence en attendant que Son Altesse Serenissime y puisse arriver. Pour ce qui est des affaires de cette Cour-la et du Grand Priorat, vous recevrez a l'avenir les ordres de la main de Son Altesse Serenissime même. Dans quatre semaines je pourrai être a Nancy la ou je serai bien aise de trouver de vos nouvelles et vous pouvoir rendre quelque service étant,

Monsieur, Votre très-humble serviteur, Carlingford.

Translation: The Earl of Carlingford to Monsieur de Parisot. 23. December 1697.

Sir,

This word is to inform you of the pitiful news of the death of Her Majesty our incomparable Queen,[343] who between 4 and 5 o'clock in the morning of the 17th of this month, having suffered from apoplexy, restored Fame to her Saviour with a singular resignation to the divine will.

In what a pitiful state this death puts us, you can judge for yourself. However, as the absence of Lorraine is at this time the main point to be considered, I am leaving by order of the Emperor to take possession of it and establish some form of Regency there while waiting for His Serene Highness to arrive.

As for the affairs of this Court and of the Grand Priorat, you will in future receive orders from the hand of His Serene Highness Himself. In four weeks, I will be able to be in Nancy where I will be very happy to hear from you and be able to render you some service being,

Sir, Your most humble servant, Carlingford, Vienna 23 December 1697.

Count Couvanges[344] to the Earl of Carlingford. À Paris 8 January 1698. (250)

J'ai reçu, Monsieur, vos trois lettrés des 19., 20. et 23. du passe, qui me font croire que celle-ci vous trouvera bien prés de Nancy, ce qui me la fait adresser a Monsieur de Mahuet. Vous trouverez ci-joint la copie de la lettre que je me donne l' honneur d'écrire a Son Altesse Serenissime et a Monsieur votre frère, avec la copie de la lettre que j'envoie a Son Altesse Serenissime de la main du Roi. Je n'ai rien a vous ajouter sur le mariage, sinon que je ne puis assez vous dire combien il est désiré ici de tout le monde et particulièrement de Mademoiselle, qui est une Princesse très-accomplie, et dont je suis sur que Son Altesse Serenissime sera content, aussi bien que Ses États et toute Sa Cour; J'espère qu'aussitôt que j'aurai reçu les lettrés de remerciements de Son Altesse Serenissime pour le Roi, Monsieur, Madame et Mademoiselle, et que je les aurai présentées, vous voudrez bien. Monsieur le Comte de Carlingford et vous, me permettre d'aller vous rendre mes devoirs pour vous rendre compte de mille détails pour ll' exécution, qui ne se peuvent écrire et pour que l' on prenne les mesures nécessaires, car il y a déjà ici mille gens qui prétendent suivre Mademoiselle et être a celle, et j'estime qu'il n'est pas a propos qu'elle ait perso mie et qu'il est nécessaire que Son Altesse Serenissime lui fasse sa maison de Lorrains et Lorraines, et pour cela il faudra prendre des mesures avec le Roi, qui donnera toute satisfaction la-dessus a Son Altesse Serenissime. Madame la Princesse de L' Islebonne est nommée pour la mener en Lorraine, où l' on conte que le Roi renverra, comme l' on a envoye Madame de Savoie. Enfin il faudra un peu raisonner la-dessus et cependant ne s'engager a personne

[343] Élisabeth Charlotte d'Orléans

[344] *Covanges (Couvonges),* a commune in north-eastern France. Not positive who the count is, but it may be Charles de Stainville.

pour sa maison venant de ce pays-ci, cela étant de grande conséquence par les esprits qu'on pourrait lui donner.

Quant aux affaires qui regardent l'Etat, je n'en ai encore parle que conditionnellement; je vais travailler a un mémoire pour le donner aussitôt que j'aurai donne part de la mort de la Reine, dans lequel je n'oublierai rien suivant mon instruction; mais je crains fort que l' on ne puisse rien obtenir sur les murailles de Nancy, le Roi et les Ministres s'en faisant une affaire d' Etat, et je n'ai plus de ressource qu'en Madame de Maintenon, que je n'ai pu voir qu'un moment, mais qui m'a promis une audience; c'est une peine incroyable de la voir; á l'égard des autres articles j'espère qu'on en pourra tirer quelque chose, comme de la prévostê de Longwy, espérant que l' on pourra se contenter du jus praesidii de la place; Je me suis fort attache à faire déloger les troupes et je vais travailler a faire ôter la cavalerie de Nancy et voir ce qui se pourra obtenir pour l'infanterie qui y reste, et pour que l'autorité de Son Altesse Serenissime soit reconnue dans sa capitale au plu stot. Je ferai aussi mes plaintes sur la manière, dont les fermiers agissent pour les domaines et salines et pour tacher d'obtenir quelque chose sur les revenus de 1697. Je suis ici accable de gens qui demandent les fermes de Lorraine, qui offrent de grandes avances et qui les désirent; je prendrai leurs mémoires pour vous les envoi er ou vous les porter, estimant qu'il faut écouter tout le monde pour voir le plus grand avantage de Son Altesse Serenissime.

Enfin, Monsieur, je n'oublierai rien pour le service du Maitre de tout ce qui sera en mon pouvoir et attendrai vos ordres sur tout, vous suppliant de me les bien expliquer et de me croire très-parfaitement,

Monsieur,

Votre très-humble et très-obeissant serviteur, Couvanges m/p.

P.S. J'envoie le paquet des lettrés pour Son Altesse Serenissime a Monsieur de Chantreine pour Vienne par la voie de Basle, en l'adressant a Raillard.

Translation: Count Couvonges to the Earl of Carlingford. In Paris this January 8, 1698

I have received, Sir, your three letters of the 19th, 20th and 23rd of the past, which lead me to believe that she will find you very close to Nancy, which lets me address her in care of Monsieur de Mahuet.

You will find attached the copy of the letter which I have the honour to write to His Serene Highness and to your brother, with the copy of the letter which I send to His Serene Highness from the hand of the King.

I have nothing to add to you on the marriage, except that I cannot tell you enough how much it is desired here by everyone and particularly by Mademoiselle, who is a very accomplished Princess, and of whom I am sure that Her Highness Serenissima will be happy, as well as His Estates and all His Court.

I hope that as soon as I have received the letters of thanks from His Serene Highness for the King, Monsieur, Madame and Mademoiselle, and that I have presented them, that Monsieur le Comte de Carlingford and you will be good enough, to allow me to go and do my homework and give you an account of a thousand details for the event. They cannot be written down and for the necessary measures to be taken, because there are already here a thousand people who claim to follow Mademoiselle and be with her, and I consider that it is not appropriate for her to have any more than neceesary for His Highness Serenissime to make her his house of Lorrains and Lorraines, and for that it will be necessary to take measures with the King, who will give all satisfaction on the subject to His Serene Highness. Madame la Princesse de Lillebonne345 is appointed to take her to Lorraine, where

[345]Probably Elizabeth-Therese of Lorraine (1664-1748).

Your tale that the King will send back, as Your sent Mrs. of Savoy: Finally, it will be necessary to reason a little on the above and however not to engage anyone for his house coming from this country, that being of great consequence by the spirits that one could give him.

As for the affairs which concern the State, I have only spoken of them conditionally. I am going to work on a memorandum to give it as soon as I have given notice of the death of the Queen, in which I will not forget anything according to my instructions. But I fear very much that nothing can be obtained on the walls of Nancy, the King and the Ministers making it an affair of State, and I have no more resources than Madame de Maintenon, which I was able to see only a moment, but who promised me an audience. It is an incredible pain to see her; with regard to the other articles I hope that we can draw something from them, like from the Provost of Longwy[346], hoping that we will be able to be satisfied with the right of protection of the place.

I have made a point of dislodging the troops and I am going to work to remove the cavalry from Nancy and see what can be obtained for the infantry which remains there, and so that the authority of His Serene Highness is recognized in his capital as soon as possible. I will also make my complaints about the manner in which the farmers act for the estates and saltworks and to try to obtain something on the income of 1697. I am here overwhelmed with people who ask for the farms of Lorraine, who offer large advances and who desire them. I will take their memoirs to send them to you or bring them to you, believing that it is necessary to listen to everyone to see the greatest advantage of His Serene Highness.

Finally, Sir, I will forget nothing for the service of the Master of all that will be in my power and will await your orders on everything, begging you to explain them well to me and to believe me very perfectly,

Sir, Your most humble and obedient servant

P.S. I sent back the packet of letters for His Serene Highness to Monsieur do Chantreine for Vienna by way of Basle, in addressing it to Raillard.

Count Couvanges to the Earl of Carlingford. Paris, 15 January 1698. (252)

J’espère, Monsieur, que Votre Excellence aura reçu toutes les lettrés que je me suis donne l’ honneur de lui écrire les 25. du mois passe, l. et 8. de ce mois, par lesquelles je lui rendais compte de tout ce que j’avais fait depuis mon arrivée en cette Cour; ainsi je ne vous en ferai ici aucune répétition en détail, et me contenterai en répondant à l’ honneur de la votre du 4. de ce mois, en lui disant premièrement que j’ai exécute ce que Votre Excellence m’a ordonne par ses dernières, ayant suivi les termes de mon instruction, nonobstant la triste perte que nous avons faite de la Reine.

J’avais done rendu les premières lettrés de la Reine et de Son Altesse Serenissime avant cette triste nouvelle et rendu presque toutes les visites qui m’étaient prescrites, et j’avais parle aux Ministres et même au Roi des secondes touchant le mariage, par lesquelles j’avais pris jour pour avoir ma seconde audience.

Je ne répéterai point à Votre Excellence, comme j’avais été bien reçu et comme le Roi m’avait marque qu’il était bien dispose a être sincèrement des amis de Son Altesse Serenissime et a lui en donner des marques en ce qu’il pourrait, désirant d’être de ses amis de bonne foi. Je vous ai déjà dit que j’avais

[346] A “Provost” is an assistant to an abbot of a monastery; *Longwy* is a commune (township) in norther France.

trouve ici a mon arrivée grand bruit du mariage que l' on savait que j'y devais arriver pour en faire la demande, et l' on y ajoutait sans condition que cette condition venait do Hollande.

Le jour que j'appris la funeste nouvelle de la mort de la Reine par Bruxelles, j'allai à l' instant a Versailles en donner part aux Ministres qui le dirent au Roi, lequel me fit dire qu'il me donnerait audience le lendemain matin pour faire la demande.

J'eus cette audience, dans laquelle je présentais les lettrés de la Reine et de Son Altesse Serenissime; le Roi me répondit qu'il recevait cette demande avec plaisir, qu'il accordait Mademoiselle a Son Altesse Serenissime, a qui il donnerait toutes les marques de son amitié qui seraient en son pouvoir, me répétant ces derniers mots et y ajoutant: car il y a des choses que je ne puis accorder pour le bien de mon état, a quoi je répondis de mon mieux. Il me demanda ensuite, si cette mort ne changerait rien aux sentiments de Son Altesse Serenissime et si je croyais qu'il voulut sincèrement s'attacher a lui et aux intérêts de la Couronne; je l' en assurai et même sur ma tête, croyant que c'était l'unique parti que Son Altesse Serenissime devait prendre; il me dit que ç'était le bon pour lui et qu' il ferait entorse qu'il ne s'en rep en tir ait jamais.

Tout ceci s'est passe sans entrer dans aucun détail, ayant cru qu'il n'était pas temps, me paraissant tant au discours du Roi que des Ministres, qu'on avait de la défiance de Son Altesse Serenissime et que l' on craignait qu'il ne se retira du mariage et qu'il ne s'attacha a Vienne, et mémé l' on disait qu'il ne voulait pas venir dans ses États; j'a: done cru avant toutes choses qu'il fallait détruire ces faux bruits et établir la confiance de Son Altesse Serenissime et assurer qu'il viendrait aussitôt qu'il pourrait.

Il me parait présentement que l' on le croit, mais que l' on a grande impatience de son arrivée, et que l' on ne fera rien pour lui qu'il n'y soit et qu'il ne donne des assurances, qu'il veut s'attacher a la France, car l' on me fait entendre que quand il prendra d'autre parti, il recevra bien des chagrins pour les raisons que je déduirai ci-après.

Aussitôt que j'ai eu les lettrés de Son Altesse Serenissime pour donner part de la mort, j'ai demande audience pour la notifier, ce que je n'ai pu faire que le 13. de cc mois, parceque la Cour était à Marly, où personne ne va que ceux qui sont nommes. Le Roi m'a témoigne un grand déplaisir de la mort de la Reine et en prend le deuil aujourd'hui.

Jc n'ai pas laisse de donner un mémoire aux Ministres, dont je joins ici la copie, pour savoir de quelle manière l' on veut évacuer l'Etat; peut-être vous ne le trouverez pas bien, niais j'ai crû qu'il fallait s'en contenter pour le premier et parler avec soumission, ne nous restant d'autre voie que celle-la. Il n'est pas encore répondu, et je vais après-demain a Versailles pour en savoir la réponse. Cependant Monsieur de Pomponne m'a dit que vous pouviez entrer en Lorraine, même aller a Nancy, ou vous seriez reçu, et qu'on vous mettrait l'Etat en mains, quand vous voudriez, que le Roi était résolu de le rendre de bonne foi, et de faire l'ons les plaisirs qu'il pourrait a Son Altesse Serenissime.

Je vois peu d'apparence a empêcher la démolition de Nancy, et a espérer aucun adoucissement la-dessus, quelqu' instance que j'en aye faite; car l' on en fait une affaire d'Etat pour les temps à venir, et de laisser une aussi grande place que celle la, où l' on pourrait mettre quinze mille hommes dedans; c'est le langage que l' on tient ici; j'ai propose qu'on laissa du moins les courtines, mais je trouve une grande dureté la-dessus, je ne m'en désisterai pas pourtant, et je chercherai toutes sortes de voies pour y parvenir, quoiqu' avec peu d'espérance.

Les ambassadeurs de France qui m'ont promis en termes généraux des merveilles, ne disent plus rien ici, sinon que leur mission est finie, et en effet ils ne sont plus que des particuliers, qui ne sont plus écoutes.

Je crois done que puisque l' on n'a de ressource que de recevoir la loix de cette Cour ici, que Son Altesse Serenissime étant trop engage doit venir le plutôt qu'il pourra et faire de nécessite vertu; j'ai dit qu'il ne pouvait demeurer a Nancy pendant cette démolition et le séjour des troupes: l' on en convient, et le Roi même, mais qu' il peut être dans quelque ville de son Etat en attendant, et tant qu'il ne viendra pas, je vois bien qu'on aura des soupçons de lui.

Parcequ'il est ici grand bruit d'une Ligue que l' on dit être signée pour la succession d'Espagne, qui fait grand fracas et qui donne grand ombrage; surtout parceque l' on a donné la Vice-royauté de Catalogne au Prince de Darmstadt, le Gouvernement de Milan à Monsieur de Vaudemont et la Vice-royauté de Naples que l'on dit devoir être donnée a un Prince de Neubourg, et Monsieur de Mansfeld Gouverneur des armes sous lui, Tout cela fait presser le départ du Marquis d' Harcourt nomme a l'ambassade d'Espagne, pour porter les Grands d'Espagne a ne pas consentir a ces dispositions et a empêcher que l'on n'y reçoive l' Archiduque Charles pour successeur de cette Couronne. L'on assure même que le Due de Savoye a signe cette Ligue, dont on est fort mal-content ici, et l'on y a fait courir le bruit que Son Altesse Serenissime y était entre; j'ai fort sous tenu le contraire; car vous voyez bien que cette opinion ne peut que nuire a ses affaires, qui dépendent absolument de cette Cour ici.

Il n'a pas encore été question des conditions du mariage, parceque je n'ai aucune instruction la-dessus, et que j'ai dit en gros, que Son Altesse Serenissime s'en remettait absolument a la bonne volonté du Roi; il parait que l' on y fera des avantages la-dessus, mais pour ceux qu'il pente espérer de son Etat, je ne crois pas que l' on fasse rien avant son arrivée et qu'on soit plus sur de ses sentiments, parce qu'on le croit fort attache a Vienne.

Du reste tout le monde a ici grande joie du mariage et surtout Mademoiselle, qui est une Princesse très-bien faite de corps et d'esprit, et qui marque des sentiments triés-obligeants pour Son Altesse Serenissime et pour tout l'Etat, me témoignant une grande envie de lui plaire en tout. L'on s'empresse fort ici a lui donner des femmes, et a lui faire une maison, mais j'ai marque doucement, que c'était a Son Altesse Serenissime a lui donner des gens, en sorte qu'elle n'aminera personne pour demeurer avec elle, estimant qu'il est dangereux de lui laisser des Françaises et qu'il ne lui faut que des Lorrains etLorraines: elle s'y porte de la meilleure grâce du monde, et parle comme nous le pouvons désirer. Enfin, Monsieur, je crois qu'il est nécessaire que j'aie l' honneur de voir Votre Excellence pour lui rendre compte de mille détails, qui ne se peuvent écrire, mais quelqu' impatience que j'en aye, j'estime qu'il faut que j'attende réponse des lettrés que je me suis donne l' honneur d'écrire a Son Altesse Serenissime et de celle que le Roi lui a écrite, ayant pris la liberté de lui dire d'écrire au Roi, a Monsieur, a Madame et a Mademoiselle des lettrés de remerciements, et qu'il faut que je les présente avant mon départ, a moins que vous n'en ordonnez autrement, car je recevrai vos ordres, et les exécuterai avec toute la fidélité et la soumission que vous doit celui qui veut vivre et mourir,

Monsieur, de Votre Excellence, le très-humble et obéissant serviteur, signe: Couvanges.

P.S. J'oubliais de dire a votre Excellence que l'on me donne ici des vents de faire traiter Son Altesse Serenissime de même que l'Empereur a traite Monsieur le Due de Savoie, c'est-a-dire comme toutes les têtes couronnées et d' Altesse Royale: on l'a fait ici a l'exemple de l'Empereur, et l' on ne doute pas que si Sa Majesté Impériale le fait, cette Cour-ci en usera de même; la conjoncture est favorable, parce qu'on n'est pas content de Monsieur de Savoie; j'en écris a Monsieur de Chantreine au long, vous y ferez s'il vous plait attention.

Translation: Count Couvonges to the Earl of Carlingford. Paris, 25 January 15 1698

I hope, Sir, that Your Excellency will have received all the letters I have given myself the honour of writing to you on the 25th of the past month, 1st and 8th of this month, by which I gave him an account

of all that I had done since my arrival in this Court; so I will not give you here any repetition of it in detail, and will content myself by answering in honour of yours of the 4th of this month, by first telling him that I have carried out what Your Excellency has ordered me by his last, having followed the terms of my instruction, notwithstanding our sad loss of the Queen.

I had therefore paid the first letters of the Queen and Her Serene Highness before this sad news and paid almost all the visits which were prescribed for me, and I had spoken to the Ministers and even to the King of the seconds touching the marriage, by which I had taken the day to have my second audience.

I will not repeat to Your Excellency how well received I was and how the King had indicated to me that he was well disposed to be sincere friends of His Serene Highness and to give him marks of it in that he might, desiring to be one of his true friends. I have already told you that when I arrived here, I found a great noise about the marriage that you knew that I had to arrive there to make the request, and you added unconditionally that this condition came from Holland.

The day that I learned the disastrous news of the Queen's death from Brussels, I immediately went to Versailles to share it with the Ministers who told it to the King, who sent word to me that he would give me an audience the next morning to make the request.

I had this audience, in which I presented the letters of the Queen and of Her Serene Highness; the King answered me that he received this request with pleasure, that he granted Mademoiselle to His Serene Highness, to whom he would give all the marks of his friendship which would be in his power, repeating these last words to me and adding: for he there are things I cannot grant for the good of my condition, to which I answered as best I could. He then asked me if this death would change anything in the feelings of His Serene Highness and if I believed that he sincerely wanted to attach himself to him and to the interests of the Crown; I assured him of it and even on my own head, believing that it was the only course His Serene Highness should take; he told me that it was good for him and that he would make sure he never got over it.

All this happened without going into any detail, having believed that it was not time, appearing to me both from the speeches of the King and of the Ministers, that there was mistrust of His Serene Highness and that it was feared that he never withdrew from the marriage and became attached to Vienna, and even said that he did not want to come to his States. I therefore believed above all that it was necessary to destroy these false rumours and establish the confidence of His Serene Highness and ensure that he would come as soon as he could.

It seems to me now that no one believes him, but that l' on is very impatient for his arrival, and that l' on will do nothing for him until he is there and that he does not give assurances, that he wants to attach himself to France, because I am given to understand that when he takes another course, he will receive many sorrows for the reasons which I will deduce hereafter.

As soon as I had the letters of His Serene Highness to give notice of the death, I requested an audience to notify it, which I was only able to do on the 13th of this month, because the Court was at Marly, where no one goes except those who are named. The King has shown me great displeasure at the Queen's death and is in mourning today.

I have not failed to give a memorandum to the Victims, of which I am attaching a copy here, to find out in what way You want to evacuate the State; perhaps you will not find it well, but I felt that it was necessary to be satisfied with it for the first and to speak with submission, leaving us no other way than this. It has not yet been answered, and I am going to Versailles the day after tomorrow to find out the

answer. However, Monsieur de Pomponne[347] told me that you could enter Lorraine, even go to Nancy, where you would be received, and that the State would be put in your hands, when you wanted, that the King was resolved to do so, to render in good faith, and to do all the pleasures he could to His Serene Highness.

I see little prospect of preventing the demolition of Nancy, and of hoping for any alleviation of the matter, however insistent I may have made it; for You make it an affair of State for the times to come, and to leave as large a place as this, where You could put 15,000 men in it; this is the language you use here; I have proposed that we at least leave the curtains, but I find great harshness on this, I will not withdraw from it, however, and I will seek all kinds of ways to achieve this, although with little hope.

The French ambassadors who promised me marvels in general terms say nothing more here, except that their mission is over, and in fact they are only individuals, who are no longer listened to.

I therefore believe that since one has no resource but to receive the law of this Court here, that His Serene Highness, being too committed, must come as soon as he can and do what is necessary. I said that he could not stay in Nancy during this reconfiguring and the stay of the troops. We agree, and the King himself, but that he can be in some city of his State while waiting, and as long as he won't come, I can see that others will be suspicious of him.

Because there is great noise here of an agreement which is said to be signed for the succession of Spain, which makes a great noise and which gives great umbrage; especially because the Viceroyalty of Catalonia has been given to the Prince of Darmstadt, the Government of Milan to Monsieur de Vaudemont and the Viceroyalty of Naples which is said to have to be given to a Prince of Neubourg, and Monsieur de Mansfeld Governor of Arms under him, All this urges the departure of the Marquis of Harcourt appointed to the Spanish Embassy, to bring the Great of Spain not to consent to these provisions and to prevent that we do not there receives the Archduke Charles as successor of this Crown. It is even asserted that the Due de Savoye has signed this agreement, with which we are very unhappy here, and there has been a rumour that His Serene Highness was among it; I strongly underlined the contrary; for you see clearly that this opinion can only harm his affairs, which depend absolutely on this Court here.

There has not yet been question of the conditions of the marriage, because I have no instructions on the subject, and I said in general, that His Serene Highness relied absolutely on the good will of the King; it seems that l' on will make advantages over it, but for those he expects from his State, I don't think that l' on will do anything before his arrival and that we will be more sure of his feelings, because we believes him to be strongly attached to Vienna.

Besides, everyone here has great joy at the wedding and especially Mademoiselle, who is a very well-made Princess in body and mind, and who shows very obliging feelings for Her Serene Highness and for the whole State, showing a great desire to please him in everything. There is great haste here to give him wives, and to make him a home, but I gently noted that it was up to His Serene Highness to give him people, so that she will not undermine no one to stay with her, considering that it is dangerous to leave her French women and that she only needs men from Lorraine and Lorraine: she goes there with the best grace in the world, and talks as we can wish. Finally, Sir, I believe it is necessary for me to have the honour of seeing Your Excellency in order to give him an account of a thousand details, which cannot be written, but however impatient I may be, I consider that I must await the response of the letters whom I have given myself the honour of writing to His Serene Highness and of that which the

[347] Probably Simon Arnauld, Marquis de Pomponne (1618-1699), a French diplomat. He was inclined to negotiate and compromise with enemies to seek peace, a stance that would put him out of favor with French leaders when they entered a more hawkish phase of foreign policy.

King has written to him, having taken the liberty of telling him to write to the King, to Monsieur , to Madame and Mademoiselle letters of thanks, and that I must present them before my departure, unless you order otherwise, for I will receive your orders, and will carry them out with all fidelity and submission. what owes you whoever wants to live and die.

Sir, Your Excellency the most humble and obedient servant, Couvonges.

P.S. I forgot to tell your Excellency that I have been given the wind here to have His Serene Highness treated the same as the Emperor treated the Duke of Savoy, that is to say like all crowned heads and Royal Highness: it has been done here on the example of the Emperor, and there is no doubt that if His Imperial Majesty does it, this Court will do the same; the situation is favourable, because people are not happy with Monsieur de Savoie; I am writing to Monsieur de Chantreine at length, please pay attention.

Memoire pour Monseigneur le Due de Lorraine. (256)

Les Commissaires de Monseigneur le Due de Lorraine étant prêts d'entrer dans Ses États, Son Envoye extraordinaire auprès du Roi demande quand et comment il plaira a Sa Majesté de les faire mettre en possession des dits États, et s'il lui plait qu'ils entrent dans la ville de Nancy et qu'ils y fassent reconnaitre l'autorité de leur Maitre pour la justice, parceque ceux qui commandent pour Sa Majesté en Lorraine, se déclarent ne vouloir pas les reconnaitre sans ordres exprès. On demande aussi, qu'il plaise a Sa Majesté de faire donner les ordres nécessaires pour les faire mettre en possession des domaines, et de marquer en quel temps il lui plait, que cette possession commence, espérant de la bonté de Sa Majesté qu'elle voudra bien ordonner à Ses fermiers de payer à Monseigneur le Due de Lorraine an moins la dernière demi-année de 1697, puisque le traite a été signe dans ce temps-la, et pour aider Monseigneur le Due a sous tenir la dépense qu'il est oblige de faire, et à s'établir.

Il supplie aussi Sa Majesté de vouloir bien ordonner que les gens proposes pour recevoir les nouveaux droits établis et les finances de nouvelles charges, cessent d'en poursuivre le payement, ce qu'ils font avec beaucoup de vigueur, les exigeant mème par avance jusqu'au mois d'Avril prochain. Il supplie aussi Sa Majesté de faire faire défense an Parlement de Metz et autres jurisdictions subalternes de juger les procès indécis des sujets de Lorraine, le dit Parlement les pressant avec vexation pour les juger avant que les procès soient en état, ce qui cause un grand intérêt aux parties.

Monsieur l' Évêque de Seez qui jouit de l'église primatiale de Nancy et de l'abbaye de l'Isle par ordre de Sa Majesté, laquelle a eu la bonté de promettre d'en faire jouir celui qui est nomme par Monseigneur le Due, est toujours en possession des dits bénéfices, et s'en fait payer l' ons les revenus avec violence, laissant tous les biens dépendants des dits bénéfices dans le dernier désordre, n'y ayant fait aucune réparation.

Et comme l'abbaye de Bouzonville est de collation Ducale et que Monsieur l'Abbe le Begue en a des bulles, il supplie Sa Majesté de lui en laisser la jouissance aux termes de ses bulles, comme tous ceux qui en ont obtenu des bénéfices de Lorraine, qui en ont besoin.

Monseigneur le Due de Lorraine supplie trais-humblement Sa Majesté de vouloir faire régler la manière de démolir la ville neuve de Nancy, s'en remettant absolument a la bonté de Sa Majesté, espérant qu'elle voudra bien décharger cette pauvre ville de la fourniture que l' on l'oblige de donner aux troupes, et faire déloger la cavalerie qui y est présentement.

Comme Monseigneur le Due a une grande impatience de rentrer dans Ses États pour être plus a portée de rendre Ses respects a Sa Majesté et pour pouvoir jouir de l'honneur qu'elle lui fait de le recevoir

dans son alliance, ne sac liant ni où se loger, ni ou s'établir, il supplie très-humblement Sa Majesté de trouver bon qu'il puisse être a Nancy avec quelque dignité.

Le dit Envoie auprès de Sa Majesté ne parle pas présentement de ce qui est remis a des commissaires, pour les équivalents non plus que pour les autres choses, qui concernent les péages établis de nouveau contre la facilite du commerce, espérant que Sa Majesté voudra bien les faire régler, Monseigneur le Due de Lorraine ne voulant rien tenir que de la bonté et générosité de Sa Majesté, a laquelle il Se remettra absolument, espérant aussi qu'elle laissera les places de Birch et de Hambourg en l'état ou elles étaient, lorsque Ses amies les ont occupées. Il espère aussi que Sa Majesté voudra bien faire défendre que l' on ne transporte ni ne dispose de tous les matériaux de Nancy et des autres places a démolir.

Translation: Reminders to the Commissioners of the Duke of Lorraine.

The Commissioners of the Duke de Lorraine being ready to enter His Estates, His Envoy Extraordinary to the King asks when and how it will please His Majesty to put them in possession of the Estates, and if he approves that they enter the city of Nancy and that their authority be conveys, because those who report for His Majesty in Lorraine, do not want to recognize them without express permission.

We also ask, that it pleases him to give the necessary orders to put them in possession of the domains, and to mark at what time this possession begins, hoping from the goodness of His Majesty that she will kindly order her farmers to pay Duke for at least the last half-year of 1697, since the treaty was signed at that time, and to help the Duke meet the his financial obligations and to establish himself.

He also begs His Majesty to be good enough to order that the people proposed to receive the new dues established and the finances of new charges, cease to pursue the payment of them, which they do with great vigour, demanding them even in advance until next April. He also begs His Majesty to forbid the Parliament of Metz and other subordinate jurisdictions to begin legal trials of the subjects of Lorraine, the said Parliament urging them with frustration to judge them before their defence is ready, which causes a great concern to the accused.

The Bishop of Seez, who enjoys the highest church of Nancy and the abbey of Isle by order of His Majesty, who had the kindness to promise to give the enjoyment to him who is appointed by Monseigneur le Due, is still in possession of the said benefits, and makes himself pay all the revenues with reluctance, leaving all the goods dependent on the said conveniences in disorder and uncared for.

And as the abbey of Bouzonville is of Ducal agreement and that Monsieur l'Abbe le Begue has documents from the Pope for it, he begs His Majesty to leave him the enjoyment of it under the terms of his documents, like all those who have obtained benefits from them from Lorraine, who need it.

The Duke de Lorraine very humbly begs His Majesty to want to regulate the manner of restoration of the new town of Nancy, relying absolutely on the goodness of His Majesty, hoping that she will be good enough to relieve this poor town of the supply which one obliges him to give to the troops, and to dislodge the cavalry which is presently there.

The Duke is eager to return to His States in order to be more within reach of paying His respects to His Majesty and to be able to enjoy the honour that she gives him to receive him in his alliance, no matter where to lodge, or to establish himself, he very humbly begs His Majesty to find it good that he may be at Nancy with some dignity.

The said Envoy to His Majesty does not at present speak of what is remitted to commissioners, for the equivalents either for the other things, which concern the tolls re-established against the ease of trade, hoping that His Majesty will be good enough have them settled, the Duke, not wanting to hold anything but the goodness and generosity of His Majesty, to which he will absolutely surrender, hoping also that

she will leave the places of Birch and Hamburg in the state where they were, when Her friends occupied them. He also hopes that His Majesty will be good enough to forbid the transport or disposal of all the items from Nancy and from the other places to be rebuilt.

Mr. le Begue[348] to the Count de Couvanges. 18 January 1698, in Answer to His of the 8th (258)

Arrivant, Monsieur, a Saverne dans le temps que la poste en part, je me sers d'un moment de loisir que je trouve, pour vous accuser la réception de votre paquet du 8. du courant, qui m'a été rendu a Haguenau; j'ai donne a Son Excellence la lettre qui y était pour lui, et il a lu toutes vos dépêches; il eût fort souhaite, et moi de même, que l' agrément du mariage eut etc accompagne des adoucissements et des avantages qu'on a fait espérer, et c'est ce qui doit être remis a vos soins conformément a votre instruction et a la copie de la lettre écrite a Monsieur Canon, que je vous ai envoyée pour addition a votre instruction, car enfin. Monsieur, comment soutenir une Princesse de ce rang dans un pays qu'on épuise, et outre cela charge de tant de dépenses, comment la loger décemment, si on ôte les murailles du lieu de sa demeure; ce sont tout des réparations, qui doivent faire effet dans la bouche de Madame aussi bien que dans la votre en parlant de feu votre bonne Reine.

Quant a vos dépêches de Vienne, nous ne pouvons y éerire que Samedi; je ne sais pas, quelle résolution on y prendra, vous en aurez plu stot des nouvelles que nous. Monsieur le Comte de Carlingford vous a écrit de Guesseling les sentiments ou l'on était a Vienne, quand il en est parti, et qu'on avait tort de prendre des arrière-pensées de Son Altesse Sérénissime, lequel quoique jeune Prince connait assez qu'il ne peut vivre en Lorraine ni en jouir sans les bonnes grâces du Roi.

Nous avons peine ici d'accorder toutes les caresses que l' on fait a présent, avec la déclaration, que les officiers de Sa Majesté ont fait faire qu'ils n'avaient point d'ordre de remettre L'état entre les mains du Milord, et encore moins avec ce que Monsieur de Bissy lui a fait dire, qu'il ne lui conseillait pas d'entrer en Lorraine, de sorte qu'on est fort embarrasse a prendre parti, vos lettrés invitant d'avancer toujours, et le Gouverneur de la province de ne pas avancer; tirez-nous promptement de cet embarras par les ordres nécessaires; cependant dites-moi, je vous prie, votre sentiment sur le gouvernement des domaines, et sur les moyens d'avoir quelqu' argent pour donner lieu a Son Altesse Serenissime de venir; car sans cela il ne peut sortir de Vienne, quelqu' empressement qu'on en ait; j'avais pense a quelque levée, mais il faut être chez soi, et il faut du temps; pour prendre des avances, ce sera payer cent pour cent; nous verrons, quand nous serons un peu plus avances; cependant Monsieur le Comte de Carlingford désire que vous lui donniez avis des moyens d'avoir de l' argent.

Une chose que je ne puis omettre de vous dire est que l'ingénieur de Saarlouis a reçu des lettrés de Paris, qui portent que l' on ne doit miner que les bastions, et laisser les courtines, dont vous devriez être averti; le Gouverneur en a use le plus honnêtement du monde, et nous trouvons de la dureté à l'entrée de la Lorraine; si on fait difficulté de laisser les commissaires de Son Altesse Serenissime agir, on ne doit pas pour cela cesser d'évacuer l'état et de le leur remettre en mains; si Son Altesse Serenissime vient comme vous le désirez, ou voulez vous qu'il loge et qu'il demeure; enfin faites de votre mieux. Le premier pas a faire est que Son Excellence puisse entrer dans le pays, en second lieu, que l' on remette l'état aux commissaires de Son Altesse Serenissime, et à l'égard de la demeure a Nancy, s'il y a quelque embarras il ne doit pas faire différer l'exécution du traite parce qu'il y a des tempéraments à prendre.

[348]Joseph le Begue, Baron of Thelod and Germany, Lord of Olchey and Chantryene, Counselor and Secretary of State acting with plenipotentiary authority of behalf of the Dowager Queen of Poland, Dutchess of Lorrain and Barr.

Translation: Mister le Begue to the Count de Couvonges. 18 January 1698, in answer to his of the 8th

Arriving, Sir, at Saverne in the time that the post leaves, I am using a moment of leisure that I find, to acknowledge receipt of your packet of the 8th of January, which was returned to me at Hague. I have given His Excellency the letter which was there for him, and he has read all your despatches. He very much wished, as have I, that the approval of the marriage would have been accompanied by the alleviations and advantages which have been hoped for, and this is what must be entrusted to your care in accordance with your instruction and the copy of the letter written to Mr. Canon, which I sent to you for addition to your instruction, because finally, Sir, how to support a Princess of this rank in a country that is exhausted and burdened with so many expenses, how do we lodge her decently, if we remove the walls from the place of her residence? These are all reparations, which must have an effect in Madame's mouth as well as in yours, speaking of your late good Queen.

As for your dispatches from Vienna, we can only write there on Saturday. I don't know, what action we'll take, you'll get more news than we do. The Count of Carlingford has told you from Güssing the feelings one was in Vienna when he left, and that one was wrong to take ulterior motives from His Serene Highness, who, although a young Prince, knows well enough that He cannot live in Lorraine nor enjoy it without the good graces of the King.

We find it difficult here to accord all the kindness that you have made at present, with the declaration that His Majesty's officers have caused to be made that they had no order to place the state in the hands of King, and even less with what Monsieur de Bissy made him say, that he did not advise him to enter Lorraine, so that one is very embarrassed to take sides, your letters inviting to always advance, and the Governor of the province not to advance. Please help me get out of this embarrassing situation by with clear orders. Tell me, I beg you, your opinion on the government of the domains, and on the means of having some money to give place to His Serene Highness to come; for without that he cannot leave Vienna, however eagerly we may want him to. I had thought of some loans, but you must be at home, and it takes time, to get advances, it will be to pay one hundred per cent. We will see when we are a little more advanced in our planning. The Earl of Carlingford wishes you to advise him of the means of obtaining the funds.

One thing that I cannot omit to tell you is that the engineer of Saarlouis received letters from Paris, who say that you should only mine[349] the bastions and leave the curtains[350]. You should be warned, the Governor has used it most effectively, and we find it harsh to gain entrance to Lorrain.

If it is difficult to let the commissioners of His Serene Highness act, we must not continue to evacuate the state and put it in their hands. Do you best to decide if his Serene Highness comes as you desire or do you want him to stay where he is.

The first step to take is that His Excellency can enter the country, and second, that you hand over the state to the commissioners of His Serene Highness. With regard to the castle in Nancy, if there is any misgivings, he still must not delay the approval of the treaty simply because there are still arrangements to be made.

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[349] *Mine,* in this instance, means to use explosives to blow it up.

[350] Bastions and curtains are two types of fortifications. A bastion is located at the corers of a structure that stick out from the walls like a an extra room. They have slots for soldiers to fire weapons from, as well as a rood deck. Each bastion should be able at least on other. A curtain (scarp) is the wall that connects two bastions.

Monsieur le Begue to the Count de Couvanges. 21 January 1698. (260)

Le President Mahuet apporta, Monsieur, avant-hier à Luneville vos lettrés du 15. de ce mois pour Son Excellence et pour moi. Apres les avoir lues et raisonne sur leur contenu trouvez bon, Monsieur, que je vous dis qu'elles ne nous donnent pas de joie, parceque nous ne voyons pas les améliorations que nous espérions; il semble même que vous gardiez des mesures pour les demander, quoiqu'on ne puisse déplaire a un grand Roi en lui représentant les intérêts d'un Prince, qu'il veut bien avoir pour son neveu, et pour lequel il vous a dit qu'il ferait avec plaisir tout ce qui était en son pouvoir, ce qui vous doit donner une liberté entière de parler a Messrs. ses Ministres des choses dont vous êtes chargé d'autant plus que les ambassadeurs de France a la Haye n'ont pas seulement trouve les prétentions de la Reine justes et raisonnables, mais âpres en avoir écrit a la cour, ils se sont expliques aux ambassadeurs de l'Empereur qu' après la paix le Roi accorderait en faveur de ce mariage ce que l' on avait prétendu et au-delà, de manière que ce n'est point manquer de respect au Roi, d'entrer dans ce détail avec Messieurs ses Ministres par une confiance toute entière en sa générosité.

Comme vous n'avez pas delà que des gens qui veulent rendre tout aise par ne rien prétendre, et qui croient faire leur cour en vous détournant de demander, vous ne devez pas les écouter; nous estimons au contraire que vous vous attirerez plus de gloire et d'estime de Sa Majesté d'insister avec sagesse et honnêteté a procurer a Mademoiselle et a Son Altesse Serenissime les agréments et les adoucissements qu'on a donnes comme pour surs; car d'en parler faiblement étant envoye pour cela, ce ne serait pas agir comme il est du a la gloire du Roi et a l'intérêt d'lime Princesse, pour qui vous savez que Sa Majesté a de la tendresse.

Le mémoire que vous avez présente touche les points essentiels si faiblement qu'il semble qu'on en abandonne la demande et qu'on n'ose les prétendre, au lieu que nous croyons que cette omission serait une marque que l' on n'a pas assez de confiance en sa grandeur, que ses ministres a la Haye n'ont pas parle suivant les intentions de leur Maitre, que la Reine, qui a fait fond sur des démonstrations si publiques et qui vous a donne ordre d'y insister, s'est trompée dans son jugement, et qu'enfin ce serait négliger le soin que feu Sa Majesté et son Conseil prenaient de procurer les agréments dIls a la naissance de Mademoiselle et a son mérite.

Nous croyons même que c'était par la que vous deviez avoir commence cette affaire et qu'en demandant une seconde audience, il fallait entrer dans le détail en déduisant le fait a Monsieur de Pomponne, puisqu'il en était bien informe de la Haye, de sorte que ce silence parait être pris pour un désistement, que si les ambassadeurs de France sent a présent des particuliers, comme vous le mandez qu'ils ont dit, ils étaient pour lors autorises, et quoique personne ne soit pas en fonction, leur caractère ne laisse pas d'être imprime sur ce qu' ils ont dit.

Ce sera au Roi de décider selon son bon plaisir; car c'est de sa bonté et de sa générosité que l' on attend tout; mais de ne demander pas du tout, nous ne pourrions pas en répondre.

On n'a jamais prétendu a Vienne donner la loix au Roi, ni manquer de respect dans aucune expression, les lettrés que vous avez rendues, n'ont point déplu; votre instruction est conçue en termes, qui ne peuvent dés agréer a personne; cependant on y parle du fait et des choses proposées et demandées, comme on a parle a la Haye.

La conservation des murailles de Nancy, le départ de Longwy et de Saarlouis en conservant le droit d'y mettre garnison, l' abolition des péages établis du temps de Charles IV. et depuis, l'équivalent ou la restitution de Marsal, la route de 1661, qui est inutile depuis le passage illimité, la saline de Moyenice en fournissant les sels, aussi bien que la Primatiale, les abbayes de l' isle et de Bouzonville et les trois dignités de la Primatiale; qui sont des bénéfices de patronage lai demandes par Son Altesse Serenissime, en un mot tous les points portes dans votre instruction a la réserve de la route, les

ministres du Roi n'en ont pas fait une affaire a la Haye, n'y en ayant aucun qui diminue en rien sa grandeur, mais ils font honneur a Son Altesse Serenissime et lui donnent des marques de l'amitié de Sa Majesté.

Ce qui nous surprend Ic plus, est cette défiance dont vous parlez, laquelle a la vérité nous a désoles d'autant plus que nous croyons être convaincus, qu'un homme de bon sens ne peut entrer dans des sentiments si peu conformes a l'état et a Son Altesse Serenissime, comme si un Prince de 18 ans, qui se jette entre les bras du Roi, qui lui demande Mademoiselle pour marque de sa confiance, qui n'a ni troupes, ni places, ni munitions de guerre, ni peuples, ni biens dont il puisse jouir, sans les bonnes grâces du Roi, était capable de donner a une cour comme celle de France la moindre inquiétude pas même en songe.

Croyez-moi, Monsieur, ce sont des choses, qui se disent sans fondement, qui ne méritent pas de réponse, et qui se gâtent même en y répondant, parceque ce serait faire tort a la grandeur du Roi et aux intentions de Son Altesse Serenissime de mettre en doute des choses évidentes, et toutes les déclarations qu'on peut faire sur cela, sont plu stot nuisibles qu' utiles. Nous ne comprenons pas les assurances dont vous parlez, elles sont essentiellement dans la puissance du Roi et la situation de la Lorraine, comme Monsieur de Crecy l'a bien dit a la Haye sans aller plus loin.

Vous voulez que Son Altesse Serenissime vienne; il n'a ni maison pour loger, ni argent pour venir, ses gens n'ont pas le pouvoir d'en trouver, ils ne peuvent empêcher la continuation des levées, qui se font encore en Lorraine, ils n'ont pas l'autorité d'exercer le moindre acte de juridiction, de sorte qu'au lieu de procurer quelque agrément a un jeune Prince qui met toute sa confiance dans la bonté du Roi, vos lettrés l'affligeront aussi bien que le Mémoire que vous avez fait, parce qu'il parait que vous craignez d'offenser Sa Majesté en lui représentant l'espoir que Son Altesse Serenissime a fonde sur sa bonté, qui est le plus grand agrément qu'il attend d' avoir en Lorraine.

Ce n'est pas a mon sens une affaire d'a présent de penser a la cour de Mademoiselle; il faut établir les agréments solides du mariage et ce qui convient a sa dignité; car elle ne manquera jamais de gens, qui disputeront a l'envie l'un de l'autre l' honneur de la servir.

Le traitement d' Altesse Royale a Son Altesse Serenissime et des têtes couronnées est a ménager, si Sa Majesté veut bien lui donner, et ne sera pas une chose difficile; cela est mieux du aux Dues de Lorraine qu'aux Dues de Savoie; mais ne quittons pas les améliorations solides pour les honneurs, et aliens a l'un et a l'autre solidement.

Nous ne savons aussi, comme vous avez fait des avances pour Son Altesse Serenissime d'aller a la cour, ou prendre de l'argent pour cela; nous qui en manquons pour le faire venir d'ailleurs, il faut ménager le traitement dont il jouit a Vienne chez l'Empereur, et des choses dont il n'est point fait mention dans votre instruction, ne faites pas d'avances.

Nous sommes au reste toujours sans exercice, et il n'y a pas encore d'ordre de remettre l'état; Monsignor l'Evêque de Seez soutient sa prétention sur ce qu'en ayant écrit en cour, il est sans réponse, et il nous en est venu ici faire sa déclaration, et qu'il fallait avant qu'il se déporta que Sa Majesté en décida.

Je suis etc…, St. Nicolas le 21. Janvier 1698.

Translation: Mister le Begue to the Count de Couvonges. 21 January 1698

President Mahuet brought, Sir, the day before yesterday to Luneville your letters of the 15th of this month for His Excellency and for me. After having read them and reasoned on their content find it good, Sir, that I tell you that they do not give us joy, because we do not see the improvements that we

hoped for; it even seems that you keep measures to ask for them, although one cannot displease a great King by representing to him the interests of a Prince, whom he wishes to have for his nephew, and for whom he told you that He would gladly do everything in his power, which should give you complete freedom to speak to Messrs. Ministers of the things with which you are responsible, especially since the French ambassadors in The Hague not only found the Queen's claims fair and reasonable, but after having written to the court about them, they explained themselves to the ambassadors of the emperor that after the peace the King would grant in favour of this marriage what had been claimed and beyond, so that it is not disrespectful to the King to enter into this detail with his gentlemen. Ministers with complete confidence in his generosity.

As you only have people who want to make everything easy by pretending nothing, and who think they are paying court by turning you away from asking, you must not listen to them; we believe, on the contrary, that you will attract more glory and esteem from His Majesty for insisting with wisdom and honesty on providing Mademoiselle and His Serene Highness with the amenities and comforts that have been given as for sure; for to speak weakly of it, being sent for that, would not be acting as is due to the glory of the King and to the interest of a Princess, for whom you know His Majesty has tenderness.

Your memorandum touches on the essential points so weakly that it seems that the request for them has been abandoned and that one does not dare to claim them, whereas we believe that this omission would be a mark that one does not have enough confidence in his greatness, that his ministers at The Hague did not speak according to the intentions of their Master, that the Queen, who relied on such public demonstrations and who gave you orders to insist on them, is deceived in his judgment, and that finally it would be to neglect the care that his late Majesty and his Council took to procure the approvals of the birth of Mademoiselle and her merit.

We even believe that this was how you must have started this affair and that by asking for a second hearing, you had to go into detail by deducing the fact from Mister de Pomponne, since he was well informed of it from The Hague so that this silence seems to be taken for a withdrawal, that if the ambassadors of France now feel private individuals, as you say they said, they were then authorized, and although no one is not in office, their character does not cease to be impressed on what they have said.

It will be up to the King to decide according to his good pleasure; for it is from his goodness and generosity that everything is expected; but not to ask at all, we could not answer.

We never pretended in Vienna to give the law to the King, nor to lack respect in any expression, the letters that you returned, did not displease; your instruction is conceived in terms which cannot disagree with anyone; however, they speak there of the fact and of the things proposed and demanded, as they spoke at The Hague.

The preservation of the walls of Nancy, the departure from Longwy and Saarlouis while retaining the right to garrison there, the abolition of tolls established in the time of Charles IV. and since, the equivalent or the restitution of Marsal, the road of 1661, which is useless since the unlimited passage, the saltworks of Moyenice by supplying the salts, as well as the Primatiale, the abbeys of Isle and Bouzonville and the three dignities of the Primatial; which are patronage benefits requested by His Serene Highness; having none which in any way diminishes its greatness, but they do honour to His Serene Highness and give him tokens of His Majesty's friendship.

What surprises us even more is this distrust of which you speak, which in truth has distressed us all the more because we believe we are convinced that a man of common sense cannot enter into sentiments so little in conformity with the state and to His Serene Highness, as if an 18-year-old Prince, who

throws himself into the arms of the King, who asks him Mademoiselle as a mark of his confidence, who has neither troops, nor places, nor munitions of war, nor peoples, nor goods which he could enjoy, without the good graces of the King, was capable of giving a court like that of France the slightest anxiety, not even in a dream.

Believe me, sir, these things are unfounded and do not deserve an answer, and which are spoiled even by answering them, because it would be to harm the greatness of the King and the intentions of His Serene Highness to doubt obvious things, and all the statements that one can make on this, are rather harmful than useful. We do not understand the assurances of which you speak, they are essentially in the power of the Poi and the situation of Lorraine, as Monsieur de Crecy said so well in The Hague without going any further.

You want His Serene Highness to come; he has neither house to live in, nor money to come, his people do not have the power to find any, they cannot prevent the continuation of the levies, which are still being made in Lorraine, they do not have the authority to exercise the least act of jurisdiction, so that instead of procuring some approval for a young Prince who puts all his confidence in the goodness of the King, your letters will afflict him as much as the memorandum you have written, because it seems that you are afraid of offending His Majesty by representing to him the hope that His Serene Highness has founded on his kindness, which is the greatest pleasure he expects to have in Lorraine.

It is not, in my opinion, a matter of the present to think of Mademoiselle's court; it is necessary to establish the solid amenities of marriage and what suits its dignity; for she will never be lacking in people who will dispute with each other the honour of serving her.

The treatment of Royal Highness to His Serene Highness and crowned heads is to be spared, if His Majesty will give him, and will not be a difficult thing; this is better due to the Dues of Lorraine than to the Dues of Savoy; but let's not leave solid improvements for honours, and aliens to one and another solidly.

We also do not know, as you have made advances for His Serene Highness to go to court, where to take money for it; we who lack it to bring him from elsewhere, we must spare the treatment he enjoys in Vienna with the Emperor, and things which are not mentioned in your instructions, do not make advances.

We are, moreover, still without exercise, and there is as yet no order to restore the state; Monsignor, the Bishop of Seez supports his claim that having written in court, he is unanswered, and we have come here to make his statement, and that it was necessary before he moved that His Majesty in decided.

I am etc.. St. Nicholas on January 21, 1698.

Count Couvanges to the Earl of Carlingford. À Paris, 22 January 1698. (263)

Monsieur,

Je trouvais hier ici arrivant de Versailles la lettre que Votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 13. du courant de Saverne, et j'espère que celle-ci trouvera Votre Excellence a Nancy, puisque les ordres ont été expédies pour remettre l'état a Votre Excellence, Messrs. les Ministres m'ayant assure que le Roi avait ordonne qu'on vous en mit en possession at qu'on vous y laissa exercer toute l'autorité et jouir de l' ons les domaines du jour de l'échange des ratifications, et qu'on cessa de faire aucune levée de telle nature qu'elle puisse être sur les sujets de Son Altesse Serenissime, et que les

commandants pour le Roi ne se mêlassent plus que du commandement des troupes qui restent pour la démolition de Nancy; ainsi, Monsieur, je crois présentement Votre Excellence en possession de tout.

Je ne ferai pas de redite a Votre Excellence de tout ce qui s'est passe et de tout ce que j'ai pu faire depuis mon arrivée en cette cour, espérant que Votre Excellence aura reçu toutes mes lettrés, par lesquelles je lui ai rendu un compte exact de tout ce que j'ai fait, assurant Votre Excellence que je n'ai rien oublie pour tacher de procurer a Son Altesse Serenissime toute la satisfaction qu'on avait fait espérer a ses ministres a la Haye 5 mais j'ai déjà eu l'honneur de dire a Votre Excellence que je n'ai trouve jusqu'a présent que des termes généraux, qui marquent que l' on est ici dispose de vivre avec Son Altesse Serenissime dans une grande union et amitié, et qu'on lui en donnera toutes les marques possibles aux occasions, pourvu qu'il s'attache de bonne foi a cette courroie, et il me parait que son long séjour a Vienne leur est suspect, et qu'on craint qu'il n'y change de sentiment parce qu'on leur écrit delà; c'est ce qui m'a fait prendre la liberté de lui mander et a Votre Excellence qu'il doit ne pas perdre de temps a venir dans ses États, s'il veut établir ici quelque confiance et y être avec tranquillité et quelque agrément.

Votre Excellence a vu par la copie du mémoire que j'ai présente, ce que j'avais demande; le traite étant signe, il m'a paru qu'il ne nous restait plus que la voie de prior et de s'en remettre a la bonne volonté du Roi.

L'on m'a répondu la-dessus que le Roi le remettrait dans ses États et voulait lai donner des marques de son amitié et lui donner lieu d'être content, que pour les démolitions de Nancy c'était une chose arrêtée, qu'on ne pouvait changer pour la surette de la France, non pas que l'on se défiât de Son Altesse Serenissime, mais que les temps peuvent changer. J'ai lit là-dessus tout ce que j'ai pu pour adoucir cette démolition, et j'ai employé tout ce que j'ai crû avoir quelque pouvoir pour faire changer cette dureté, mais j'y vois peu d'apparence jusqu'a cette heure, quoique j'en aie parle a Madame de Maintenon, qu'on ne voit qu'avec des peines incroyables: je n'ai pas pu encore pénétrer, si elle obtiendra quelque chose la-dessus, mais c'est la seule ressource j'y vois m'ayant témoigne un grand désir de servir Son Altesse Serenissime.

Sur l'article des bénéfices l' on m'a répondu que le Roi voulait bien que ceux qui ont besoin de bulles en obtiennent sur la nomination de Son Altesse Serenissime, et en jouissent, comme la primatiale, le doyen, chantre et écolâtre, et l'abbaye de Bouzonville, et que pour ceux qui n'ont]3as besoin de bulles, le Roi prétendait que les pourvus par lui en jouissent aux termes du traite.

A l'égard des finances j'ai été renvoyé a Monsieur de Pontchartrain, que je n'ai pu voir; ainsi je remets au premier ordinaire à en rendre compte a Votre Excellence. J'insisterai a ce que Von nous laisse quelque jouissance de L'année dernière mais je doute de l'obtenir. Quant au mariage, j'ai déjà dit a Votre Excellence que ne s'étant pu traiter à Risvick comme un mariage d'intérêt, j' ai fait la demande suivant man instruction; fa l'pourtant insinue aux ministres les besoins de Son Altesse Serenissime, et qi' il espérait par-la des adoucissements suivant ce que les ministres en avaient parle en Hollande; mais on m'a dit que le Roi ferait la-dessus tout ce qu'il pourrait, sans s'expliquer davantage; il me parait que l' on mariera Mademoiselle comme les petites filles de France, qu'on lui donnera un million de livres ou quatre cent mille écus argent comptant, et peut-être que le Roi pourra donner quelque somme au-delà par gratification a cause de la conséquence; mais tout cela n'est encore que conjecture, car il faudra remettre cela au temps que l' on parlera du contrat, et que Son Altesse Serenissime sera dans ses Ètats. Monsieur l'Abbe le Begue m'a mande que Votre Excellence désirait savoir mon sentiment sur les moyens d'avoir quelque argent présentement; elle est bien plis éclaire que moi pour voir ce qui est le mieux, mais puisqu' elle veut que je lui dise ma pensée, j'estime qu' il ne faut pas commencer le règne de Son Altesse Serenissime par fair e des impositions sur le peuple, qui soient d\ne grande charge et vexation, mais Von pourrait prendre quelques avances sur les fermes des domaines et salines en les

laissant, et il y a plusieurs compagnies, qui pensent a les prendre tant en Lorraine qu'ici, et qui pourront avancer jusqu'a quatre ou cinq cent mille livres en leur payant l'intérêt a dix pour cent et même a plus has prix; mais je crois qu'il ne se faut pas presser, et que vous pouvez tirer un quartier de ceux qui sont en place et qui jouissent, et leur laisser cette année seulement, pendant laquelle on pourra prendre de plus justes mesures.

Quelque envie que j'aie d'aller rendre mes devoirs a Votre Excellence, je ne crois pas devoir partir d'ici que je n'aie reçu des lettrés de Son Altesse Serenissime en réponse de celle que le Roi lui a écrite, qui le remercie sur le mariage, parceque si celle ne venait pas et que je partisse sans cela. l' on croirait qu'il a change de sentiment, ce que l' on ne public que trop, et Votre Excellence en connait mieux que moi les conséquences; cependant je suive rai ses ordres exactement, et désire avec passion d'être déchargé de cette commission, a laquelle je réussis si peu, ne doutant pas qu'un autre ne s'en acquitte mieux et plus adroitement que moi; car quand on est oblige de demander grâce âpres un traite signe dans une cour aussi dure et aussi difficile que celle-ci, je vous assure qu'on y est bien emperche. Donnez-moi done, Monsieur, vos ordres, lesquels j'exécuterai avec toute la fidélité et l'exactitude possible et avec tout le respect que vous doit.

Monsieur, Votre très-humble et très-obeissant serviteur Couvanges m/p

P.S. J'oubliais de vous dire que Monsieur de Torsy m'a dit de la part du Roi que Sa Majesté espérait que Son Altesse Serenissime ne toucherait pas a l'arrêt qu'il avait rendu lui-même sur les affaires de Remiremont, desquelles je vous rendrai compte. lorsque j'airai l'honneur de vous voir, étant une chose qu'il a fort a coeur.

Il voudrait aussi que l' on ne permit pas a Madame de Courdomie de retourner a Remiremont, laquelle en est sortie par ordre du Roi; parceque l' on prétend qu'elle y entretient la division.

Translation: Count Couvanges to the Earl of Carlingford. X Paris this January 22, 1698

Sir,
Yesterday I found here arriving from Versailles the letter which Your Excellency did me the honour of writing to me on the 13th of the Saverne current, and I hope that it will find Your Excellency in Nancy, since the orders have been dispatched to deliver the state to Your Excellency, Messrs. the Ministers having assured me that the King had ordered that you be put in possession of it and that you be allowed to exercise all the authority and enjoy the domains of the day of the exchange of ratifications, and that 'one ceased to make any raising of such nature that it could be on the subjects of His Serene Highness, and that the commanders for the King interfere more than the command of the troops which remain for the demolition of Nancy; so, sir, I now believe your Excellency is in possession of everything.

I will not repeat to Your Excellency all that has happened and all that I have been able to do since my arrival in this court, hoping that Your Excellency will have received all my letters, by which I returned to him an exact account of all that I have done, assuring Your Excellency that I have forgotten nothing in order to try to procure for His Serene Highness all the satisfaction which his ministers had been led to hope for at The Hague but I have I have already had the honour to tell Your Excellency that I have so far found only general terms, which show that we are here disposed to live with His Serene Highness in great union and friendship, and that he will be given all possible marks of it on occasion, provided he attaches himself in good faith to this strap, and it seems to me that his long stay in Vienna is suspect to them, and that it is feared that there will be change of feeling because one writes to them beyond; this is what made me take the liberty of telling him and your Excellency that he must waste no time in coming

to his States, if he wants to establish some confidence here and be there with peace of mind and some pleasure.

Your Excellency has seen by the copy of the memorandum which I have presented, what I had requested; the treaty being signed, it seemed to me that all that remained was for us to go the prior route and to rely on the good will of the King.

I was told thereupon that the King would put him back in his States and wanted to give him marks of his friendship and give him reason to be happy, that for the demolitions of Nancy it was a thing settled, that 'one could not change for the safety of France, not that one mistrusted His Serene Highness, but that times can change. I have read on this all that I could to soften this demolition, and I have used all that I believed to have some power to change this harshness, but I see little appearance in it until At this hour, although I have spoken to Madame de Maintenon about it, which one only sees with incredible difficulty: I have not yet been able to penetrate, if she will get anything on it, but it is the only resource I see there, having testified to me, a great desire to serve His Serene Highness.

On the article of benefits, I was told that the King wanted those who need bulls to obtain them on the appointment of His Serene Highness, and enjoy them, such as the primatial, the dean, cantor and schoolmaster, and the Abbey of Bouzonville, and that for those who have no need of bulls, the King claimed that those provided by him enjoy them under the terms of the treaty.

With regard to finances, I was referred to Monsieur de Pontchartrain, whom I was unable to see; so I defer to the first ordinary to give an account of it to Your Excellency. I will insist that Von leave us some enjoyment of last year, but I doubt we will get it. As for the marriage, I have already told Your Excellency that, having been unable to treat myself at Risvick as a marriage of interest, I made the request following my instruction; he nevertheless insinuates to the ministers the needs of His Serene Highness, and that he hoped thereby for alleviations according to what the ministers had spoken of in Holland; but I was told that the King would do all he could about it, without explaining himself further; it seems to me that Mademoiselle will be married off like the little girls of France, that they will give her a £1,000,000 pounds or kr400,000 in cash, and perhaps the King will give some sum beyond that as a *bonu cause* [good cause] of consequence;. But all that is still only conjecture, because it will have to be postponed until the contract is discussed, and His Serene Highness will be in his States. Monsieur l'Abbe le Begue has told me that Your Excellency wanted to know my opinion on the means of having some money at present; she is much more enlightened than me to see what is best, but since she wants me to tell her my thoughts, I do not think that we should begin the reign of His Serene Highness by making impositions on the people, who are a great burden and vexation, but you could take some advances on the farms of the estates and saltworks by leaving them, and there are several companies, who are thinking of taking them both in Lorraine and here, and who will be able to advance up to four or £500,000 pounds by paying them interest at ten per cent and even at a lower price; but I believe that you must not hurry, and that you can take a quarter of those who are in place and who enjoy, and leave them only this year, during which we can take more just measures.

Whatever desire I have to go and pay my respects to Your Excellency, I do not think I have to leave here until I have received letters from His Serene Highness in response to the one the King has written to him, which thank you on the wedding, because if she didn't come and I left without it one would think that he had changed his mind, which is only too well publicized, and Your Excellency knows the consequences of this better than I do; however I will follow his orders exactly, and desire with passion to be relieved of this commission, in which I succeed so little, not doubting that another will discharge it better and more skilfully than me; for when one is obliged to ask for mercy after a treaty signed in a court as hard and as difficult as this one, I assure you that one is well prevented from doing so. Give me

then, Sir, your orders, which I will carry out with all possible fidelity and exactness and with all the respect that you owe.

Sir

Your very humble and very obedient servant Couvonges m/p

P.S. I forgot to tell you that Monsieur de Torsy told me on behalf of the King that His Majesty hoped that His Serene Highness would not interfere with the decree he rendered on the Remiremont[351] affairs, of which I will report to you when I have the honour to see you, being something he has very much at heart.

He would also like Madame de Courdomie not to be allowed to return to Remiremont, who left by order of the King; because it is claimed that it maintains the division there.

Mr. le Begue to the Count de Couvanges. 24 January 1698. (267)

Nous at tendons, Monsieur, avec impatience l' ordinaire d' aujourd'hui pour voir ce que vous aurez fait et obtenu; Monsieur de Bissy a envoye le Major de Nancy faire compliment au Comte de Carlingford, mais rien au-delà, et Son Excellence ayant rendu le compliment et fait demander s'il avait reçu ordre de remettre l'état, il a répondu que non.

Nous voila donc en Lorraine depuis 13 jours, comme de bons marchands en attendant que nous puissions agir; il y a peu de personnes de qualité et d'autres qui ne soient venus ici, mais tout se passe en compliments. Je me suis donne l' honneur de vous écrire la grosse réception que nous avons eue de Madame de Couvanges, et en même temps je vous ai dit vaguement nos sentiments sur la conduite que vous avez a tenir, parce qu'il nous a semble que le chemin que vous prenez, ne suffit pas, et qu'il ne s'agit point seulement du mariage, mais des améliorations, que nous ne voyons pas jusqu'a présent; il parait au contraire des défiances désolantes; car enfin. Monsieur, où voulez-vous que Son Altesse Serenissime soit aujourd'hui, comme je vous l'ai mande par mes dernier es.

J'ai eu l'honneur de voir avant-hier Madame de Couvanges que j'ai entretenue de ce que je savais; vous jugez bien qu'il est peu agréable d'être ici, comme nous y sommes, d'autant plus que les officiers du Roi nous renvoient a vous pour l'expédition des ordres, disant que ce n'est point a eux de les prêter; voila ce que je puis vous dire, et que ce pays-ci a des jaloux, des envieux, comme les autres; je vous en conjure premièrement de nous faire donner possession, et ne séparez pas le mariage des améliorations. Messieurs MalIliet sont ici tout deux fort assidus, et d'autres aussi; en un mot on voit tout le monde s'empresser. Je vous embrasse de tout mon coeur etc…

Translation: Mr. le Begue to the Count de Couvonges. 24 January 1698

Sir. We are impatiently awaiting today's regular post to see what you have done and obtained. Monsieur de Bissy sent Major de Nancy to greet the Count of Carlingford, but nothing beyond that, and

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[351] *Remiremont* is an area in north-eastern France. It was home so a group of Secular Canonesses, unmarried or widowed women who devoted their lives to piety but were not nuns. Some lived in an abbey, ass in Reriemont but others in their own homes, complete with servants. They took no bows of chastity, and sometimes would marry. The relationship between the Emperor and the Abbey was one wherein the emperor would control the foreign affairs of the abbey while allowing them internal autonomy. From what I can tell, there was no appointed leader of the group in 1698, the prior abbess. Catherine of Lorraine having died in 1648 and a new abbess, Beatice Hieronyme of Lorraine appointed as abbess in 1710. The so-called "affair" was probably one of clarifying who controlled what as the emperor consolidated his power after the wars. As for banning Madame de Courdomie from returning to the abbey, I have no clue. Incidentally, there are still secular canonesses today, including in the U.S.

His Excellency returned the greetings and asked if he had received an order to return the state, he replied in the negative.

So here we are in Lorraine for 13 days, like good merchants waiting for us to act. There are few quality people and others who have not been here, but everything is done in compliments. I have given myself the honour of writing to you about the great reception we had from Madame de Couvonges, and at the same time I told you vaguely of our feelings about the conduct you must adopt, because it seems to us that the path you are taking is not enough. It is not just about marriage, but about improvements, which we do not see so far. On the contrary, there appear to be suspicions that they will not be made. Frankly, Sir, where would you like His Serene Highness to be today, as I have asked you in my last letters.

I had the honour of seeing Madame de Couvonges the day before yesterday, to whom I spoke of what I knew. You can well judge that it is not very pleasant to be here, as we are, especially since the King's officers send us back to you for the dispatch of orders, saying that it is not for them to give ask for money. Here is what I can tell you: this country has jealous, envious people, like the others. I cal to mind that you first to give us possession, and not to separate marriage from improvements. Misters Mallilet are both very persistent here as are and others. In a word, we see everyone in a frenzy. I love you with all my heart etc…

The Earl of Carlingford to Count Couvanges. 25 January 1698. (268)

Monsieur,

Mon voyage a été retarde par la mort imprévue de la Reine, qui nous a jetés tous dans une si grande affliction qu'il a fallu quelque temps pour nous remettre avant de songer aux mesures nécessaires a prendre après ce coup fatal.

Son Altesse a juge qu'il ne devait rien altérer, Monsieur, dans vos instructions et dans vos lettrés signées de la Reine, qu'il fallait les rendre toutes telles qu'elles sont, et qu'il ne pouvait sans manquer de respect a une si bonne mère rien changer a ses dernier es volontés.

Monsieur de Lilienrood lorsqu'il a propose le mariage, a ajoute que c'était un mariage d'intérêt; Monsieur de Harlay a promis que le Roi ferait des choses étonnantes en faveur de cette alliance, et même plus que le Due ne pouvait demander.

Peut-on trouver mauvais qu'on sollicite de la générosité du Roi les effets de ses promesses, qu'apparemment on n'aurait ose avancer sans son aveu, et on a cru qu'il était plus important de le faire au nom de la mère que du fils, et que Madame aurait la bonté d'y entrer sur le même pied.

Ceux qui veulent inférer de ceci quelqu' arrière-pensée dans le Due, raisonnent mal, et peut-être malicieusement; Son Altesse connait très-bien qu'il ne peut ni posséder ses États, ni en jouir que par les bonnes grâces du Roi; mais il lui serait fort fâcheux de rendre malheureuse une des premières et plus accomplies Princesses du monde, s'il ne pouvait fournir a la décence due a sa grandeur.

Je me console, Monsieur, de voir l'afFaire en si bonnes mains; personne n'est plus capable que vous de ménager les avantages des parties intéressées; j'attends de vos nouvelles a Nancy, où vous me ferez faute; j'y trouverai les soirées bien longues sans voIls, a moins que vous n'ayez la bonté Monsieur, de m'y re commander a vos amis, quoique je doute fort qu'il y en ait qui puisse vous suppléer. Je suis avec beaucoup d'estime et de passion, Monsieur, etc …

Guesseling le 25. Janvier 1698.

Translation: The Earl of Carlingford to Count Couvonges. 25 January 1698

Sir,

My trip was delayed by the unforeseen death of the Queen, which threw us all into such great affliction that it took some time to recover before we thought of the necessary measures to take after this fatal blow.

His Highness has judged that he should not alter anything, Sir, in your instructions and in your letters signed by the Queen, that they should be returned all as they are, and that he could nothing but respect such a good mother and do nothing to change her last wishes.

Mister de Lilienrood when he proposed the marriage, added that it was a marriage of common benefits. Mister de Harlay promised that the King would do amazing things in favour of this alliance; even more than the duke could ask.

Can we find it wrong that we are soliciting from the generosity of the King the effects of his promises, which apparently, we would not have dared to advance without his consent, and we believed that it was more important to do it in the name of the mother than of the son, and that Madame would have the kindness to enter it on the same footing.

Those who want to infer from this some ulterior motive on the part of the duke, reason badly, and perhaps maliciously. His Highness knows very well that he can neither possess his States nor enjoy them except by the good graces of the King. But it would be very wrong to him to make unhappy one of the first and most accomplished Princesses in the world if he could not provide the decency due to him.

I console myself, sir, to see the affair in such good hands. No one is more capable than you of managing the advantages of the interested parties. I am waiting for your news at Nancy, where you will always me. I find the evenings to be very long evenings here without you. Perhaps you would be kind enough, sir, to recommend me to your friends there, although I very much doubt that there is any who can replace you… I am with great esteem and passion, sir, etc…

Güssing, 25 January 1698.

Count Couvanges to the Earl of Carlingford. 1 February 1698. (269)

Je me donnais l' honneur d'écrire a Votre Excellence par l'ordinaire dernier, que j'allais a Versailles pour éclaircir ce qui est cause du retardement, que l' on apportait a ce que Votre Excellence n'était pas mis en possession de l'état. J'en parlais a Monsieur de Barbesieux le plus fortement qu'il me fut possible, lequel m'assura avec serment, qu'il en avait envoye ordre a Monsieur de Bissy le 15. Janvier et qu'il avait reçu réponse de lui, qui en accusait la réception; il me dit qu'il lui avait mande de vous laisser exercer tout le commandement et la juridiction même de Nancy, et de ne se plus mêler de rien que du commandement des troupes qui restaient au dit Nancy pour la démolition; ainsi. Monsieur, il m'a proteste que Monsieur de Bissy devait exécutoire les ordres, et qu'il lui allait encore réitérer par cet ordinaire, ce qui ne me laisse pas douter que Votre Excellence ne soit présentement en pleine possession; mais s'il y avait encore quelque difficulté, Votre Excellence peut me faire l' honneur de me le mander, et je le ferai lever aussitôt; car tous les ministres m'ont assure que c'était l'intention du Roi et qu'il l'avait ordonne il y a plus de 15 jours, par ou Votre Excellence peut voir qu'il n'y a pas de ma faute.

Je vis ensuite Monsieur de Pontchartrain, auquel j'avais été renvoyé pour ce qui regarde les finances, et a qui j'avais donne un mémoire, par lequel je demandais que l' on accordât a Son Altesse Serenissime la demi-année de 1697, que l' on fasse cesser toutes les levées, tant de la subvention que ce que l' on demandait aux villes pour le raclait des nouvelles charges et autres impositions faites tant sur le peuple que sur les particuliers; il me dit avoir lu le mémoire au Roi, qui avait répondu qu'il était toujours très-dispose de faire à Son Altesse Serenissime tous les plaisirs qu'il pourrait, mais que les affaires ne lui permettaient pas de lui faire présentement des présents et gratifications, qu'il voulait que Son Altesse Serenissime entrât en possession de tous les revenus du jour de la ratification, qu'a cet efFet il allait ordonner aux intendants de Nancy et de Metz de les faire payer aux ordres de Votre Excellence depuis ce jour-la et de restituer ce que l' on aurait touche, comme aussi de défendre toute levée a l'avenir; mais il y apporte une distinction, qui est que les communautés et particuliers, qui se sont engages de payer les charges, qu'ils ont prises de gré á gré, et qui sont convenus de payer par terme, en achèveront les payements, mais que celles qui auront été imposées, en seront quittes, ce qui se doit régler avec ceux que Votre Excellence nommera avec les intendants, qui en feront le détail; c'est, Monsieur, ce que j'ai pu obtenir âpres avoir bien dispute.

J'allais ensuite chez Monsieur de Torsy pour lui parler des Equivalents et des améliorations que les ambassadeurs de France a Risvick ont fait espérer, et lui donner un mémoire la-dessus suivant mon instruction et les dernières lettrés de Monsieur le Bégué. Je trouvais Monsieur de Pomponne qui entrait chez Monsieur de Torsy, auquel je parlais; il me dit que le Roi n'avait encore rien détermine la-dessus et qu'il fallait rentrer dans les États et en être en possession auparavant, qu'il me conseillait de n en pas parler avant ce temps-la, me faisant connaitre que pour obtenir quelque chose il fallait que Son Altesse Serenissime fût rentrée dans ses États, me marquant qu'il conseillait qu'il ne perde pas de temps d'y venir, ayant remarque qu'on l'y désire avant de ne rien faire; ce qui m'a fait retarder a donner mon mémoire la-dessus, en attendant les ordres de Votre Excellence, que je suivrai avec toute l'exactitude et la soumission possible. Je vous supplie done. Monsieur, de me marquer ce que je ferai et si je donnerai le mémoire ou si je différerai, et en cas que Votre Excellence ordonne le dernier parti, je crois qu' aussitôt que j'aurai reçu les lettrés de Son Altesse Serenissime en réponse de celles que je lui ai envoyées du Roi, de Monsieur et de Madame sur le manage, que n'y ayant plus rien de presse, si Votre Excellence me permettra d'aller lui rendre compte de ma commission et de l'assurer du respect et de l'attachement, avec lequel je veux vivre et mourir etc…

Depuis ma lettre écrite je reçois celle de Votre Excellence du 28. du mois passe, qui me donne bien du chagrin de la savoir indisposée m'interessant a sa santé plus que je ne puis dire, et prie le Seigneur qu'il la lui renvoie bientôt très-parfaite.

Je n'ai rien a ajouter a ce que je me donne l' honneur de vous dire a Votre Excellence ci-dessus, si non que je la crois présentement a Nancy, que je retourne demain a Versailles pour presser encore que l' on réitéré les ordres.

A l'égard des améliorations j'assure Votre Excellence que j'ai déjà dit et fait ce que j'ai pu, et cherche tous les moyens de parvenir a faire avoir satisfaction a Son Altesse Serenissime, mais jusqu'a cette lieur je ne vois rien de positif, et l' on compte pour rien les paroles des ambassadeurs a Risvick. Je ne cesse de représenter de toutes mes forces ce que Votre Excellence m'ordonne; mais encore une fois: si Son Altesse Serenissime n'est pas dans ses États, je ne crois pas qu'on puisse rien obtenir pour les raisons que j'ai déjà dites tant de fois; car l' on ne se laisse pas ici persuader.

Quant aux démolitions de Nancy, je trouve toujours tant de fermeté et de rigueur que je n'ose m'en rien promettre, quoique j'emploie toutes les voies secrètes et publiques dont je me suis pu aviser; du reste je ne crois rien omettre de ce que je puis m'aviser pour contenter Son Altesse Serenissime et Votre Excellence; peut-être un autre serait mieux que moi.

Translation: Count Convonges to the Earl of Carlingford. 1 February 1698

I gave myself the honour of writing to Your Excellency by the last regular post, that I was going to Versailles to clarify what is the cause of the delay, which was brought to your Excellency not being put in possession of State.

I spoke of it to Mister de Barbesieux[352] as strongly as I could, who assured me with oath that he had sent an order to Monsieur de Bissy[353] on January 15 and that he had received an answer from him, who acknowledged receipt. He told me that he had been told to let you exercise all the command and jurisdiction over Nancy, and to interfere in nothing more than the command of the troops which remained in said Nancy for the renovations. Thus, sir, he protested to me that Monsieur de Bissy had to execute the orders, and that he was going to reiterate to him again by this post, which leaves me no doubt that Your Excellency is presently in full possession of the territories and city of Nancy. But if there were still some difficulties, sir, please do me the honour of letting me know about it, and I will have it removed at once. All the ministers assured me that it was the intention of the King and that he had ordered it more than 15 days ago, by which Your Excellency can see that it is not my fault.

I then saw Monsieur de Pontchartrain,[354] to whom I had been sent for to discuss finances, and to whom I had given a memorandum, in which I requested that His Serene Highness be granted the half-year of 1697's tax revenues, end all debts against him, both of the loans and of what was asked of the cities for the collection of new charges and other impositions made both on the people and on individuals.

He told me that he had read the memorandum to the King, who had replied that he was always very willing to give His Serene Highness everything he asked for, but that business at the present time did not allow him to do so. He suggested that his Serene Highness start getting tax revenues instead on the day of the treaty ratification and, that for this purpose he was going to order the officials in Nancy and Metz to make them pay based on that day, and to later pay back what we would have received, as well as to defend against bills in the future.

But he distinguishes between communities and individuals who have undertaken to pay what is owed, which they have taken by mutual agreement and who have agreed to pay by the terms of the agreement that we will complete the payments. But that those which have been taxed will be forgiven, but other debts which must be settled with those whom Your Excellency will appoint with the officials, who will work out the details. This, sir, is what I have been able to obtain after a long dispute.

I then went to Monsieur de Torsy[355] to talk to him about the Equivalents[356] and the improvements that the French ambassadors at Ryswick[357] had made hope for and give him a letter on the subject according

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352 Possibly Louis Francois Marie Le Tellier, Marquis of Barbezieux (1668-1701), a French statesman who liked to party, known to neglect administrative duties.

353 Possibly Henri-Pons de Thiard de Bissy (1657-1737), a Catholic bishop (later a cardinal), he was also involve in negotiations between the church and state.

354 Possibly Louis Phélpeaux, Count of Pontchartrain (1643-1727) French politician and Secretary of State pf Maison u Roi (King's Household). He was reputed to be a jealous, vindictive bully, which apparently fit well with King Louis XIV's temperament.

355 Probably Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Marquess of Torcy (1665-1746), a French diplomat who would rise to the post of minister for foreign affairs in that country.

356 *Equivalents* are basically swaps between one side and the other by treaty. They may be land or other valuable assets. For example, in the Peace of Ryswick treaties, France gave up Freiburg, Breisach, and the Duchy of Lorraine, but retained Strasbourg.

357 The Peace of Ryswick consisted of several treaties signed between France and others in Ryswick, Netherlands in 1697. The treaties ended the Nine Years War between France and the Grand Alliance of England, Spain, Austria, and the Dutch Republic, and others. The last of the treaties was the one between France and the Holy Roman Empire, 30

to my instructions and the latest letters from Monsieur le Bégué. I found Monsieur de Pomponne going into Monsieur de Torsy's, to whom I was talking; he told me that the King had not yet determined anything on the subject and that it was necessary to return to the States and be in possession of it beforehand, that he advised me not to speak of it before that time if I wanted make progress.

His Serene Highness had to return to his States, indicating to me that he advised that he should not waste time coming there, having noticed that he was desired there before doing anything which has caused me to delay giving my memorandum on the subject, pending your Excellency's orders, which I will follow with all possible exactitude and submission. I beg you, sir, to mark me what I will do and whether I will update them or whether I will postpone. If Your Excellency wants me to postpone, I believe that as soon as I have received the letters from His Serene Highness in response to those that I sent him from the King, from Monsieur and from Madame about the marriage being most urgent, you should allow me to go and report to him on my orders and to assure him of your respect and commitment.

Since my letter written, I have received Your Excellency's letter of the 28th of last month, which gives me great sorrow to know that she is indisposed, and that I am more interested in her health than I can say and pray the Lord to return her in perfect health.

I have nothing to add to what I have the honour to tell Your Excellency above, except that I believe it at Nancy at present, that I am returning tomorrow to Versailles to press again that we reiterate orders.

Regarding the improvements, I assure Your Excellency that I have already said and done what I could and seek all means to achieve satisfaction with His Serene Highness. Up to now, however, I do not I see anything positive. The words from the ambassadors at Ryswick count for nothing. I consistently try strongly present what Your Excellency commands me. Again, if His Serene Highness is not here, I do not believe that anything can be obtained because as I have already frequently said before, for the French will not be persuaded.

As for the restoration of the castle, I always find so much oppositional firmness and rigour that I dare not promise myself anything, even though I use all the secret and public ways of which I can think of. For the rest of these issues, I do not think I am omitting anything that I can think of to satisfy His Serene Highness and Your Excellency. Maybe someone else would be better than me.

Count Couvanges to the Earl of Carlingford. À Paris, 5 February 1698. (271)

Monsieur,

Je suis si presse de répondre a la lettre que Votre Excellence m'a fait l' honneur de m'écrire par l'ordinaire dernier, que je ne puis lui dire que l'ayant reçue depuis, que j'ai re marquetant par celle-la que par celle que j'ai reçue de Monsieur l'Abbé le Bégué du premier clé ce mois, que Votre Excellence continuait h n'être pas content de ma conduite, dont je suis au désespoir, n'ayant d'autres vues que de faire mon possible pour procurer a Son Altesse Serenissime tous les avantages qu'il peut attendre de cette cour.

J'avoue que j'ai peu de capacité et je prendrai la liberté de vous répéter que j'ai toujours bien prévu que la commission dont je suis honoré, est au-dessus de ma portée et que le plus grand plaisir, qu'on puisse me faire, est de m'en décharger, ne pouvant faire plus par la connaissance que j'ai de cette cour et par la dureté qui s'y rencontre; mais j'ai cru que n'ayant plus d'autre voie que la seule prière, il fallait aller

October 1697. The Empire held out for a better deal but were not in a position to ask for much as their allies settled by France one by one. The HRE ended up settling for what they could get, not what they wanted.

doucement et lever les défiances qu'on pouvait avoir, et tacler a y établir la confiance avant toute chose.

Votre Excellence me dit qu'il faut presser sans relâche d'avoir des adoucissements au traite et de faire en sorte que Son Altesse Serenissime soit contente; pouvez-vous croire, Monsieur, que je ne le fais pas et que j'en perde aucune occasion? Mais c'est qu'on répond, qu'il y a un traite signe qu'il faut suivre, qu'on ne veut pas entrer dans les promesses verbales, que les ambassadeurs ont données, et dans les espérances qu'ils ont laisse prendre, qu'on ne les écoute plus; dites-moi, je vous supplie, ce qu'il y a a faire la-dessus.

L'on me reproche que je n'ai pas suivi mes instructions sur la proposition du mariage, que je ne devais pas en parler, que je ne sache ce que l'on voulait faire pour Son Altesse Serenissime. A quoi je réponds que j'ai trouve avant mon arrivée, qu'on avait mande de la Haye que je devais parler du mariage sans conditions, qu'on avait refuse d'en traiter par l'Empereur et par les médiateurs, que la négociation en avait été renvoyée ici, et qu'il fallait la remettre au Roi, surtout que l'on s'attendait a la cour que j'en fasse la proposition, qu'a moins que Son Altesse Serenissime ne se remette a la volonté du Roi, il n'y avait rien a espérer, que l' on disait qu'il avait des arrière-pensées, et qu'il ne pensait qu'a s'attacher a Vienne et memo ne voulait pas venir dans ses états, ce que l'on croit encore; ayez la bonté de me dire, si sur ces dispositions -la je n'eusse pas parle du mariage, quel moyen y avait-il d'obtenir quelque chose; et même la restitution des états, la paix étant signée, et l' Angleterre, l'Espagne et la Hollande s'étant déclares qu'elles ne la rompe- raient pas pour cela. J'ai done cru que T unique moyen pour persuader que Son Altesse Serenissime voulait bien vivre avec la France, et y établir la confiance était de proposer le mariage, d'autant plus que mon instruction porte de le faire, et si j'eusse tarde davantage, la défiance augmentait tous les jours, et tout le monde me disait, pourquoi je ne le faisais pas. — Les ministres a qui j'ai parle des améliorations et avec qui j'ai voulu entrer la dessus, avant toute chose m'ont dit que tant qu'on ne parlerait pas du mariage et qu'on ne se remettrait pas a la volonté du Roi; il n'y avait rien a espérer. C'est done ce qui m'a fait prendre ce parti -la, l'ayant cru runique, et n'en ayant plus d'autres; si j'ai manque, il n'y a qu'a me dédire et a me punir, étant tout - prêt d'en recevoir tous les châtiments que l' on voudra. La suite fera peut-être voir qu'il n'y avait pas d'autre parti a prendre, et si Votre Excellence voulait envoyer quelqu' autre ici, comme je l'en supplie, peut-être trouverait-il plus de facilite que je n'en trouve.

Depuis cela je me suis attache a faire déloger les troupes du pays, ce que j'ai obtenu avec assez de peine; âpres j'ai sollicite que l' on remette les états a Votre Excellence; les ordres sont envoyés pour cela, et s'il y a eu du retardement, c'est Monsieur de Bissy, qui l'a cause; mais j'ai vu sa réponse, par laquelle il mande qu'il les a reçus; si Monsieur de Vaubourg fait des difficultés, il doit avoir a cette heure des ordres de n'en faire aucune, ce qui me fut hier assure.

J'ai déjà eu l' honneur de dire a Votre Excellence que j'avais voulu donner un mémoire pour les améliorations du traite et pour les équivalents, sur quoi Monsieur de Pomponne m'a dit que le Roi n'avait encore pris aucune résolution la-dessus, et qu'il fallait attendre que Votre Excellence fut en pleine possession, sur quoi j'attends ses ordres, que j'exécuterai a l'avenir sans répliquer, sachant bien obéir.

Je frappe e a toutes les portes et emploie tout ce que je puis pour obtenir des adoucissements sur les démolitions de Nancy; jusqu'a cette heure je trouve le Roi si ferme que je n'ose rien espérer, quoique je n'en désiste pas.

Voila, Monsieur, toute ma conduite; étant au désespoir qu'elle ne soit pas telle que vous désirez; mais si vous voulez considérer que l'on dépend absolument de cette cour ici, qu'il ne reste que la voie de prière, et que Son Altesse Serenissime ne peut être dans ses états et en jouir paisiblement sans j être bien et en dépendre ce que l' on y connait parfaitement, vous trouverez peut-être que je n'ai pas tant de

tort et que mes intentions ont été plus droites qu'on ne veut vous persuader; car il est aise de blâmer de loin et de parler sans connaitre les gens, a qui l' on a a faire. Encore une fois Monsieur, tirez-moi d'ici, je vous en prie, puisque je réussis si mal, et permettez-moi de vous aller rendre compte de mes actions et vous assurer que, quoi qui arrive de ma malheureuse destinée, je serai toujours avec tout le respect possible,

Monsieur, de Votre Excellence, le très-humble et très-obeissant serviteur, Couvanges m/p.

Translation: Count Couvange to the Earl of Carlingford. 1 Paris on February 5, 1698

Sir,

I am in such a hurry to reply to the letter that Your Excellency did me the honour of writing to me in the last post, that I can only tell him that having since received it, that I noticed on the basis of a letter received from the Abbé le Bégué of the first of this month, that Your Excellency continues to be dissatisfied with my conduct, of which I am in despair, having no other purpose than to do my best to procure all the advantages he can expect from this court for him.

I admit that I have little capacity and I will take the liberty of repeating to you that I have always foreseen that the commission with which I am honoured is beyond my reach and that the greatest pleasure, that we can do to me, is to let me out of it. I am not able to do more with what I known of this court and by the stubbornness which is met there. Having no other way but prayer alone, it was necessary to go slowly and remove the suspicions that they have and try to establish trust before anything else.

Your Excellency tells me that it is necessary to press relentlessly to have concessions in the treaty and to make his Serene Highness happy. Do you believe, sir, that I don't try and that I miss opportunities to do so? But what we ask for is a signed treaty upon which all must agree, and yet we do not want to even agree to verbal assurances they give, to the hopes that they have left. If we no longer listen to them, I beg you to tell me, what is there is to do?

They complain to me that I didn't follow my instructions on the marriage proposal, that I should not speak about it, that I do not know what they want to do for His Serene Highness. To which I reply that I found before my arrival, that the Hague had been informed that I had to talk about the marriage without conditions, that the Emperor and the mediators had refused to deal with it, that the negotiation of it had been sent back here, and that it should be given to the King, especially since the Court was expected to make the proposal, that unless His Serene Highness did not submit to the will from the King, there was nothing to hope for. Iit was said that he had ulterior motives, and that he only thought of staying in Vienna and did not want to come to his estates in Nancy. I hope that is still the case, and if not, tell me. If I had not spoken of marriage, what means was there of obtaining anything?

The restitution of the states, the peace treaty is signed, and England, Spain, and Holland have declared that they would not break the treaty for this.

I therefore believed that the only means of persuading that His Serene Highness was willing to live in France, and to establish confidence there, was to switch the topic to the marriage, since my instructions include that, and if I delayed longer, mistrust would increase daily.

The ministers with whom I have spoken about the improvements told me stop talking about marriage and if we didn't return to the priorities of the King, then there was no hope. Therefore, this is what made me change course, having believed it to be code for a deeper message, and nothing else.

If I am wrong, you need only recall me and punish me, being very ready to receive all the punishments that one wants. The next person will perhaps show that there was no other course to take, and if Your Excellency wanted to send someone else here, as I beg you, perhaps he would find it easier since I can't find any.

I have endeavoured to dislodge the troops from the country, which I obtained with some difficulty. Afterwards, I requested that the statements be given to Your Excellency. Orders are sent for this, and if there has been any delay, it is Monsieur de Bissy[358] who caused it. But I have seen his response, by which he states that he has received them. If Monsieur de Vaubourg makes any difficulties, he must have orders at this time not to make any, which was assured to me yesterday.

I have already had the honour of telling Your Excellency that I had wanted to give a memorandum for the improvements to the treaty and for the equivalents, whereupon Monsieur de Pomponne told me that the King had not yet taken any resolution, above, and that it was necessary to wait until Your Excellency was in full possession, whereupon I await your orders, which I will execute in the future without replying, knowing how to obey.

I knock on all the doors and use everything I can to obtain alleviations on the demolitions of Nancy; until this hour I find the King so firm that I dare not hope for anything, although I do not give up.

That, sir, is my whole conduct; being in despair that it is not as you desire; but if you want to consider that we absolutely depend on this court here, that only the way of prayer remains, and that His Serene Highness cannot be in his state and enjoy it peacefully without j being well and depending on it this that we know there perfectly, you will perhaps find that I am not so wrong and that my intentions were more upright than one wants to persuade you; because it is easy to blame from afar and to speak without knowing the people with whom we have to deal. Once again Sir, please get me out of here, since I am doing so poorly, and allow me to report to you on my actions and assure you that, whatever happens to my unfortunate destiny, I will be always with all due respect, Sir, Your Excellency, the most humble and most obedient servant,

Combines m/p.

Mr. le Begue to the Count de Couvanges, 8. February 1698. (274)

Vos lettrés. Monsieur, du l' " du courant nous trouvent a Nancy, où Monsieur de Bissy et Monsieur de Vaubourg ont déclare a Son Excellence qu'ils avaient ordre de lui remettre tout le commandement de la province, l'administration de la justice, celle des finances et de la police, et des aujourd'hui il y aura conseil pour régler le rétablissement du Parlement, du Bailliage, de l' Hotel de ville et de la Chambre des Comptes, qui sont les premières choses a faire, et ensuite Son Excellence passera au reste.

Vous verrez par les ci-jointes de Son Altesse Serenissime, comme le 25. du passe il n'avait pas encore reçu la lettre du Roi, et qu'ainsi on ne doit pas l'accuser de retardement. Pour vous montrer, combien il désire d'être ici, je vous envoie en original sa dernière, que vous me renverrez, s'il vous plait, afin d'ôter toute sorte d'ombrage par-delà, si on en prenait encore, quoiqu'il soit assez clair a tout le monde que l'unique intérêt de Son Altesse Serenissimi le porte à venir, quand il n'y aurait pas d' autres considérations.

Quand nous aurons de l'argent, Son Excellence prend tant d'expédients pour les remises, que j'espère qu'il en touchera bientôt, moyennant quoi il pourra venir, et il le fera d'autant plus volontiers qu'il

[358] Possibly Henri-Pons de Thiard de Bissy, (1657-1737), Bishop of Toul and confidant of King Louis VIV. He had been a foe of Emperor Leopold I of the HRE. He would eventually rise in rank to Cardinal in the Roman Catholic Church.

connait par les lettrés du Milord l'état de son pays et l'amour de ses peuples; les honnêtetés qu'on revolât ici a présent sont aussi des choses qui gagnent plus Son Altesse Serenissime que je ne puis vous dire.

Ainsi il parait a Son Excellence que l'on ne doit pas a cause de son absence désister de demander des adoucissements, surtout dans l'exécution du traite, qui est une chose essentielle, a quoi l' on va travailler, et pour cet effet il faudra commencer par demander des commissaires pour régler l'équivalent de Longwy, si l' on ne veut point se contenter du jus praesidii.

Cependant on va rétablir incessamment la justice partout, et on envoie des ordres dans tou les lieux possèdes en l'an 1670; ce qui sera la pierre de touche pour les difficultés que nous craignons; on fera la même chose pour les finances; cependant agissez pour la conservation de la ville neuve sur le pied des quatre degrés que je vous ai marques savoir le corps de la place; comme il est, ou du moins les courtines, terrassées ou non terrassées, ce qui ne serait que conserver la muraille sèche, qu'on peut rebâtir; faites agir sur cela Madame et Mademoiselle, qui peuvent employer Madame de Maintenon, pour évacuer Nancy et recharger le bourgeois du logement; nous pourrions nous charger de l'argent que le Roi donne. Pour la démolition j'ajouterai encore que si on trouvait le moyen d'évacuer la vieille ville; Son Excellence n'en sortirait plus pour la commodité de tout le monde.

Quant aux autres adoucissements, qu'on remet a l'arrivée de Son Altesse Serenissime, ne pourriez-vous pas représenter que rien ne l'arrêtât a Vienne que l'impossibilité d'en partir, comme il le confirme dans toutes les lettrés de sa main? On pourrait toujours profiter des bonnes dispositions en faisant connaitre a Messrs. ses Ministres qu'on n'en doute pas, et tenir ainsi nos prétentions et nos sollicitations toujours vives.

A l'égard des domaines je vous ai mande d'écouter et de recevoir les propositions, et qu'on voilerait trouver moyen que les prétendants s'échauffassent, ce qui sera difficile à régir; ainsi il faudrait avoir les propositions de ceux qui vous ont parle.

Pour fournir aux dépenses de Son Altesse Serenissime a Vienne, on a résolu de demander un joyeux avènement sur le pied de la capitulation, ainsi qu'il en a été convenu par les principaux; car les dépenses dont Son Altesse Serenissime est chargée inévitablement, sont extrêmes.

Monsieur le Comte de Carlingford est fort satisfait de ces Messieurs et du zèle des bourgeois de Nancy, la cour ne lui déplaît pas pour une ancienne maison; je me suis loge chez vous avec votre permission, ou je serai le plus commodément du monde; je vous en remercie mille fois, c'est ce que j'ai le loisir de vous écrire a mon arrivée au milieu des embarras de tout le monde dans votre belle petite chambre. N'attendez point de lettrés du Milord, qui est sorti tout malade de St. Nicolas; pour ne perdre pas de temps, il me charge de vous prier de l'excuser étant accable de visites et des honnêtetés de tout le monde.

Translation: Mr. le Begue to the Count de Couvanges, 8 February 1698

Your letters. Sir, do currently find us in Nancy, where Monsieur de Bissy and Monsieur de Vaubourg have declared to His Excellency that they have orders to hand over to him all the command of the province, the administration of justice, that of the finances and the police, and from today there will be council to regulate the restoration of the Parliament, the Bailliage,[359] the Town hall and the Chamber of Accounts, which are the first things to be done, and then His Excellency will move on to the rest.

[359] *Bailliage* is another word for *bailiwick.* The original meaning of both is related to the office or the jurisdiction of a bailiff, which we more commonly reefer to these days as an officer of the court. In 1698, the bailiff was more like a sheriff for a town or district.

You will see by the attachments of His Serene Highness, that on the 25th of January, he had not yet received the King's letter, and that therefore he should not be accused of a slow response. To show you how much he wants to be here, I am forwarding to you his original letter, which you will send back to me, if you please, to remove all sorts of possible annoyances from others, although it is quite clear to everyone that His Highness Serenissimi's sole interest wants him to come, once everything has been agreed to.

When we have money, His Excellency takes so many shortcuts for the remittances that I hope he will soon receive some, in return for which he can come, and he will do it more willingly because he knows by the letters of Milord the state of his country and the love of his people. The dishonesty present here is also something that advances His Serene Highness more than I can tell you.

Thus, it seems to His Excellency that one should not, because of his absence, stop asking for mitigations, especially those covered by the treaty. This is an essential task and one we are going to work and, for this purpose, it will be necessary to start by asking the commissioners to regulate the equivalent of Longwy, if one does not want to be satisfied with jus praesidia [right of protection]. However, we are going to restore justice everywhere immediately, and orders are being sent to all the places possessed in the year 1670. This will be a standard for the difficulties we face; we will do the same for finances; however, act for the conservation of the new city on the foot of the four degrees which I marked for you, namely the body of the place as it is, or at least the curtain walls, terraced or not terraced, which would only preserve the dry wall, which can be rebuilt. Madame and Mademoiselle, who can employ Madame de Maintenon,[360] an decide to evacuate Nancy and rebuild middle class housing. We could use the money that the King gives. For the demolition I would add that if we found a way to evacuate the old town, His Excellency would not come out of it again for everyone's convenience.

As for the other alleviations, which are given on the arrival of His Serene Highness, could you not represent that nothing stopped him in Vienna except the impossibility of leaving, as he confirms in all the letters, she has sent him? We could always take advantage of the good arrangements by letting Messrs know its Ministers that we do not doubt it, and thus keep our claims and our always lively request.

As to the to the estates, I have asked you to accept and read their proposals, and that we would find a way to make the suitors warm up, which will be difficult to manage. Therefore, it would be necessary to have the proposals of those who have spoken to you.

To provide for the expenses of His Serene Highness at Vienna, it has been resolved to ask for a joyful consent to the basis of his leaving, as agreed by the principals, for the expenses with which His Serene Highness is inevitably charged are far too high.

The Count of Carlingford is very satisfied with these gentlemen and with the zeal of the middle class of Nancy. The court does not displease him by offering an old house. I lodged with you with your permission, where I will be most conveniently located. I thank you a thousand times, and that's what I have the leisure to write to you on my arrival during everyone's embarrassment in your beautiful little room.

Do not expect letters from Milord, who came out sick from St. Nicolas; so as not to waste time, he asks me to beg your pardon for being overwhelmed with visits and the care of everyone.

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[360] Probably François d'Aubigné, Marquis de Maintenon (1635-1719), a French noblewoman secretly married to Louis XIV. More…

Count Couvanges to the Earl of Carlingford. 1698. (276)

Monsieur,

J’ai reçu avec une joie extreme la lettre que Votre Excellence m’a fait l’honneur de m’écrire le quatre de ce mois; elle serait parfaite, si j’avais pu me trouver en Lorraine a votre arrivée pour vous y rendre mes respects et vous y offrir tout ce qui dépend de moi. J’ai mande a Madame de Couvanges de suppléer a mon défaut et de vous y rendre tons les devoirs et les services qu’elle pourra; disposez done. Monsieur, librement de tout ce qui m’appartient, puisque je ne puis avoir plus de satisfaction que de vous être bon a quelque chose et de vous donner des preuves de mon respectueux attachement pour Votre Excellence.

J’avais déjà vu par mes instructions ce que Votre Excellence me fait l’honneur de me mander, tant sur les améliorations du traite que sur les conditions du manage; mais le traite étant signe, les ambassadeurs sont devenus des particuliers qui ne se mêlent de rien et qui ne répondent de rien; ainsi il faut s’adresser aux ministres qui ne s’expliquent pas. J’ai présente le premier mémoire que je joins a cette dépêche sur lequel l’ on ne m’a pas encore répondu; je vais demain a Versailles pour quelques jours, pour voir ce que l’ on voudra me dire, et attendrai vos ordres pour le reste; cependant Monsieur de Pomponne m’a assure que vous l’avez reçu a Nancy, et que l’ on ne ferait nulle difficulté de vous mettre en possession de l’autorité.

Je ne vois nulle apparence a rien sauver des murailles de la ville neuve pour les raisons que j’explique dans la grande lettre que je me donne l’ honneur d’écrire a Votre Excellence; du reste il faudra tâcher de les faire expliquer par les mémoires que vous m’ordonnerez de leur présenter. Il y a apparence qu’ils pourront laisser la prévôté de Longwy en gardant la ville, mais rien n’est sur ici que de belles paroles sans efFet.

Quant au mariage l’ on mariera Mademoiselle, comme les petites filles de France ont été mariées; mais l’ on se laisse entendre que l’ on fera des liber alites en argent ou en meubles, je n’ai pourtant encore entre en aucun détail, n’en ayant pas d’ordre, et je crois qu’il faut que j’aie l’ honneur de vous voir avant qu’on decide rien la-dessus, dont je meurs d’impatience, pour vous assurer mieux que je ne puis rien faire ici, et que je serai toujours avec le dernier respect. Monsieur, de Votre Excellence

le très-humble et très-obeissant serviteur, Couvanges.

Translation: Count Couvanges to the Earl of Carlingford. 1698

Sir,

I received with extreme joy the letter which Your Excellency did me the honour of writing to me on the fourth of this month. It would be perfect if I had been able to be in Lorraine when you arrived to pay you my respects and update you everything that depends on me. I have asked Madame de Couvonges to make up for my absence and to render to you all the duties and services that she can do. Therefore, sir, free from all that belongs to me, since I can have no more satisfaction than to be good to you for something and to give you proofs of my respectful regard for you.

I had already seen by my instructions what Your Excellency does me the honour to tell me, as much on the improvements of the draft as on the conditions of the marriage. But the treaty still needs to be signed, and the ambassadors have become individuals who interfere in nothing and who answer for nothing.

Therefore, it is necessary to address these ministers who do not explain themselves. I have presented the first memorandum which I have attached to this dispatch and has not yet been answered. I am going to Versailles tomorrow for a few days, to see what they want to say to me, and will await your orders

for the remainder. However, Monsieur de Pomponne has assured me that you received him at Nancy, and that there would be no difficulty in putting you in possession of the authority.

I see no evidence of saving anything from the walls of the new town for the reasons which I explain in the large letter which I have written to you. For the rest, it will be necessary to try to have them explained by the memoirs which you will order me to present to them. It seems that they will be able to leave the provostship[361] of Longwy while keeping the city, but nothing is given but empty promises.

As for marriage, Mademoiselle will be married, as the little girls of France have been married. But it is hinted that gifts will be made in money or in furniture, yet I have not yet entered any details, having no order to do so, and I believe that I must I have the honour to see you before anything is decided on this. I am dying of impatience and want to assure you better that I can do nothing here, and that I will always be with the utmost respect, Sir.

Your most humble and most obedient servant, Couvanges

Count Couvanges to the Earl of Carlingford. À Paris 12 February 1698. (277)

Monsieur,

Je viens marquer a Votre Excellence la joie que j'ai du rétablissement de Sa santé et de ce qu'elle est enclin entrée en possession de la Lorraine, espérant qu'elle aura reconnu que le retardement que l' on a apporte, ne vient pas de ma faute, ni d'aucune négligence, puisque j'ose assurer k Votre Excellence

que je fais ce que je puis pour l'avantage de Son Altesse Serenissimi et la satisfaction de Votre Excellence; mais on est bien éloigne de faire ce que l' on veut, je ne cesserai de vous supplier d'envoyer un autre, qui soit plus lieur eux et plus habile que moi, et qui y réussisse mieux.

J'arrivais hier de Versailles, ou j'ai entrepris et tente tous les moyens possibles pour obtenir quelques adoucissements sur la démolition de Nancy, mais jusqu'a cette lieurs je trouve le Roi et ses Ministres si fermes que je n'ose m'en rien promettre; je suivrai encore tous les degrés que Monsieur l'Abbe le Bégué me prescrit par l'ordre de Votre Excellence, et ne me lasserai pas d'y persister.

Je retournerai Dimanche pour présenter un mémoire pour les autres choses que Monsieur le Bégué me marque, puisque Votre Excellence le juge a propos. Je demanderai des commissaires pour les équivalents et tâcherai de savoir les sentiments du Roi, tant sur Marsal que sur Longwy, les bénéfices et sur toute autre chose, et ferai mes efforts pour ne rien oublier. Mais j'ose encore répéter a Votre Excellence que tant que Son Altesse Serenissime ne sera pas dans ses états, je doute qu'on puisse rien obtenir, pour les raisons que je vous ai tant de fois marquées, et avec tout cela je n'ose répondre que les choses aillent mieux, tant l' on s'attache ici au traite; mais il est sur que si l' on a a faire quelque chose, que ce ne sera qu'âpres son arrivée, et c'est ce qui m'avait fait vous proposer d'attendre ce temps-la et la conclusion du mariage comme le plus favorable; mais puisque Votre Excellence ne le juge pas a propos, j'obéirai sans répliquer. J'ai mande a Monsieur le Bégué par l'ordinaire dernier ce que j'avais pû découvrir pour les finances et comme j'avais donne des lettrés a des gens qui n'ont trouve Votre Excellence pour lui faire des propositions; j'en ai fait le portrait que je ne reporterai pas ici. Il y a encore d'autres gens qui ont envie des fermes et de faire d'autres établissements, dont je rendrai compte a Votre Excellence comme de tout ce qui viendra a ma connaissance. Le Milord Portland est ici,

[361] The office or jurisdiction of a provost, usually associated with a cathedral or college.

qui parait vouloir prendre de grandes liaisons avec la France; il fait fort la cour et tache de s'y rendre agréable.

Le Roi d'Angleterre a défendu Il tous ses gens de n'avoir aucune communication avec ceux qui sont venus avec le Milord Portland, et même de ne pas venir a Paris pendant qu'il j sera, de peur de quelque querelle entre les gens de cette nation. Cependant j'ai vu le Milord Galmoy, qui m'a fort charge de faire ses compliments a Votre Excellence et de lui dire qu'il fera son possible pour Taller voir; il me parait dans la résolution de voir le Milord Portland et de tacher par son moyen de retourner sur ses biens; il y en a plusieurs autres dans le même dessein, et l' on ne doute pas qu'ils ne l'obtiennent avec les conditions que l' on tiendra avec eux, tant il est vrai qu'il n'est que de rentrer chez soi, ce qui me fait encore répéter a Votre Excellence qu'il est de nécessite que Son Altesse Serenissime y revienne le plu stot qu'il pourra, et qu'il paraisse quel traitement qu'on lui fasse de vouloir y rester et bien vivre avec cette cour ici, espérant que le reste viendra âpres.

C'est, Monsieur, ce que peut dire a Votre Excellence pour cette fois celui qui est et sera le reste de ses jours avec le dernier respect. Monsieur, de Votre Excellence

le très-humble et très-obeissant serviteur, Couvanges m/p.

Translation: Count Couvanges to the Earl of Carlingford. Paris 12 February 1698.

Sir,

I come to mark to Your Excellency the joy that I have at the restoration of your health and that you are inclined to come into possession of Lorraine. I hope you recognize that the delay that has been brought about does not come at my fault or negligence. I assure you that I do what I can for your advantage and advantage and satisfaction. Yet we are very far from everything what we want. I begging you to send someone who is better at getting the other side to agree than me who may have greater success..

I arrived yesterday from Versailles, where I undertook and tried all possible means to obtain some progress on the restoration of Nancy. Until then, I find the King and his Ministers so firm that I dare not to promise anything. I still follow all the directions that the Abbe le Bégué prescribes for me based on your order and will keep pursuing on them.

I will return on Sunday to present a memorandum for the other things that Monsieur le Bégué points out to me that you think fit. I will ask the commissioners for the equivalents and will try to find out the King's feelings, as much on Marsal as on Longwy, the benefits and on anything else, and will do my best not to forget anything. But I must repeat to that as long as His Serene Highness is not in Nancy, and, for the reasons that I have pointed out to you so many time, I doubt that we can settle anything. With all this, I don't dare to tell you that things are going better, so attached are we here to the treaty.

But it is certain that if we must do something, it won't be until after his arrival, and that is what made me suggest that you wait for that time and the conclusion of the marriage as a better time to conclude things, but you do not think it appropriate, I will obey without saying any more.

I asked Monsieur le Bégué by the last post what I had been able to discover for the finances and how I had given letters to people who did not find Your Excellency to make him proposals; I made the portrait that I will not report here. There are still other people who want farms and other establishments, about which I will report to Your Excellency as well as everything that comes to my

knowledge. Milord Portland[362] is here, who seems to wish to establish great relations with France. He keeps court and tries to make himself comfortable in it.

The King of England has forbidden all his people to have any communication with those who have come with the Lord Portland, and even not to come to Paris while he is there, for fear of some quarrel between the people of this nation. However, I saw Milord Galmoy,[363] who has asked me to pay his compliments to Your Excellency and to tell him that he will do his best to go and see; it seems to me in the resolution to see the Milord Portland and to try by its means to return on its goods. There are several others with the same intention, and there is no doubt that they will obtain it with the conditions that will be held with them, so true is it that it is only a matter of returning home itself, which again makes me repeat to Your Excellency that it is necessary for His Serene Highness to return there as soon as he can, and that it seems what treatment he is being given to want to stay there and live well with this court here, hoping the rest will come after.

It is, Sir, what can say to Your Excellency for this time the one who is and will be the rest of his days with the last respect, Sir, Your Excellency, the humblest and most obedient servant,

Combines m/p.

Count Couvanges to the Earl of Carlingford. Paris, 19 February 1698. (279)

Monsieur,

J'ai a répondre aux deux lettrés que Votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire les 13. et 14. de ce mois, la dernière par le Sieur Narval, qui m'a rendu celles de Son Altesse Serenissime avec son portrait, sur quoi je rendrai compte a Votre Excellence de ce que j'ai fait depuis nies dernières.

Le Sieur Narval m'est venu trouver a Versailles dans le temps que je donnais un mémoire aux ministres sur ce que Votre Excellence m'ordonnait; je demandais une audience au Roi, qu'il me donna hier dans son cabinet; je lui présentais la lettre de Son Altesse Serenissime et lui exprimais de mon mieux ses sentiments, lui disant qu'il n'avait d'autres intentions que de lui donner des preuves de son attachement inviolable pour sa personne et sa couronne, desquelles il devait être persuade par toutes les démarches qu'il faisait, et par l'envie qu'il avait d'entrer dans son alliance, espérant par-la non seulement d'entrer sincèrement dans l' honneur de ses bonnes grâces, mais encore recevoir des marques de sa bonté, ne voulant tenir que de cette seule bonté et dangerosité les adoucissements et améliorations que ses ambassadeurs a Risvick avaient fait espérer a ceux de Son Altesse Serenissime.

J'entrais ensuite dans le détail, lui répétant ce que j'avais demande plusieurs fois sur les murailles de Nancy, sur quoi il me répondit qu'il avait la meilleure intention du monde de donner a Son Altesse Serenissime des preuves de son amitié, et de faire tout ce qui lui pourrait être agréable, pour gagner la sienne, mais que pour les murailles de Nancy il m'avait déjà dit qu'il devait a son état de ne le pas laisser expose a soufFrir une grande place, laquelle dans les temps a, venir pourrait nuire a son royaume, non pas de son temps, ni de celui de Son Altesse Serenissime, en qui il prendrait confiance par l'assurance que je lui donnais de ses sentiments, puisque pour lui il croyait être en état de ne rien craindre, mais qu'en la place où il était, il devait prévoir l'avenir. A quoi je lui répondis que sa puissance était si grande et celle d'un royaume aussi puissant que le sien, qu'il n'y avait rien a craindre d'un Due de Lorraine, quel parti il puisse prendre, que l'expérience ne nous avait que trop fait voir ce qu'il nous en avait coute, lorsqu'on avait voulu prendre un contraire, que c'était une plaie qui ne

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362 William Bentinck, a close advisor to King William III of the Netherlands.

363 Probably Piers Butler, 3rd Viscount of Galmoye, in County Kilkenny, Ireland. He fought for several armies.

saignait que trop par l'état ou était réduit notre pays, et mille autres raisons que je taclais de lui représenter le mieux qu'il me fut possible, que je lui demandais en dernière grâce pour mon maitre, et en faveur du mariage de Mademoiselle, qui ne pouvait voir qu'avec douleur cette capitale toute délabrée, sur quoi il me répondit les propres termes: Vous me trouvez sans doute dur et trop ferme, mais je vous assure que la seule raison d'état me fait vous refuser plu stot que mon inclination. Apres avoir répondu a ses dictions, je me retranchais sur les courtines, lui faisant voir qu'en démolissant seulement les bastions et y faisant a la gorge de simples murailles, ce serait une ville sans défense, qui ne pouvait donner aucun ombrage, sur quoi il me dit qu'ayant im gros rempart derrière, les bastions seraient rétablis en peu de temps, et qu"il ne pouvait non plus accorder les courtines. Me voyant done refuse de tout, je lui proposais du moins qu'en ôtant les terres il pourrait nous laisser les murailles des courtines, qui ne seraient plus que la même qui était accordée par le traite et qui déchargerait mon maitre de la dépense d'en faire une autre, que j'espérais qu'il ne me refuserait pas cette grâce, puisque je ne la demandais que pour éviter la dépense; il me répondit qu'il se ferait rendre compte de cela, et qu'il ferait son possible pour la satisfaction de mon maitre et qu'en ôtant les contre-forts il pourrait faire quelque chose. Je lui parlais ensuite de l'équivalent de Longwy et lui demandais de nous laisser la prévôté et de se contenter du jus praesidii de la -place, ce que par-la il n'y aurait qu'un petit équivalent a nous donner; il me répondit qu'il ne le pouvait pas a cause du Luxembourg et qu'il lui fallait une frontière en ce canton-la, mais qu'il nous donnerait un équivalent a la satisfaction de mon maitre, qu'il voulait non seulement exécuter le traite de bonne foi, mais donner a Son Altesse Serenissimi toute la satisfaction qu'il pouvait, et qu'il ferait examiner mon mémoire et m'y ferait répondre de manière a nous contenter avec des paroles très-honnêtes.

Je lui parlais ensuite du portrait et de l'impatience que Son Altesse Serenissime avait d'être dans ses états, sur quoi il me marqua grande satisfaction, me témoignant qu'il avait aussi impatience de l'y savoir arrive et de le voir son neveu; il me dit de porter le portrait a Monsieur, qu'il était juste que lui et Mademoiselle le voient les premiers et qu'âpres Monsieur le lui porterait et qu'il le verrait avec plaisir.

Je revins done hier ici et le portais a Monsieur, qui le reçut avec grande joie et mille marques de bonté et d'amitié et l'enferma dans son cabinet et ne le voulut montrer a personne, que Madame et Mademoiselle ne soient venues, lesquelles allèrent le voir aussitôt et trouvèrent Son Altesse Serenissime très-bien faite et avec un grand air; tous ceux qui le virent, en furent charmes, surtout Mademoiselle, qui reçut la lettre de Son Altesse Serenissimi avec grande démonstration de joie. Monsieur, Madame et Mademoiselle font ce qu'ils peuvent, mais la dureté est si grande que personne n'a de credit.

Voila, Monsieur, tout ce que j'ai pu faire, étant au désespoir de ne pouvoir mieux; mais c'est une chose cruelle que d'être réduit a des simples prières; je garderai le Sieur Narval jusqu'a ce que je sois de retour de Versailles et j'irai Dimanche pour voir la réponse a mon mémoire, afin d'en rendre compte a Son Altesse Serenissime et a Votre Excellence et de recevoir vos ordres, aux quels je serai toujours trés-soumis, étant avec tout le respect que je dois, de Votre Excellence

le très-humble et très-obeissant serviteur, Couvanges m/p.

Translation: Count Convonges to the Earl of Carlingford. Paris, 19 February 1698

Sir,

I must reply to the two letters that Your Excellency did me the honour of writing to me on the 13th and 14th of this month, the last by Mister Narval, who returned to me those of His Serene Highness with his portrait, on which I will report to Your Excellency on what I have done since my last days.

Mister Narval came to see me at Versailles when I was briefing the ministers on what Your Excellency ordered me to do. I asked for an audience with the King, which he gave me yesterday in his cabinet. I presented to him the letter of His Serene Highness and expressed to him as best I could his feelings, telling him that he had no other intention than to give him proofs of his inviolable attachment for his person and his crown, of which he owed to be persuaded by all the steps he took, and by the desire he had to enter into his alliance, hoping thereby not only to enter sincerely into the honour of his good graces, but also to receive marks of his goodness, wishing only to hold from this only goodness and dangerousness the alleviations and improvements which his ambassadors at Risvick had made those of His Serene Highness hope for.

I then went into detail, repeating to him that I had asked several times about the walls of Nancy. He replied that he had the best intention in the world to give His Serene Highness proof of his friendship, and to do all that could be agreeable to him, to gain his own, However, that for the walls of Nancy he demanded that he agree to a place, which in the coming times, could harm his kingdom. He replied that he currently doesn't have anything to fear, but the Duke he had to think about the future. To which I replied that the strength of France was great and that of a kingdom as powerful as his, there was nothing to fear from a Due de Lorraine. Experience had shown us only too well what it had cost us, when we had wanted to take an opposite side. We had suffered a wound which bled too much as demonstrated by the state to which our country was reduced and a thousand other reasons. I was trying to present to him as best I could that I was asking him as a last favour for my master, and to facilitate of the marriage of Mademoiselle. She could only look upon this dilapidated capital with pain.

He answered stiffly: You doubtless find me hard and too firm, but I assure you that reasons of state alone make me refuse you faster than I would like to. After having answered his dictions, I entrenched myself on the curtain walls, showing him that by only demolishing the bastions and making simple walls at the throat, it would be a defenceless city. It could not give any protection. He told me that having a large rampart behind, the bastions would be re-established in a short time, and therefor he could not grant the walls either!

Seeing that he had refused me everything, I proposed to him at least that by taking away the land he could leave us the curtain walls, which would be no more than the same which had been granted by the treaty and which would relieve my master of the expense of erecting others. I hoped he would not refuse me this concession, since I only asked for it to avoid the expense. He replied that he would make himself aware of this, and that he would do his best for the satisfaction of my master and that by removing the buttresses he could do something.

I then spoke to him about the equivalent of Longwy and asked him to leave us the provostship and to be content with the protection of the place, which there would be only a small equivalent to give us. He replied that he could not because of Luxembourg and that he needed a border in that canton. However, he would give us an equivalent to the satisfaction of my master, whom he not only wanted to execute the treaty it in good faith, but to also give His Serenissimi all the satisfaction he could. He would have my memorandum studied and have me answer it in such a way as to content ourselves with very honest words.

I then spoke to him about the portrait and the impatience that His Serene Highness had to be in his states, whereupon he marked me with great satisfaction, testifying to me that he was also impatient to know that he had arrived there and to visit his nephew. He told me to take the portrait to Monsieur, that it was right that he and Mademoiselle see it first and that afterwards Monsieur would take it to him and that he would see it with pleasure.

So, I came back here yesterday and took it to Monsieur, who received it with great joy and a thousand tokens of kindness and friendship and locked it up in his closet and would not show it to anyone until

Madame and Mademoiselle had come. I went to see him immediately and found His Serene Highness very well made and with a grand air. All those who saw it were charmed by it, especially Mademoiselle, who received His Highness Serenissimi's letter with great demonstration of joy. Monsieur, Madame and Mademoiselle do what they can, but the harshness is so great that no one has any credit.

Here, sir, is all I could do, being in despair at not being able to do better; but it is a cruel thing to be reduced to simple prayers. I will keep Mister Narval until I am back from Versailles, and I will go on Sunday to see the answer to my memo, in order to report to His Serene Highness and Your Excellency and to receive your orders, at the which I will always be very submissive, being with all due respect, of Your Excellency, the humblest and most obedient servant,

Convonges m/p.

Mr. le Begue's Answer to the Above Letter. 22 February 1698. (282)

Je commence ma lettre, Monsieur, par vous dire que la votre du 19. a contente Son Excellence, quoique vous n'obteniez rien; vous ne pouvez errer en demandant, ni en faisant connaitre a Monsieur et a Madame que 1500 ou 1600" de rentes ne donneront pas lieu de faire une grande dépense en Lorraine, ou il faut tout bâtir et faire tout a neuf, si le Roi ne nous aide en toutes manières.

Continuez a faire ce que vous pourrez pour sauver nos pauvres murailles et les terrasses pour les promenades de Mademoiselle, mais si cela ne se peut, il faut nous contenter des murailles; je ne sais, si ce que Sa Majesté a appelé contre-forts, ce sont certains éperons, qui soutiennent par le dedans le talus des courtines, done la muraille tomberait sans cela; enfin faites tout de votre mieux, pensez aussi a Marsal. Nous avons ici obtenu du Chevalier d' Enonville de faire cesser la sape des courtines et d'appliquer les les ouvriers aux bastions et au-dehors, de sorte qu'il faut tacher d'obtenir bientôt l'ordre de les conserver; c'est ce que j'ai le loisir de vous dire aujourd'hui sur les affaires publiques.

Translation: Mr. le Begue's Answer to the Above Letter 22 February 1698

I begin my letter, Sir, by telling you that your letter of the 19th satisfied His Excellency, even though you gained no concessions. You cannot err in asking or letting Monsieur and Madame know that 1500m or 1600m[364] of income will not give rise to a great expense in Lorraine, where everything must be built and everything new if the King does not help us in every way.

Continue to do what you can to save our poor walls and the terraces for Mademoiselle's promenades, but if that is not possible, we must content ourselves with the walls. I don't know if what His Majesty called buttresses are certain spurs which support the slope of the curtain walls from the inside, so the wall would fall without it. Finally do everything your best, also think of Marsal. We have obtained here agreement from the Chevalier d' Enonville[365] to put an end to the undermining of the curtain walls and to apply the workers to the bastions and outside, so that we must try to obtain the order to preserve them soon; this is what I have the leisure to tell you today about public affairs.

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[364] French currency at the time was the French Mark, as denoted by the [m] superscript following the number
[365] Possibly Louis d'Eon de Beaumont (1695-1749)

Mr. le Begue to the Count de Couvanges. 28. February 1698. (283)

Je n'ai rien a ajouter, Monsieur, a mes dernières ni a cc que le Milord vous écrit, et je me réduis a vous envoyer une liste non signée, que Cuny nous a donnée de l'artillerie qui était a Nancy; celle de Marsal nous doit être aussi rendue comme vous le savez avec toutes les munitions de guerre et de bouche qui étaient dans cette place en 1663. Voyez done de nous obtenir incessamment des ordres pour qu'on n'emmène pas le peu de canons, qui sont ici et qu'on y laisse quelque munition, parce qu'il y a ici un commissaire qui a ordre de tout emmener jusqu'a trente mille palissades coupées dans nos bois, et on nous demande trente chariots par jour pour en faire la voiture de l'arsenal au Kroeu sans payer, de sorte que nous nous voyons encore tous les jours charges; on nous demande même des brouettes a 30 sols, ce que nous avons refuse, mais bien de fournir des chariots et brouettes en payant au prix dont le Milord conviendra avec les officiers du Roi; enfin si on n'a pitié de ce pauvre pays et si on ne donne pas une interprétation douce au traite, il est impossible d'y résister; ménagez done le soulagement du pays le mieux que vous pourrez, et parce qu'il y a mille choses a quoi vous ne pouvez fournir, le Milord croit que vous auriez besoin de quelque second pour vous aider; si vous êtes de ce sentiment, mandez-moi, qui vous croiriez propre a cela, et croyez-moi comme je le suis etc…

Nancy le 28. Février 1698.

Translation: Mr. le Begue to the Count de Couvonges 28 February 1698 (French)

Sir, I have nothing to add to my latest message or to what the Milord is writing to you. I am reduced to sending you an unsigned list, which Cuny gave us from the artillery which was in Nancy. As you know, that of Marsal must also be returned to us along with all the ammunition plus that which was already here in 1663.

Be sure to obtain orders for us immediately so that we do not take away the few guns that are here and that we leave some ammunition there. A commissioner here has orders to bring up to 30,000 palisades cut in our woods and we are asked for thirty carts a day to make journey from the arsenal to Kroeu[366] without paying, so that we still see each other charged every day. We are even asked to sell them wheelbarrows at 30 sols, which we have refused, but to provide carts and wheelbarrows by paying at the price which the Milord will agree with the King's officers.

Finally, if we should have pity on this poor country and give a gentle interpretation to the treaty, it is impossible to resist. Spare the relief of the country as best you can, and because there are a thousand things you cannot provide, the Milord believes that you would need a few others to help you. If you are of this feeling, let me know, who do you think fit for this, and believe me as I am etc…

Nancy on February 28, 1698.

Mr. de la Fond to the Earl of Carlingford, À Strasbourg 1 March 1698 (283)

Monsieur,

Etant arrive hier dans cette ville pour faire la fonction d'intendant de la province d'Alsace, Monsieur de la Grange m'a remis une lettre que vous lui avez fait l'honneur de lui éerire au sujet des peuples de

[366] Possibly Krawkow, Hungary.

Saint Hypolite367 et ses dépendances, que vous croyez ne devoir être plus compris dans les charges publiques de la dite province d'Alsace; je ne suis pas encore assez instruit de cette matière pour pouvoir vous en rendre un compte positif, cependant il me parait qu au terme des articles quatre et trente et im du traite de paix conclu à Riswick que j'ai lus exactement, la souveraineté du dit lieu de Saint Hypolite doit demeurer à Sa Majesté; dans peu de temps je serai plus en état de vous marquer mon sentiment, et j'ai honneur d'être avec respect.

Monsieur, Votre très-humble et très-obeissant serviteur, de la Fond.

Translation: Mr. de la Fond to the Earl of Carlingford Strasbourg, 1 March 1698

Sir,

Having arrived yesterday in this city to act as intendant of the province of Alsace, Monsieur de la Grange gave me a letter that you did him the honour of writing to him about the peoples of Saint Hypolite and its dependencies, which you believe should no longer be included in the public charges of the province of Alsace. I am not yet sufficiently instructed in this matter to be able to give you approval for it, however it seems to me that at the end of articles four[368] and thirty[369] and in of the treaty of peace concluded at Riswick which I have read exactly, the sovereignty of the said place of Saint Hypolite must remain with His Majesty. In a short time, I will be in a better position to express my feelings to you, and I have the honour to be respectful. Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant of the Fund.

Count Couvanges to the Earl of Carlingford, À Paris le 30 June 1698. (284)

Monsieur,

J'ai reçu la lettre que Votre Excellence m a fait l' honneur de m'écrire le vingt-trois de ce mois, par laquelle je vois la bonté qu'elle a de s intéresser a une santé aussi inutile que la mienne pour votre

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367 *Saint Hypolite,* is a charming village in the midst of French wine country in southeaster France named after St. Hippolytus, the patron saint of prison workers and horses. What's known of him is based on fragmented historical records, but he is thought to have live around 170-235 AD both in Rome and in the Middle East.

368 The text of article four reads: "IV. Particularly there shall be delivered up to his Imperial Majesty, to the Empire, and to its States and Members, all the Places and Rights situate out of Alsati that have been in the possession of, and occupied and enjoyed by his most Christian Majesty, as well during the present War, by way of Fact and Deed, as by way of Unions and Reunions, or that have been expressed in the Catalogue of Reunions produced by the Ambassadors of France, nulling to this purpose all the Decrees, Determinations, Ads and Declarations made upon this account by the Chambers of Metz, and Besancon, and by the Council of Brissiac: and all things shall be reduced to the same condition wherein they were before the aforesaid Seizures, Unions, or Reunions, without putting the possessors of the said places to any further trouble or molestation, the Roman Catholic religion nevertheless remaining settled in the aforementioned places, in the same manner as it is at present." *Alstati* is Latin for Alsace, a region in France

369 The text of article thirty reads: "XXX. His Most Christian Majesty shall likewise cause the Castle of Bitsch to be evacuated, with all its Appurtenances; as also the Castle of Hombourg, by causing all the Fortifications to be razed beforehand, that they may never more be repaired: yet of that the aforesaid Castles and Cities that are adjacent thereto, may receive no Damage thereby, but may remain totally untouched." The Castle of Bitche is located in northeaster France with a citadel based on the castle built there in the 13th century. This was a contested area, a times being claimed by several different countries. Part of the castle is built into sandstone and supplied with a deep well, making it virtually impregnable. The Castle of Homburg is in Bod Homburg, Germany, close to Frankfurt. At this time, the castle would have been relatively new, the original 12th century structure being replaced in 1680-1685 under Friedrich II. It is now a museum. Relevant to our Count Couvanges trying to get changes made to the castle in Lorraine, the is no mention of it in Article XXX.

service mais que je voudrais pouvoir employer an gré de Son Altesse Serenissime et de Votre Excellence. Il me parait par cette lettre que Son Altesse Serenissime est satisfaire de ma conduite au sujet de Monseigneur le Due Delbeuf, mais je vois en même temps qu'il a envoie un gentilhomme auprès d'elle pour lui demander des lettrés qui le justifient sur ce qu'il a avance au Roi de sa part, et il se vante ici de les avoir. ce qui serait absolument contraire a ce que Son Altesse Serenissime et Votre Excellence m'ont ordonne de dire e, sur quoi le Roi me répondit fort oblige animent qu'il ne l' avait pas exige et qu'il n'y avait consent! que sur les presses que Monseigneur Delbeuf lui en avait faites de sa part, entrant avec bonté dans les raisons pour ne pas faire ce voyage ainsi que j'en ai rendu compte a Son Altesse Serenissimi et a Votre Excellence, qui aura la bonté de remarquer que je n'ai eu l' honneur de voir le Roi qu'âpres que Monsignor. Delbeuf lui avait demande permission de retourner en Lorraine, qu'il lui refusa avec les circonstances que j'ai marquées par toutes mes lettrés; il est vrai que j'avais eu l' honneur de voir Monsieur par hasard, a qui j'avais explique les sentiments de Son Altesse Serenissime, qui les avait dits au Roi, et qui se sont trouves si peu conformes a ce que Monsignor. Delbeuf avait avance au Roi, que c'est ce qui lui a attire ce dont il est si touche.

Il faut aussi remarquer que Monsieur de Borsolle revenant d'auprès de Son Altesse Serenissime le Roi lui demanda s'il était vrai qu'il ait tant d'envie de venir a la cour; il répondit a Sa Majesté qu'il n'en avait pas oui" parler, que Son Altesse Serenissime ne lui en avait pas dit un mot, et qu'il n'y avait vu aucune apparence: ce qui a confirme ce que j'ai dit.

Il est done question de savoir si Son Altesse Serenissime veut venir ou non, puisque Monseigneur Delbeuf soutient qu'il a dit vrai au Roi et que c'est moi qui ai menti; car si Son Altesse Serenissime lui a donne des lettrés qui confirment ce qu'il a avance, ou Votre Excellence, il faut absolument se dédire de l'ordre que l' on m'a donne et me faire trouver menteur; je laisse a juger a Votre Excellence quel coup c'est pour moi et quel effet cela fera pour les affaires de Son Altesse Serenissime dans la suite de la commission dont il m'a honore, qu'il faut absolument me révoquer et me renvoyer en quelque coin de terre sans jamais me montrer; car il n'y a pas de milieu en cela, puisqu'il faut une fois vérifier, qui a dit vrai, ou Monseigneur Delbeuf ou moi, et si Son Altesse Serenissime trouve que c'est lui, il faut qu'il exécute ce qu'il a avance de sa part et qu'il vienne ici.

A l'égard des commissions Votre Excellence me dit que Monsignor. le Due Delbeuf s'en départe et qu'on me les laisse, comme si c'était une chose que je désire; je la supplie aussi de se souvenir de ce qu'elle m'a dit la-dessus en partant et même de m'en décharger, si elle croit que lui ou un autre s'en acquitte mieux que moi; il a dit partout qu'il on avait pour 400m livres, pour lesquelles il avait des lettrés de change, et il avait mis tous les marchands de Paris en oeuvre la-dessus.

Les choses sont ici si chères que j'ai honte de m'en mêler, les beaux velours de Venise étant de prix de cinquante livres l'aune et le reste a proportion; j'ai commande deux carrosses du corps pour Mademoiselle, l'un de ville et l'autre de campagne, et deux pour Son Altesse Serenissime, l'un grand et un autre coupe, croyant que l' on a des carrosses de delà, qui peuvent servir pour la suite en les faisant raccommoder.

Quant aux chevaux dont Votre Excellence me parle, je conviens qu'il est de nécessite d'avoir un attelage tel qu'elle le marque, mais je crois qu'on le tirerait plus aisément et a meilleur marche de Hollande; Votre Excellence ordonnera la-dessus ce qu'elle jugera a propos.

Pour les vautrés choses a acheter, comme vaisselle, toilette, habits et ce qui regarde la garde-robe, j'ai envoye un mémoire a Son Altesse Serenissime, comme il me l'avait ordonne en partant, contenant ma pensée, et je supplie Votre Excellence de m'en faire envoyer un spécifique et bien détaille afin que je suive exactement les ordres que l' on me donnera la-dessus.

Il faut aussi, s'il vous plait, penser de bonne heure aux présents a faire aux officiers du Roi qui amèneront Mademoiselle.

Et pour le portrait a diamants que Votre Excellence propose d'envoyer, c'est une coutume qui n'est nullement en usage ici et dont l' on se moquerait, mais l' on est accoutume d'envoyer un présent de pierreries aussitôt que l' on a accorde la demande faite, et l' on s'est ici étonne qu'il ne soit pas déjà donne; c'est ainsi que Monseigneur le Due de Savoie en a use.

Votre Excellence peut juger mieux que moi la nécessite ou je suis d'avoir quelqu'un ici pour m'aider et être avec moi dans les visites que j'ai ordre de faire aux ministres étrangers dans les affaires de la cour, et si l' on obtient la qualité d'ambassadeur pour la signature du contrat de mariage et la conduite de Mademoiselle; c'est ce qui m'a fait proposer de laisser ici Monsieur Villemin avec moi; c'est a Votre Excellence d'en ordonner, et si elle juge a propos qu'il reste, d'ordonner quelque chose pour sa subsistance; je la supplie de me répondre la-dessus. J'ai envoye a Monsieur l'Abbe le Begue im mémoire de Monsieur de Cheuremont. Votre Excellence en jugera, mais si l' on veut s'en servir, je crois qu'il est nécessaire qu'il fasse im voyage de delà, auquel cas il faut lui ordonner quelque chose pour son voyage, car il ne partira pas sans cela.

Les vers de Monsieur de Raigecour sont assez beaux pour les montrer a Mademoiselle, mais l' on a le gout ici si délicat que je ne puis dire quel succès ils auront.

Cette lettre-ci n'étant déjà que trop longue, je n'importunerai pas davantage Votre Excellence, remettant a Monsieur le Begue a lui rendre compte du reste des affaires de Son Altesse Serenissime; je me contenterai done d'assurer Votre Excellence de la continuation des respects de celui qui sera toujours trais parfaitement,

Monsieur, de Votre Excellence, le très-humble et très-obeissant serviteur, Couvanges m/p.

P.S. Depuis ma lettre écrite j'apprends que Monsieur Delbeuf a reçu par son courrier des lettrés de Son Altesse Serenissime et de Votre Excellence, dont il donne copie a tout le monde, par lesquelles il parait qu'il n'a rien dit que par les ordres de Son Altesse Serenissime; si cela est ainsi, c'est bien le contraire de ce que Son Altesse Serenissime et Votre Excellence m'ont ordonne de dire ici.

Translation: Count Couvonges to the Earl of Carlingford, In Paris June 30, 1698

Sir,

I have received the letter which you did me the honour of writing to me on the 23rd of this month, in which I see the goodness of your being interested in the health of someone as useless as me for your service, even though I would like to be able to employ help His Serene Highness and Your Excellency.

It seems to me through this letter that His Serene Highness is satisfied with my conduct regarding the Duke Delbeuf,[370] but I see at the same time that he has sent a nice-man near her to ask her for letters who justify him on what he has advanced to the King on his behalf, and he boasts here of having them, which would be absolutely contrary to what His Serene Highness and what Your Excellency had ordered me to say.

[370] Probably Henry of Lorraine (1661-1748), 4th Duke of Elbeuf. In 1698, as the eldest of the Lorraine princes, he would marry by proxy on behalf of Duke Leopold I or Lorraine, Elizabeth Charloette d'Orleans, also known as Mademoiselle de Chatres, the niece of Louis XIV. Such proxy marriages were common amongst royalty when travel was impossible and the marriages may have been more of a matter of diplomacy than affection.

Then the King answered me very obligingly that he had neither demanded it nor consented to it! That on the press that Delbeuf had given him on his part, kindly entering into the reasons for not making this trip as I reported to His Highness Serenissimi and Your Excellency.

You should note I had the honour of seeing the King only after Delbeuf had asked him permission to return to Lorraine, which, under the circumstances, he refused. It is true that I had the honour of seeing Monsieur by chance, to whom I had explained the feelings of His Serene Highness, who had said them to the King, and who found himself so little in conformity with what Delbeuf had advanced to the King that this is what attracted him to what he is so touched.

It should also be noted that Monsieur de Borsolle, returning from His Serene Highness the King, asked him if it was true that he desired to come to court. He replied to His Majesty that he had not spoken of it, that His Serene Highness had not said a word to him about it, and that he had seen no appearance of it. This confirmed what I said.

It is therefore a question of knowing whether His Serene Highness wants to come or not, since Monseigneur Delbeuf maintains that he told the King the truth and that it was I who lied. Because if His Serene Highness or Your Excellency has given him letters who confirm what he has said, it is absolutely necessary to retract what you told me and have me found a liar. I leave it to Your Excellency to judge what a blow it is for me and what effect it will have on the affairs of His Serene Highness in the continuation of the commission with which he has honoured me. It would then be necessary to recall me and send me back to some corner of the earth without ever letting me out, because there is no middle ground and it is necessary to quickly verify who said the truth, Monseigneur Delbeuf or me. If His Serene Highness finds that it is him, he must carry out this that Delbeuf has said on his behalf and that he comes here.

With regard to the commissions Your Excellency tells me that Monsignor, the Duke De Elbeuf part with them and leave them to me, as if it were something I wanted; I also beg her to remember what she said to me on the subject when she left and even to discharge me of it, if she thinks that he or someone else is doing it better than me; he said everywhere that he had for 400,000 pounds, for which he had letters of exchange, and he had put all the merchants of Paris to work on it.

Things are so expensive here that I am ashamed to deal in them. The fine velvets of Venice being priced at £50 per yard and the rest in proportion. I have ordered two coaches from the corps for Mademoiselle, one for town and the other for the country, and two for His Serene Highness, one large and another cut, believing that we have other coaches which can be used later by having them mended.

As for the horses of which Your Excellency asks, I agree that it is necessary to have a team, but I believe that it would be drawn more easily and more cheaply from Holland. Your Excellency will order whatever you think appropriate.

For the miscellaneous things to buy, such as crockery, toiletries, clothes and what concerns the wardrobe, I have sent a memorandum containing my ideas to His Serene Highness, as he had requested when I left. I beg Your Excellency to have a specific and well-detailed one sent to me so that I can follow exactly the orders given to me on the subject.

You must also, please, think early about presents to give to the King's officers who will bring Mademoiselle.

And for the portrait in diamonds which Your Excellency proposes to send, it is a custom which is not followed here, and would be embarrassing. But it *is* customary to send a present of precious stones as soon as we have granted the request made. I'm surprised that it is not already given.

Your Excellency may judge better than I the necessity to have someone here aid and accompany me in visits which I have been orered to make to foreign ministers on court business. I would like that person to have the rank of an ambassador for signing the marriage contract and the conduct of Mademoiselle. This is what made me propose to leave Monsieur Villemin be here with me.

It is up to your Excellency to order that, and if you think fit that such a person remain here, to order something for his living expenses. I beg her to answer me on this.

I have sent Monsieur l'Abbe le Begueby way of Monsieur de Cheuremont. Your Excellency will judge of it, but if we want to make use of it. I believe it is necessary that he make a journey from beyond, in which case we must order him something for his journey, because he will not leave without that.

The verses of Monsieur de Raigecour are beautiful enough to show them to Mademoiselle. But tastes here are so delicate I cannot say what success they will have.

This letter being already only too long, I will not bother Your Excellency any further, leaving Monsieur le Begue to report to you on the rest of the affairs of His Serene Highness. I will therefore content myself with assuring Your Excellency of my continued respect for him who will always be treated perfectly. Sir, Your Excellency, your most humble and most obedient servant,

Combines m/p.

P.S. Since my written letter, I learn that Monsieur Delbeuf has received by his courier letters from His Serene Highness and Your Excellency, of which he gives a copy to everyone, by which it seems that he said nothing except by the orders of His Serene Highness. If so, it is quite the opposite of what His Serene Highness and Your Excellency ordered me to say here.

Count Couvanges to the Earl of Carlingford. À Paris le 2 July 1698. (287)

Monsieur,

Quoique je me sois donne l' honneur d'écrire une assez longue lettre par l'ordinaire dernier a Votre Excellence et que je doive craindre de me rendre enfin importun, je ne puis m'empêcher de lui dire que Monsignor le Due Delbeuf continue a me déchirer partout, voulant me faire passer pour un menteur et pour un homme qui a dit au Roi ce que Son Altesse Serenissime ne m'avait pas commando de lui dire; il public même avoir des lettrés de Son Altesse Serenissime et de Votre Excellence, qui me dédisent de tout ce que j'ai avance, et il a assure si fortement cela dans le monde ofFrant de faire lire vos lettrés, que je vous avoue que j'étais au désespoir et que j'étais résolu a me porter a toute extrémité; mais la lettre que Son Altesse Serenissime m'a fait l' honneur de m'écrire et celle de Votre Excellence que j'ai reçue hier, par lesquelles je vois que l'un et l'autre approuvent ma conduite, m'ont rendu la vie et m'ont mis l'esprit en repos, quoique Monsignor. Delbeuf dit qu'il attend le retour de la cour de Marly pour montrer les lettrés de Son Altesse Serenissime et celle de Votre Excellence au Roi, qui le justifient et m'accablent a ce qu'il dit; mais je ne crains plus cela, espérant que le Roi ajoutera autant de foi a ce que j'ai eu l' honneur de lui dire de la part et par ordre de Son Altesse Serenissime qu'a ses paroles; ainsi je n'en parlerai plus.

Au moment que le Roi sera de retour de Marly, j'irai a la cour pour faire les visites que je n'ai encore pIl faire aux Princes et presser l'évacuation de Nancy et travailler aux autres points de mon instruction, en attendant Monsieur Parois pour les affaires du Comte de Ligny et les autres.

J'attends avec impatience le mémoire répondu que j'ai envoye a Monsieur Mahuet pour les commissions, a quoi il n'y a pas de temps a perde, surtout pour les carrosses et la vaisselle, si Son

Altesse Serenissime en veut. Je me donne l' honneur de lui marquer les carrosses que j'ai commandes suivant le sentiment de Mademoiselle et lui demande ses ordres sur le reste, que je supplie Votre Excellence de me faire donner.

Je fais a Monsieur Mahuet le détail de tout le reste, qui en rendra compte a Votre Excellence, ainsi je ne l'importunerai pas davantage et me contenterai pour cette fois de lui réitérer les assurances du respect, avec lequel je serai toute ma vie.

Monsieur, de Votre Excellence,le très-humble et très-obeissant serviteur,

Couvanges m/p.

Translation: Count Convonges to the Earl of Carlingford, Paris July 2, 1698

Sir,

Although I have given myself the honour of writing a long letter to Your Excellency as usual, and although I must be afraid of being annoying, I cannot help telling him that Monsignor le Due Delbeuf continues to tear me apart. He wants to pass me off as a liar and as a man who told the King what His Serene Highness had not commanded me to tell him, He even publicizes having letters from His Serene Highness and Your Excellency, who deny me everything that I have advanced, and he has assured this so strongly in the world offering to have your letters read. I confess to you that I was in despair and was resolved to carry myself to any extremity. But the letter which His Serene Highness did me the honour of writing to me and that of Your Excellency, which I received yesterday, I see that both of you approve of my conduct and have restored my life and put my mind at rest. Though Monsignor Delbeuf says he is waiting for the return of the court of Marly to show the letters of His Serene Highness and that of Your Excellency to the King, who justify him and overwhelm me in with his proof. However, I fear that no longer, hoping that the King will place as much faith in what I have had the honour to tell him on behalf and by order of His Serene Highness as in his words. So, I won't talk about it anymore.

When the King is back from Marly, I will go to the court to make the visits that I have not yet made to the Princes and to press the evacuation of Nancy and to work on the other points of my investigation, while waiting for Monsieur Walls for the affairs of the Comte de Ligny[371] and the others.

I am impatiently awaiting the memorandum that I have sent to Mr. Mahuet for the commissions, for which there is no time to lose, especially for the carriages and the crockery, if His Serene Highness wants it. I give myself the honour of marking the carriages which I have ordered according to Mademoiselle's wishes, and ask her for her orders on the rest, which I beg Your Excellency to have given to me.

I am giving Monsieur Mahuet the details of all the rest, who will report it to Your Excellency, so I will not bother him any further and will content myself for this time with reiterating to him the assurances of respect, with which I will be all my life. Sir, Your Excellency, the most humble and most obedient servant,

Combines m/p.

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[371] Possibly Madeline-Charlotte, Countess of Ligny, 1635-1701.

Luneville, 8 August 1698. (289)

Monsieur,

J'accuse la dette, Monsieur, et le répit trop long que je me suis pris pour la payer. J'ai re9u plusieurs de vos lettrés et j'ai toujours différé d'y faire réponse en attendant que je la puis faire juste et satisfaisante; mais la difficulté que nous éprouvons de faire tenir des lettrés a Monseigneur le Prince Charles et d'en tirer des réponses, par l'infidélité des postes, est cause qu'encore a cette heure je ne sais rien de positif a vous mander. Une lettre du Prince Charles arrivée par hasard marquait qu'il était porte a accorder le congé, que vous demandiez, a vos instances réitérées et que ses amis lui conseillaient de remettre a votre place Monsieur l' Abbe Ayroldi. Si Son Altesse a fait les pas nécessaires pour cela (ce que je ne crois pas se pouvoir bien faire sans un concert pris avec cette cour), vous pourriez revenir avec Monsieur le Baron Chauviray, qui va envoye extraordinaire de Son Altesse Serenissime a Sa Majesté Catholique, et je vous assure que ce pays-ci et le service du Prince a grand besoin de gens comme vous. Son Altesse Serenissime a son audience de congé a demande par grâce a l'Empereur qu'il voulut interposer ses offices en Espagne pour me faire avoir l'honneur de la toison d'or, et Sa Majesté Impériale a promis de le faire tant a Son Altesse qu'a d'autres qui lui en ont parle. Je vous prie de vous informer, si on a tenu parole, et en cas que l'ambassadeur en eut re9U quelqu' ordi-e, vous pouvez offrir a la favorite deux ou trois cents pistoles pour l'afFaire faite. Je vous demande le secret dans cette affaire en cas que l'Empereur n'eut point écrit. Je suis très-sincerement, Monsieur, Votre très-humble et très-obeissant serviteur

Carlingford m/p.

Translation: Luneville 8 August 1698

Sir,

I blame the debt, sir, and the too long respite I took to pay it. I have received several of your letters and I have always put off answering them until I can do it just and satisfactorily. The difficulty we are experiencing in bringing letters to Monsignor Prince Charles and in drawing answers from them, due to the infidelity of the posts, is the reason that currently I do not have anything positive to tell you.

A letter from Prince Charles arrived by chance indicating that he was inclined to grant the leave, which you requested, at your repeated entreaties and that his friends advised him to put Abbot Ayroldi in your place. If His Highness has taken the necessary steps for this (which I do not believe can be done well without a concert taken with this court), you could return with Monsieur le Baron Chauviray, who will be envoy extraordinary from His Serene Highness to His Majesty Catholic, and I assure you that this country and the prince's service needs people like you.

His Serene Highness at his leave audience requested by grace the emperor that he would interpose his offices in Spain to make me have the honour of the golden fleece, and His Imperial Majesty has promised to do so at His Highness has others who have spoken to him about it. I beg you to inform yourself, if we have kept our word, and in case the ambassador has received some order, you can offer the favourite two or three hundred pistoles[372] for the deal done. I ask you for secrecy in this affair in case the emperor had not written.

I am very sincerely, Sir, Your most humble and obedient servant

Carlingford m/p.

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[372] The pistole was a gold coin. A single pistole weighed about 103 grains. In 2020, the 103 grains of pure gold is about $366.00

Nancy, 3 October 1698. (289)

Monsieur,

Son Altesse Serenissime a commande qu'on vous envoie par l'ordinaire d'aujourd'hui les dépêches nécessaires pour votre retour. Vous les auriez eues plu stot, si on avait su ici la résolution de Monsignor. le Prince Charles. Revenez done en bonne santé a, jouir de votre air natal, qui apparemment vous remettra dans vos premières forces. Son Altesse Serenissime a besoin ici de sujets de votre expérience et de votre capacité, et vous pouvez compter que je contribuerai de mon cote tout ce que je pourrai pour votre satisfaction.

Notre ami commun le President Canon est mort d'apoplexie ces jours passes âpres avoir assiste le même jour au conseil.

Les noces ne se feront qu'a la fin de ce mois a Bar.

Vous pouvez envoyer l'argent du Prince Charles que vous avez en main, par Paris a Nancy. Je suis trais-sincèrement,

Votre très-humble et très-obeissant serviteur, Carlingford m/p.

Translation: Nancy October 3, 1698

Sir,

His Serene Highness has ordered that you be sent by today's ordinary the necessary dispatches for your return. You would have had them sooner, if Monsignor Prince Charles' resolution had been known here. So come back in good health and enjoy your native air, which apparently will put you back in your prime. His Serene Highness needs here subjects of your experience and ability, and you may rely on me to contribute whatever I can for your satisfaction.

Our mutual friend President Canon[373] died of a stroke in recent days after having attended the council the same day.

The wedding will only take place at the end of this month in Bar.

You can send Prince Charles the money you have on hand, via Paris to Nancy. I am sincerely, Your most humble and obedient servant,

Carlingford m/p.

The Earl of Carlingford to His Royal Highness 25 March 1699. (290)

Monseigneur,

On ne peut rien ajouter, Monseigneur, à la réception de Monseigneur Son frère, tant a Metz qu'a Thionville, et on est toujours plus convaincu de la vérité de ce que le Roi a dit au President Mahuet, qu'il voulait que Votre Altesse Roy ale soit bien traitée dans tout ce qui n'intéresserait pas l'essentiel; si c'est a Monsieur de Turgot a expliquer cet essentiel, il le poussera loin.—Comme on n'a pas trouve a propos de presser pour l'aveu du Roi en faveur de l' Altesse Royale, on pouvait bien s'en abstenir dans des mémoires, qui devaient paraitre devant lui, et je me souviens que Monsieur en avait averti nos envoi es. Pour Monsieur le Prince de Conde je ne sais comme on veut que les ministres de Votre Altesse Royale le traitent, et sans doute ils ignorent que Monsieur de Turgot traite familièrement Votre

[373]Claudius Francis Canon, President of the Sovereign Court of Lorraine.

Altesse de Monsieur de Lorraine dans ses mémoires. Tout ceci ne donne pas un bon préjuge pour l'équivalent, et rien ne serait plus pernicieux que le renvoi de cette affaire dans la province sous la direction de Monsieur de Turgot; on ne finira j'camais avec lui, et h mon avis il vautrait mieux s'en remettre a l' équité du Roi, puisqu' aussi bien on y sera oblige a la fin par l'impossibilité qu'il y aura de rien conclure avec Turgot. Je sens mon éloignement de Votre Altesse Royale plus vivement et plus tendrement que le respect ne me permet de le dire, et je l'assure que je n'aurai jamais de repos que je ne me retrouve a Ses pieds; cependant je taclerai de la servir dans la personne de Monseigneur son frère, et en faisant des voeux pour votre santé et pour celle de Madame la Duchesse Royale.—Monseigneur le Prince Charles va demain jusqu'à Trèves. Je suis avec un attachement inviolable et un profond respect, Monseigneur, de Votre Altesse Royale,le très-humble et très-obeissant serviteur

Carlingford m/p.

Translation: The Earl of Carlingford to His Royal Highness 25 March 1699.

My lord,

We can add nothing, Monseigneur, to the reception of Monseigneur and his brother, both at Metz and at Thionville. We are always more convinced of the truth of what the King said to President Mahuet: that he wanted your Highness Royale to be well treated in all the essentials, but if it is up to Monsieur de Turgot to explain what is "essential," he will push it as far as he can.

Abstain from lists which were to appear before him, and I remember that Monsieur had informed our letters of this.

As for Monsieur le Prince de Conde, I don't know how you want your Royal Highness's ministers should treat him, and no doubt they are unaware that Monsieur de Turgot treats Your Highness as casually as Monsieur de Lorraine does in his letters.

All this does not give us a permission to do the same to them, and nothing would be more harmful than the referral of this affair to the under the direction of Monsieur de Turgot. We will never end with him, and in my opinion, it would be better to rely on the King's fairness, since we will also be obliged to do so in the end as it is impossible to conclude anything with Turbot.

I feel my estrangement from Your Royal Highness more keenly and more tenderly than respect permits me to say, and I assure you that I shall never rest until I find myself at His feet. However, I will attempt to serve her in the person of her brother, Monseigneur, and by making wishes for your health and for that of Madame, the Royal Duchess.

Monseigneur Prince Charles is going to Trèves tomorrow. I am with inviolable attachment and deep respect,

Monsignor, Your Royal Highness, the most humble and most obedient servant, Carlingford m/p.

Nancy, 27 April 1700. (291)

Monsieur,

Cher ami, une atteinte de goutte est cause que je réponds plus tard que je ne devais a vos chères lettrés, outre que j'ai attendu une commodité sure pour vous pouvoir écrire librement et sans ambages. On envoie ordre pour le payement de 30 mille écus, et on souhaiterait que cette petite somme put porter quel que profit au Prince Josef pour sa subsistance, par l' intérêt qu'on lui en pourrait assigner. C'est un petit commerce, qui peut avoir de la suite, et ne fera point de bruit. Sapienti pauca. On vous envoyer

aux premiers jours une provision de vins de Champagne et de Bar pour ceux de nos amis, qui en voudront boire. On attend les vôtres de Tockay, dont on fait bien plus de cas a Paris que nous n'en faisons ici. C'est le plus grand régal qu'on puisse faire au Roi, a Monsieur et a Monsieur le Dauphin, sans parler des Dames qui en font un nectar. C'en est un pour les Dames de notre cour de Lorraine que de leur donner de vos nouvelles.

Vous pouvez compter sur tout ce que nos Princes pourront jamais faire pour votre service. Le Prince Charles sera à Osnabrug pour la fin du mois de Mai, et j'aurai l'honneur de l'y suivre en conformité des ordres de Sa Majesté Impériale. Son Altesse n'attend que l' ouverture pour pourvoir Monsieur votre fils d'lm canonicat. Je suis a jamais,

Monsieur, Votre très-humble et très-obeissant serviteur, Carlingford m/p.

Translation: Nancy 27 April 1700

Sir,

Dear friend, an attack of gout is the cause that I reply later than I should have to your dear letters, besides that I waited for a sure convenience to be able to write to you freely and without round abouts. Orders are sent for the payment of DKK30,000[374] and it is hoped that this small sum could bring some benefit to Prince Josef for his subsistence, by the interest that could be assigned to him.

It's unpetitioned commerce, that may have a following, and not a wild point of noise. The wise few. We will send you in the first days a supply of Champagne and bar wines for those of our friends who want to drink them. We are expecting some Tockay[375] from you, which is much more valued in Paris than here. This is the greatest treat that can be to the King, to Monsieur and to Monsieur le Dauphin, not to mention the Ladies who make a nectar of it. It is one for the ladies of our court in Lorraine to give them news.

You can count on everything our Princes can ever do for your service. Prince Charles will be from Osnabrug at the end of May, and I will have the honour to follow him there in conformity with the orders of His Imperial Majesty. Son of the Highness does not wait for the opening to provide your son with a canonship.

I am forever, Sir, Your three-humble and three-obedient slave

Carlingford m/p.

Luneville 3 March 1702. (292)

Nous n'avons pas encore de réponse positive de France sur l'ofFre de neutralité, que Sa Majesté Impériale a faite avec tant de bonté. Nous savons seulement que Monsieur de Torcy et le Roi lui-même ont dit que les affaires avaient bien change de face depuis le temps qu'il en a été parle. Vous pouvez juger par -la, a quoi nous nous devons attendre. Aude la du Rhin tout va sens dessus dessous; le Maréchal de Villars assiège Kehl a la barbe du Prince Louis, et promet dans peu de jours de s'en rendre le maitre. On juge par l'abandonnement où on voit le Rhin que l'Electeur de Bavière doit être bien presse.

J'écris fort au long a Monseigneur l'évêque d' Osnabrug les sentiments de Son Altesse Royale touchant la campagne du Prince Josef. Je vous prie de dire a Monsieur Valentini que Son Altesse Royale est

[374] DKK is the symbol for Danish Crowns.
[375] Tokaji is a sweet wine from Hungary. More… Louis XIV was a fan.

trais-satisfaite de ses attentions pour l'affaire de Monsieur; on ne peut rien ajouter a la conduite que vous y tenez. On envoie ce paquet par un exprès a Basle pour plus de surette.

Translation: Luneville March 3, 1702

We do not yet have a positive response from France on the offer of neutrality, which His Imperial Majesty so kindly made. We only know that Monsieur de Torcy and the King himself have said that the face of affairs has changed since the time it has been talked about. You can judge by this what we should expect. Aude along the Rhine has been upended. Marshal de Villars[376] besieges Kehl under Prince Louis's beard and promises to take control of it in a few days. One judges by the abandonment where one sees the Rhine that the Elector of Bavaria must be in a good hurry.

I am writing at great length to the Bishop of Osnabrug about the sentiments of His Royal Highness concerning the campaign of Prince Josef. Please tell Monsieur Valentini that His Royal Highness is very satisfied with his attentions to Monsieur Valentini's business; nothing can be added to the behaviour you hold there. We send this package by express to Basle for more security.

Luneville 26 January 1703. (292)

Nous sommes toujours dans l'état où vous nous avez laisses, où nous voyons plus a craindre qu'a espérer nonobstant l'exacte discipline qu'on observe a Nancy, ou la garnison paye jusqu'aux ustensiles, et on nous promet la même exactitude dans les troupes logées le long de la Saar. Les Hussards loges a Limbourg et dans le comte de Bitsch n'en usent pas de même, quoiqu'ils ayent des ordres très-precis et trais-sévères du Prince Louis d'en user bien.

Je suis ravi qu'on soit content de moi par-là; et ambitionne si peu (le m'y trouver parmi les désordres que je vols régner, que si j'étais oblige a me retirer d'ici, je suis résolu d'aller finir tranquillement mes jours auprès de Monsignor. le Prince Charles. J'enrage du mauvais train que prennent les affaires d'Italie. Je dirai cependant pour l' honneur du Prince Eugene que les officiers français lui rendent justice en tout et soutiennent que cette dernière campagne, qu'il a si glorieusement soutenue a partie si inégale, lui fait plus d'honneur que la redescente, qui a tant brille. Monsieur Marechal de Villeroy se loue beaucoup du Prince Eugene et du traitement qu'on lui a fait durant sa captivité. Comme Monsieur Valentini mande qu'on a dépêche l'intimation du traitement royal du Due de Lorraine a la chancellerie de l'Empire, Monsieur Henkelmann va a Mayence pour y mettre la dernière main. Le billet ci-joint vous fera rire. Il est du Marechal de Villars a sa femme. Nous l'avons de Paris, où beaucoup d'officiers cheques de la préférence qu'on lui a donnée, sont aises de lui donner un ridicule. Adieu.

Translation: Luneville this January 26, 1703

We are still in the state in which you left us, where we see more to fear than to hope, notwithstanding the exact discipline observed at Nancy, where the garrison pays even for the utensils, and we are promised the same accuracy in the troops lodged along the Saar. The Hussars lodged at Limburg and in the Comte de Bitsch do not use them in the same way, although they have very precise and very severe orders from Prince Louis to use them well.

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[376] Claude Louis Hector de Villars (1653-1734), a French military commander. This probably refers to military forays which would culminate in the Battle Friedlingen in the autumn of 1702 between France and the HRE. France would emerge victorious. More…

I am delighted that people are pleased with me there. But I have so little ambition to find myself there amidst the disorders I want to fix, that if I were obliged to retire from here, I have resolved to go and quietly end my days with Prince Charles.

I am enraged at the bad course that Italian affairs are taking. I will say, however, for the honour of Prince Eugene that the French officers do him justice in everything and maintain that this last campaign, which he so gloriously supported, has had such an unequal game does him more honour than the descent, which has so much shined. Monsieur Marechal de Villeroy greatly praises Prince Eugene and of the treatment he received during his captivity.

As Monsieur Valentini reports that the Intimation of the royal treatment of the Duke of Lorraine at the Chancellery of the Empire, Monsieur Henkelmann is going to Mayence to put the finishing touches to it. The attached note will make you laugh. It is from the Marechal de Villars to his wife. We have from Paris, where many officers' checks from the preference given to him, are happy to make him look ridiculous. Farewell.

Luneville 2 Februart 1703. (293)

Nous sommes dans l' impatience, Monsieur, du retour de Monsieur Sureau et du Chevalier de Vitrimont pour savoir de vos nouvelles et des détails, qui sont trop longs pour être écrits, et qui cependant sont très-importants a Son Altesse Royale par la tendresse extreme qu'elle a pour Messeigneurs ses frères. Nous ne doutons pas que l'Empereur n'entre dans tous les partis, qui pourront porter du soulagement a Son Altesse Royale; mais je suis persuade qu'ils ne seront acceptes de la France qu'autant qu'il conviendra au bien de leurs affaires. Comme cependant Monsieur de Calliers a prétexte le refus de la neutralité de la part de la cour Impériale pour la cause mouvante de l'occupation de Nancy, il est bon de les mettre entièrement dans leur tort. Jusqu'a présent on observe une tres-exacte discipline a Nancy et sur la Saar, où on a occupe tous les postes. Nous avons sujet d'appréhender la férocité du Marechal de Villars, qui est fort a la mode depuis l'affaire de Fridlingen. Il affecte l'esprit de Monsieur de Louvois, qui prétendait que la raison d'état, quoique souvent mal conçue, justifiait toute sorte do violence. Mes compliments, s'il vous plait, a Monsieur Valentini et mes respects très-humbles a Monsignor. le Prince Josef; Madame Royale se plaint do ce qu'il lui écrit avec trop de façon et de cérémonie, elle veut qu'il lui écrive familièrement et de la même manière que fait Monseigneur le Prince Charles. Adieu.

Translation: Luneville February 2, 1703

We are impatient, Sir, for the return of Monsieur Sureau and the Chevalier de Vitrimont to learn of your news and of the details, which are too long to be written, and which, however, are very important to His Royal Highness through the tenderness extreme she has for her brothers.

We do not doubt that the Emperor will enter into all parties, which may bring relief to His Royal Highness. But I am persuaded that they will only be accepted by France so far as it suits the good of their business. As, however, Monsieur de Calliers has the pretext of the refusal of neutrality on the part of the Imperial court for the moving cause of the occupation of Nancy, it is good to put them entirely in the wrong.

Up to now we have observed a very precise discipline at Nancy and on the Saar, where we haveo occupied all the posts. We have reason to fear the ferocity of Marechal de Villars, who has been very popular since the Battle of Friedlingen. It affects the spirit of Monsieur de Louvois, who claimed that reason of state, although often ill-conceived, justifies all sorts of violence.

My compliments, please, to Monsieur Valentini and my most humble respects to Prince Joseph. Madame Royale complains that he writes to her with too much formality and ceremony, she wants him to write to her familiarly and in the same way as Monsignor Prince Charles does. Goodbye.

Luneville 16 February 1703. (294)

L'arrivée de Monsieur Sureau et de Monsieur Vitrimont a été d'une grande consolation a nous l' tous par les assurances qu'ils nous ont apportées de la parfaite santé de Leurs Majestés Impériales et de celle de nos chers Princes.

Rien n'est plus gracieux ni plus tendre que les résolutions de l'Empereur en faveur de Son Altesse Royale; nous sommes dans une grande impatience d'apprendre, comme elles seront reçues en France, où notre envoyé e a ordre d'en presser la réponse. Monsieur Valentini a tort de croire qu'on ne fait pas la réflexion qu'on doit aux avis, qu'il donne touchant le Monsieur. Je lui ai mande les sentiments de Son Altesse Royale, et on n'a rien à ajouter a l'attention qu'il a de découvrir et de rompre les cabales, qui se forment au préjudice des droits si clairs de Son Altesse Royale.

Continuez toujours sur le même train, et surtout ne donnez point dans des équivalents, qui ne soient solides et réels et toujours ad referendum.

A l' heure que je vous écris, trente mille Français passent le Rhin aux ordres du Marechal de Villars, pour tenter la jonction avec l'Electeur de Bavière, ou faire une grosse diversion en sa faveur. J'aurai soin des intérêts du neveu de Monsieur Telliers a Roziers. Je suis fort oblige a Monsieur le Comte de Mansfeldt de l' honneur de son souvenir.

La campagne de Monseigneur le Prince Josef me parait résolue, et on mandera un plus grand détail par l'ordinaire prochain. Je vous prie. Monsieur, do communiquer cette lettre a Monseigneur le Prince Charles, et de faire mes excuses a Monsieur Zeni et Monsieur Valentini de ce que je ne leur ecris pas par cet ordinaire.

Translation: Luneville this February 16, 1703

The arrival of Monsieur Sureau and Monsieur Vitrimont was of great consolation to all of us by the assurances they brought us of the perfect health of Their Imperial Majesties and that of our dear Princes.

Nothing is more gracious or more tender than the Emperor's resolutions in favour of His Royal Highness; we are very impatient to learn how they will be received in France, where our envoy has orders to hasten the reply. Mr. Valentini is wrong to believe that we do not make the reflection that we owe to the opinions he gives concerning the Mr. I have told him of His Royal Highness' feelings, and nothing can be added to his care to discover and break up the cabals, which are being formed to the detriment of His Royal Highness's clear rights.

Always continue on the same train, and above all do not give in equivalents, which are not solid and real and always ad referendum [open to debate].

At the time that I am writing to you, 30,000 Frenchmen are crossing the Rhine at the orders of Marshal de Villars, to attempt to join with the Elector of Bavaria, or to make a big diversion in his favour. I will take care of the interests of the nephew of Monsieur Telliers at Roziers. I am greatly obliged to the Count of Mansfeldt for the honour of his memory.

The campaign of Monsignor Prince Josef seems to me resolved, and we will ask for a greater detail in the next Ordinary. Please, Monsieur, to communicate this letter to Monsignor Prince Charles, and apologize to Monsieur Zeni and Monsieur Valentini for not writing to them in this letter.

Luneville, 9 March 1703. (295)

L'Electeur de Trêves s'étant déclare a Monsieur Henkelmann qu'il n'attendait que l'intimation de la chancellerie Impériale pour traiter le Due de Lorraine d'Altesse Royale, vous jugerez de la nécessite qu'il y a do solliciter cette intimation a Mayence, ou on est tout dispose a la faire, pourvu qu'on en soit recherche par la moindre insinuation de la cour Impériale. Cela n' empêche pas que vous ne demandiez les ordres pour le même effet pour les ministres de l'Empereur, tant a sa cour que dans les cours étrangers, qui paraissent fort nécessaires, parceque jusqu'a présent de l' tous les ministres de l'Empereur il n'y a que le Comte de Caunitz qui donne l'Altesse Royale.

On n'a pas encore de réponse précise de France touchant la neutralité. On y attend peut-être l' éventement du siège de Kehl qu'on dit être aux abois sans apparence de secours.

Le neveu de Monsieur Telliers succede a son pere a Roziers. Son Altesse Royale a ete bien aise de cette occasion de faire plaisir a notre ami.

Son Altesse Royale a donne au Prince de Vaudemont la pension qu'elle donnait du passe au brave Prince de Commercy.

Translation: Luneville March 9, 1703

The Elector of Trêves[377] having declared to Monsieur Henkelmann that he was only awaiting the intimation of the Imperial Chancellery to treat the Due de Lorraine as Royal Highness, you will judge of the need there is to solicit this intimation at Mainz, where they are ready to do so, provided they are sought by the least insinuation of the Imperial court. This does not prevent you from requesting orders for the same effect for the Emperor's ministers, both at his court and in foreign courts, which seem very necessary, because until now all the ministers of the Emperor there is only the Count of Caunitz[378] who recognizes the Royal Highness.

We do not yet have a precise answer from France concerning neutrality. We may be waiting there for the event of the siege of Kehl,[379] which is said to be at bay with no appearance of help.

The nephew of Monsieur Telliers succeeds his father at Roziers. His Royal Highness was very glad of this opportunity to please our friend.

Her Royal Highness has given the Prince de Vaudemont[380] the pension she gave for the past to the brave Prince de Commercy.[381]

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377 Johann Higo von Orsbeck (1634-1711). Co-Archbishop of Trier and Archbishop of Larissa, He helped to elect Joseph I as Emperor of the HRE, and in 1702 entered a defensive alliance with England and the Netherland against France. More…

378 Possibly Leopold Ignaz Joseph (1660-1708), Prince of Dietrichstein located in Dolní Kounice (Kanitz) in the Czech Republic.

379 Siege of Kiel took place between 20 February and 10 March 1703, France versus the HRE, with France victorious.

380 Charles Thomas, Prince of Vaudémont (1670-1704). He was an accomplished soldier, and died from wounds suffered in a battle on 8 May 1704 near Ostiglia in Italy.

381 Charles de Lorraine, Prince of Commercy (1661-1702), a field marshal for the HRE, who perished during the War of Spanish Succession in the Battle or Luzzara. More…

Luneville 23 March 1703. (295)

Vous aurez sans doute appris de Monsieur Henkelmann qu'on soutient toujours a Mayence que le traitement royal n'aura point de cours dans l' empire, si l' Empereur ne le fait passer par cette chancellerie, et que l'Electeur s'ofFre a faire les pas nécessaires pour cela, moyennant une intimation de la cour, par laquelle il en soit recherche. Je ne crois pas que la cour en fasse difficulté, et Son Altesse Royale est d'avis qu'il ne faut rien omettre de ce qui peut contribuer a l'établissement d'une affaire déjà si avancée. La réponse du Roi de France sur la lettre de l'Empereur est vague et indéterminée, et marque bien qu'il n'y fera de réflexion que celle qui conviendra a l'état de ses affaires. Il est cependant vrai que jusqu'a présent la garnison de Nancy, aussi bien que les troupes françaises sur la frontière, observent une discipline exacte et payent tout. La dépêche, envoyée par un exprès de Basle et l'ordinaire ensuite, vous a porte les sentiments de Son Altesse Royale touchant la campagne de Monseigneur le Prince Josef, qu'on soumet a ceux de Son Altesse Royale d'Osnabrug, qui en jugera mieux sur le lieu. Le neveu de Monsieur Telliers est pourvu de la charge de Boutavant a Roziers par la démission de son père.

Je ne sais quelles dispositions on fait a Vienne pour la campagne; celles qu'on voit sur le Rhin, font pitié.

Translation: Luneville 23 Mars 1703

You will no doubt have learned from Monsieur Henkelmann that it is always maintained at Mainz that the royal treatment[382] will have no course in the empire, if the Emperor does not send it through this chancellery, and that the Elector offers himself to take the necessary steps for this, subject to an intimation of the court, by which it is sought. I do not believe that the court finds it difficult, and His Royal Highness is of opinion that nothing should be omitted which may contribute to the establishment of a matter already so advanced. The King of France's response to the Emperor's letter is vague and indeterminate, and clearly indicates that he will only reflect on it as appropriate to the state of his affairs. It is however true that until now the garrison of Nancy, as well as the French troops on the frontier, observe an exact discipline and pay everything. The dispatch, sent by express from Basle and the ordinary afterwards, has conveyed to you the feelings of His Royal Highness concerning the campaign of Monsignor Prince Josef, which we submit to those of His Royal Highness of Osnabrug, who will judge better on the spot. The nephew of Monsieur Telliers is filled with the office of v in Roziers by the resignation of his father.

I don't know what arrangements are being made at Vienna for the campaign; those seen on the Rhine are pitiful.

[382] "The Royal Treatment" has a more nuanced meaning than its contemporary use, which boils down to how to act towards important, often wealthy people. There are protocols established based on the rank of the royals being hosted, ranging from monarchs to knights. You can insult a royal by providing services less than they think their title deserves, and flatter them with treatment above their station. Such things would sometimes have to be negotiated ahead of time to be sure to avoid conflicts and embarrassment.

Luneville, 11 May 1703. (296)

Monsieur,

Son Excellence n'étant relevée que depuis deux jours d'une légère atteinte de goutte, qu'elle a eue a la main droite pendant dix jours, elle ne vous écrit pas aujourd'hui; elle espère pourtant que Vous aurez vu par celle que Monsieur Henkelmann vous a écrite par l'ordinaire passe, ses sentiments tant sur le traitement royal que sur l'afFaire de Falkenstein, a laquelle elle se remet entièrement. Son Excellence écrit aujourd'hui a Son Altesse Serenissime Monseigneur le Prince Charles touchant la campagne de Monseigneur le Prince Josef; mais comme elle craint que sa lettre ne le trouvera plus a Vienne, elle m'ordonne de vous mander que, puisque la cour Impériale a trouve a propos que Son Altesse Serenissime Monseigneur le Prince Josef fasse la campagne comme colonel a la tête d'un de ses régiments, on croit qu'il sera absolument nécessaire que Monseigneur le Prince Eugene y mette ordi-e et le destine a un de ses deux régiments; car s'il lui était libre de se mettre tantôt a la tête de l'un, tantôt a celle de l'autre, on croit que sa condition serait plus dangereuse et plus exposée a censure que celle d'un volontaire. Monsieur de Perón est arrive ici avant-hier et parti aujourd'hui pour St. Michel. Monsieur de Vitrimont partit hier pour s'en retourner a l' armee Impériale en Italic, et si Monsgnr. le Prince Josef souhaite de l'avoir avec lui pendant la campagne, Son Excellence croit qu'on l'obtiendra facilement de Monseigneur le Prince Eugene. J'ai l'honneur d'être avec un attachement très-respectueux.
Monsieur, Votre très-humble et très-obeissant serviteur, H. Meinders m/'p.

Translation: From Luneville May 11, 1703

Sir,

Her Excellency having only been relieved for two days from a slight attack of gout, which she had in her right hand for ten days, she is not writing to you today. She hopes, however, that you will have seen by what Mr. Henkelmann has written to you by the ordinary pass, her feelings both on the royal treatment and on the Falkenstein[383] affair, to which she relies entirely on. His Excellency writes today to His Serene Highness Monsignor Prince Charles concerning the campaign of Monsignor Prince Josef; but as she fears that her letter will no longer find him in Vienna, she orders me to inform you that, since the Imperial Court has found it expedient for His Serene Highness Monsignor Prince Josef to campaign as colonel at the head of its regiments, it is believed that it will be absolutely necessary that Monsignor Prince Eugene put orders there and intend it for one of his two regiments; for if he were free to put himself sometimes at the head of one, sometimes at that of the other, it is believed that his condition would be more dangerous and more exposed to censure than that of a volunteer. Monsieur de Perón arrived here the day before yesterday and left today for St. Michel. Monsieur de Vitrimont left yesterday to return to the Imperial Army in Italy, and if Monsgnr. Prince Josef wishes to have it with him during the campaign, His Excellency believes that it will be easily obtained from Monsignor Prince Eugene. I have the honor to be with very respectful attachment.

Sir,Your most humble and obedient servant, H. Meinders m/'p.

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[383] Don't know what this is about. It may, however, involve Charles Henry (1649-1723), Prince of Commercy and Count of Falkenstein. More…

Luneville, 18 May 1703. (297)

Vous avez appris, Monsieur, par les derniers de Monsieur Henkelmann les sentiments de Son Altesse Royale sur le traitement royal, qui sont conformes aux vôtres, avec cette explication que les intimations pour les ministres de l'Empereur tant a sa cour qu'aux cours étrangers, et pour les tribunaux de ses royaumes et provinces héréditaires doivent immédiatement émaner de la cour Imperium; mais pour celles qui regardent Ratisbonne et Wetzlar, elles doivent indispensablement passer par la chancellerie de Mayence, sans quoi elles n'y seraient point reçues, et l'Electeur de Mayence s'y opposerait ouvertement comme a un tort manifesta aux prérogatives de sa charge, comme il s'en est déclare a Monsieur Henkelmann. Ainsi, Monsieur, vous n'avez qu'a travailler dans cette conformité a l'accomplissement de cette affaire; on vous fournira par la voie de Basle les frais nécessaires a la cour Impériale, et nous tacherons de nous tirer d'affaire le mieux que nous pourrons a Mayence. Son Altesse Royale est fort portée a faire plaisir aux personnes proposées pour l'investiture du Comte de Falkenstein, pourvu que ses droits y soient observes. Il importe aux partis intéresses que la chose se fasse dans les formes requises, sans quoi tout ce qu'ils font, court risque de nullité. Le dernier ordinaire ne nous a rien apporte de Vienne; on croit que les Baverais l'ont intercepte; ce n'est pas le seul inconvénient, qui est a appréhender de la jonction du Marechal de Villars avec eux. Je suis tés-parfaitement a vous. Mes compliments a Monsieur Valentini et mes très-humbles respects au Prince Eugene; je ne serai pas en repos que je ne le voie en campagne. Je vous prie. Monsieur, de faire quelque compliment de ma part a Messrs. les Comtes de Mansfeldt et de Caunitz, s'ils ont le loisir d'en recevoir.

Translation: Luneville 18 May 1703.

You have learned, sir, from the latest from Monsieur Henkelmann the feelings of His Royal Highness on the royal treatment, which are in conformity with yours, with this explanation that the intimations for the Ministers of the Emperor both at his court and at the courts foreigners, and for the courts of his hereditary kingdoms and provinces shall immediately emanate from the Imperium court. For those who look at Regensburg and Wetzlar,[384] they must go through the chancellery of Mainz, otherwise they would not be received there, and the Elector of Mainz would openly oppose it as a manifest wrong to the prerogatives of his office as he declared to Mr. Henkelmann. So, sir, you have only to work in this conformity to the accomplishment of this business. We will provide you through Basle with the expenses necessary for the Imperial Court, and we will try to get out of the difficulty as best we can at Mainz. His Royal Highness is very inclined to please the persons proposed for the investiture of the Count of Falkenstein, provided that his rights therein are observed. It is important to the interested parties that the thing is done in the required forms, otherwise everything they do runs the risk of nullity. The last ordinary brought us nothing from Vienna; it is believed that the Bavarians intercepted it; this is not the only inconvenience, which is to be apprehended from the junction of Marechal de Villars[385] with them. I'm totally yours. My compliments to Monsieur Valentini and my most humble respects to Prince Eugene; I will not be at rest until I see him in the field. Please. Sir, to pay some compliment from me to Messrs. the Counts of Mansfeldt[386] and Caunitz, if they have time to receive them.

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384 Wetzlar, in Germany was the seat of the HRE's highest court, called the Reichskammergericht [Imperial Chamber Court.]

385 Claude Louis Hector de Villars (1653-1734), a French military commander for Louis VIV and Marshall General of France. In September of 1703 he would be involved in the First Battle of Höchstädt, Germany.

386 Possibly Heinrich Franz von Mansfeld (1640-1715), and important Austrian official and soldier.

Luneville, 29 June 1703. (297)

En lisant votre dernière lettre. Monsieur, je croyais lire une suite de la d'cadence de l'Empire d'Occident du P. Mainbourg. Meliora super i! Les Français ont quitte leurs anciennes maximes dont ils se sont si bien trouve's, de ne pas faire un pas un avant sans avoir assure les derrières; le Prince Louis a joint le Comte de Stirrum avec une armée supérieure en nombre a celle du Marechal de Villars. Landau ne s'assiège pas. On se soutient en Italie; le Portugal s'est enfin déclare. Voila bien de l'embarras de tout cote, et croyez-moi que, quelle bonne mine qu'on fasse de part et d'autre, il n'y en a point qui ne souhaite être hors d' affaire avec honneur. On joue gros jeu, et les coups, qui se donneront cette campagne, seront fort décisifs. Dieu veuille que le changement de ministres a la cour apporte du changement a la conduite qu'on j a vue depuis le commencement de cette grande querelle, qui assurément a ete pitoyable. Son Altesse Royale a été fort aise que le Prince Antoine commence a entendre raison sur le fait du Comte de Stainville. On ne peut pas l'avoir appelé de si loin pour lui préférer le Comte de Lodron, qui, quoique fort honnête homme d'ailleurs, convient moins a la charge, qu'on lui destine, que le Comte de Stainville, qui a tant fait de campagnes et entretenu lui-même de fort bons équipages. Travaillez, Monsieur, le mieux que vous pouvez a rentier établissement du traitement royal avant qu'il arrive de plus grands troubles. Il est bon qu'on en soit dans une paisible possession avant qu'on vienne a des traites de paix. On ne manquera pas de fournir les frais que vous avez mande y être nécessaires.

Translation: Luneville 29 June 1703

Reading your last letter. Sir, I thought I was reading a sequel to the Cadence of the Western Empire by Father Mainbourg. Meliora superi [better than the first]! The French have abandoned their old maxims, which they found so good, not to take a step forward without having ensured the rear.

Prince Louis has joined the Count of Stirrum[387] with an army superior in number to that of Marshal de Villars. Landau does not sit down. We support each other in Italy; Portugal has finally declared itself. Here is a lot of embarrassment on all sides, and believe me that, what a good look we make on both sides, there is not one who does not wish to be out of business with honour. We play big game, and the blows, which will be given this campaign, will be very decisive. God grant that the change of ministers at court brings about a change in the conduct which I have seen since the beginning of this great quarrel, which assuredly has been pitiful. His Royal Highness was very glad that Prince Antoine was beginning to listen to reason about the Comte de Stainville. We cannot have called him from so far to prefer the Comte de Lodron, who, although a very honest man, moreover, is less suited to the charge intended for him, than the Comte de Stainville, who has so much made campaigns and maintained himself very good crews. Work, sir, as best you can to establish the royal treatment before greater trouble comes. It is good that we are in a peaceful possession of it before we come to treaties of peace. We will not fail to provide the costs that you have requested to be necessary.

Luneville, 5 July 1703. (298)

Son Altesse Royale veut que vous acheviez enfin l'établissement du traitement royal de la manière que vous l'avez mande; quand il sera conclu a la cour Impériale et dans l' tous ses tribunaux, et intime a la chancellerie de Mayence, on sera le maitre de s'en tenir la, ou de porter la chose plus loin, s'il est trouve nécessaire. Pour les deux mille cinq cents florins de frais Son Altesse Royale croit que Monsieur Valentini est en état de les fournir; mais s'il ne l'était pas, vous les trouverez chez mon agent le Sieur

[387] Possibly Christian Otto (1694-1749), Count of Limburg-Bonkhorst and Stirum. His father, Marurice Herman was the previous Count of Stirum, and died May 18, 1703.

Schindler, et on me les remboursera ici. Le bruit court ici que le Portugal s'est déclare pour l'Empereur et que l'Archiduc Charles doit commander l'armée, qui agira dans ce pays la; le Prince Antoine de Liechtenstein l'y suivera-t-il, et ce genre de vie lui conviendra-t-il? Pour moi je ne vois pas, comment ceIlx qui sont attaches a sa personne, s'en peuvent dispenser avec honneur.

J'écris toujours par Basle, quoiqu' apparemment il y ait peu de sûreté, s'il est vrai que l' Electeur de Baviere se soit rendu maitre du Tyrol.

Translation: Luneville July 5, 1703

His Royal Highness wants you to finally complete the establishment of the royal treatment in the way you have requested. When it is concluded at the Imperial Court and in all its tribunals, and intimate at the chancellery of Mainz, we will be free to stop there, or to carry the thing further, if it is found necessary. For the *f*2500 of expenses His Royal Highness believes that Monsieur Valentini is in a condition to provide them; but if he was not, you will find them at my agent, Sieur Schindler, and they will reimburse me here. Rumour has it here that Portugal has declared for the Emperor and that the Archduke Charles must command the army, which will act in that country. Will Prince Antoine of Liechtenstein[388] follow him there, and will this kind of life suit him? For my part, I do not see how those who are attached to his person can honourably dispense with it.

I always write by Basle, although apparently there is little certainty, if it is true that the Elector of Bavaria has made himself master of the Tyrol.[389]

Luneville 13 July 1703. (299)

Je Tous avais prie, Monsieur, de faire passer mon parent en Italie, mais ayant appris depuis peu que le passage était coupe par l'irruption de l'Electeur de Baviere en Tyrol, et que les recrues de mon régiment n'étaient pas encore arrivées, j'ai change d'avis, et comme j'ai de mes amis a la cour de Monsgnr. l'Arcllllduc, qui seront bien aises de me faire plaisir, je vous prie de lui dire que je souhaite qu'il s'attaclie a la suite de ce Prince, s'il est vrai qu'il va commander l'armée, qui doit agir en Portugal.

Je fournirai volontiers aux frais du voyage, et suis persuade que Sa Majesté Impériale en égard a mes longs services aura la bonte de l'honorer de sa puissante recommandation.

Monsieur le Prince de Darmstadt, qui servira a ce qu'on dit sous Monseigneur l'Archiduc, est fort de mes amis.

Je suis très-sincèrement, Monsieur, Votre très-humble et très-obeissant serviteur

Carlingford m/p.

Translation: Luneville 13 July 1703

I All had prayed, Sir, to send my relative to Italy, but having recently learned that the passage was cut off by the irruption of the Elector of Bavaria in the Tyrol, and that the recruits of my regiment were not yet arrivals, I changed my mind, and as I have of my friends at the court of Monsignor the Archduke, who will be very happy to please me, I beg you to tell him that I would like him to follow this Prince, if it is true that he is going to command the army, which must act in Portugal.

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388 Anton Florian (1656-1621), Prince of Liechtenstein.

389 Maximilian II Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria (1662-1726), attempted to capture with the help of the French in 1703 but failed.

I will gladly provide for the expenses of the trip, and am persuaded that His Imperial Majesty, in consideration of my long services, will be good enough to honour him with his powerful recommendation.

The Prince of Darmstadt, who will serve, so it is said, under the Archduke, is one of my friends. I am very sincerely, Sir, Your most humble and obedient servant

Carlingford m/p.

Luneville, 20 October 1703. (299)

L'ordinaire de cette semaine ne nous a rien apporté de Vienne. Toutes les nouvelles d'ici roulent sur le siège de Landau par la mème armée qui a pris Brisac, et on dit qu'on y a hier ouvert la tranchée. D'âpres la facilite que les Français ont trouvée partout ailleurs, on ne sait ce qu'on doit attendre d'une nombreuse garnison, d'un honnête homme commandant et de la saison fort avancée. Le Due de Savoye depuis son changement est aussi mal traite cIl France que l'a ete le Prince d'Orange immédiatement âpres l' invasion d'Angleterre. Vous en jugerez par la copie ci-jointe, qu'on nous a envoyée de Paris d'une lettre du Roi de France écrite a ce Prince aussi laconique et aussi pathétique que vous en ayez vu.

D'ou vient que raccommodement de Monsieur le Prince de Salm avec cette cour ne se fait point? On le souhaite de part et d'autre, et cependant rien ne se conclut. C'est une honte de voir deux Princes amis et allies en froid pour si peu de chose. Je ne doute pas que le nouveau diplôme ne soit expédie. J'ai donne ordre a mon agent pour l'argent qu'il faut.

Je ne trouve pas mauvais que vous écriviez a qui bon vous semble tout ce qui bon vous semble. Mais je ne trouve pas bon que sur les points, que je vous écris par ordre de Son Altesse Royale, vous me renvoyez a la réponse que vous en avez faite a d'autres sans chiffre.

Ce que je vous ai écrit il y a quelque temps touchant un mien parent sans le nommer, était un chiffre trais-intelligible dans les circonstances ou nous étions alors.

Il n'y a pas de si mauvais sourds que ceux qui ne veuillent pas entendre. Nous étions en peine du Prince Josef, et heureusement le P. Crestsen vous l'a mande sans façon et sans circonlocution.

Nous sommes avertis qu'on ouvre toutes les lettrés qui vont en Allemagne ou qui en viemient. L'adresse par Trêves est encore la plus sure.

Mes compliments, s'il vous plait, a Monsieur Valentini. J'ai rendu a Son Altesse Royale la lettre de Don Livio de Sirmio. Elle a peine a se résoudre a être le premier des Princes Sou verains a le traiter d' Altesse, mais aussi ne sera-t-elle pas le dernier. Qu'il allègue quelqu' exemple; on le suive ra avec plaisir par la reconnaissance qu'on doit au St. Pape Innocent XL.

Translation: Luneville October 20, 1703

The ordinary this week brought us nothing from Vienna. All the news from here is about the siege of Landau[390] by the same army which took Brisac, and they say that the trenches were opened there yesterday. From the harsh ease the French have found everywhere else, one does not know what to expect from a large garrison, from an honest man in command, and from the season well advanced. The Due de Savoye since his change is as badly treated in France as the Prince of Orange was immediately

[390] The Siege of Landau (Germany) occurred between June 16 and September 12 1702 and involved an Army from the HRE versus the French. Brisac (Breisach] had been previously lost by the French to the HRE. In 1698 the French would move across the Rhine River and build the fortified town of New Brisac [Neuf Brisach.]

after the invasion of England. You will judge of it by the attached copy, which was sent to us from Paris, of a letter from the King of France written to this Prince, as short and uninterested as you have seen.

How does it come about that the reconciliation of the Prince of Salm[391] with this court does not take place? We want it on both sides, and yet nothing is concluded. It's a shame to see two Princes cold friends and allies for so little. I have no doubt that the new diploma[392] will be dispatched. I have ordered my agent for the necessary money.

I don't think it's bad that you write to whoever you want whatever you want. But I do not find it good that on the points, which I write to you by order of His Royal Highness, you refer me to the answer you have made to others without figures.

What I wrote to you some time ago concerning a relative of mine without naming him was a very intelligible figure in the circumstances in which we were then.

There are no deaf people so bad as those who don't want to hear.[393] We were sorry for Prince Josef, and fortunately Father Crestsen told you so without warning and without vagueness.

We are warned that all letters who go to Germany or who come from there are opened. The address by Trêves is still the safest.

My compliments, please, to Monsieur Valentini. I have returned to His Royal Highness Don Livio de Sirmio's letter. She can hardly bring herself to be the first of the Sovereign Princes to treat him as Highness, but also she will not be the last. Let him cite some examples; we will follow him with pleasure by the gratitude we owe to St. Pope Innocent XI.

Luneville, 30 November 1703. (300)

Je ne vous ai rien mande, Monsieur, ni de votre rappel, ni de la continuation de votre séjour a Vienne, parceque comme vous savez on ne peut pas s'avancer ici a rien dire de précis sur aucune affaire qu'celle ne soit faite. Jc voIls dirai a présent que Je Comte Des armoises, Chevalier d'honneur de Madame Royale, part dans trois jours pour résider a la cour Impériale en qualité d'envoyé extraordinaire qu'on veut qu'il fasse figure, et que pour y fournir Son Altesse Roy ale lui donne par mois mille florins d'Allemagne, a compter depuis le quinze du mois de Septembre passe, outre la continuation des gages de ses charges a cette cour, qui vont a sept cent cinquante écus par an, et mille florins a part pour les frais du voyage. Comme il est un des cavaliers les plus accommodes de cette province, pour peu qu'il y veuille ajouter du sien, il fera honneur au maitre et a lui-même. Tout dépendra d'une bonne conduite, et personne n'est plus capable de la lui inspirer que vous. Son Altesse Royale le recommande a vos soins; il a ordre de suivre vos directions, et vous savez combien il importe que la première entrée soit bonne.

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391 Charles Theodore, Prince of Salm (1645-1710).

392 "diplomat is the correct translation of "diplome" in the original French. But I suspect the original French is wrong, and that the author meant to write "diplomate," which translated to "diplomat," which make more sense. You dispatch a diplomat, not a diploma. Both words come from the Latin root "diploma," which has two definitions: (1) a travel permit for an Imperial post such as an ambassador, and (2) a certificate or charter.

393 This line is possibly a take on the a verse from the King James version of the Bible of 1611, Matthew 13:13, ""Therefore speak I to them in parables: because they seeing see not; and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand."

Son Altesse Royale m'a commande d'ordonner a Monsieur Mahuet qui est a Nancy, de payer incontinent la somme que vous avez avancée a vienne, a vos assignations, et je le fais des ce moment.

Comme la prise de Landau par les Impériaux avait été le prétexte de l'occupation de Nancy par les Français, on n'avait pas doute que la reprise de cette place ne nous dut rendre notre capitale; cependant il nous revient de plusieurs endroits qu'on n'est pas encore trop porte a l'évacuer. Nous en saurons bientôt le juste par le Marquis de Blainville, envoye a Versailles pour répéter.

Translation: Luneville this November 30, 1703.

I haven't told you anything, sir, neither about your recall, nor about the continuation of your stay in Vienna, because as you know we can't go ahead here to say anything specific on any business that hasn't been done… I will now say that the Count Des Armoises, Knight of Honour of Madame Royale, is leaving in three days to reside at the Imperial Court as envoy extraordinary whom they want him to figure in, and who to provide there His Royal Highness gives him a month, ƒ1,000 florins from Germany, to count from the fifteenth of last September, in addition to the continuation of the wages of his offices at this court, which amount to seven hundred and fifty crowns per year, and ƒ1,000 except for travel expenses. As he is one of the smoothest riders in this province, if he wants to add his own, he will do honour to the master and to himself. Everything will depend on good behaviour, and no one is more capable of inspiring it than you. His Royal Highness recommends him to your care; he has orders to follow your directions, and you know how important it is that the first entry be good.

His Royal Highness has ordered me to order Monsieur Mahuet, who is in Nancy, to pay immediately the sum which you have advanced in Vienna, to your assignments, and I am doing so from this moment.

As the capture of Landau by the Imperials had been the pretext for the occupation of Nancy by the French, there was no doubt that the retaking of this place would not have given us back our capital. However, it comes back to us from several places that we are not yet too ready to evacuate it. We will soon know the truth from the Marquis de Blainville, sent to Versailles to rehearse.

Luneville, 14 Mars 1704. (301)

Je risque celle-ci. Monsieur, pour que vous trouvant encore a Vienne, vous soyez averti, que Monsieur votre fils est arrive ici du Piémont, envoye par le Prince Josef pour faire ses compliments a Leurs Altesses Royales sur la naissance du Prince. C'est un garçon fort bien fait, fort sage, et de manières si honnêtes qu'il a l'approbation de toute notre cour.

J'ai fait voir votre prétention a Son Altesse Royale, qui en remet la décision a votre arrivée. Les sommes, que vous avez trouvées a Vienne payables ici, seront trais-necessaieres pour fournir a la campagne du Prince Josef. Je suis trais-sincerement. Monsieur, Votre très-humble et très-obeissant serviteur,

Carlingford m/p.

Translation: Luneville 14 March 1704

I risk this one. Monsieur, so that you are still in Vienna, you may be informed that your son has arrived here from Piedmont, sent by Prince Josef to pay his compliments to Their Royal Highnesses on the birth of the prince. He is a very well-made boy, very wise, and in manners so honest that he has the approval of our whole court.

I have shown your claim to His Royal Highness, who defers the decision on your arrival. The sums which you found in Vienna payable here will be very necessary to supply Prince Josef's campaign. I am sincerely. Sir, Your most humble and obedient servant, Carlingford m/p.

À la Malgrange 6 June 1704. (302)

Monsieur,

Son Altesse Royale est trais-satisfaite, Monsieur, de vos négociations. Nous sommes si mal a Rome, qu'il serait a souhaiter qu'on put faire la permutation des bénéfices sans être oblige d'y recourir, que pour demander des bulles de l'abbaye de Bouzonville au nom du Prince de Nassau.

Le Pape se mêle-t-il des canonicats de Liège? Vous savez qu'a Trêves on n'en a pas voulu du tout.

Dieu nous délivre enfin de l'évêque de Toul. Le Roi de France l'a nomme a l' Évêque de Meaux, et l'Abbe de Camilli pour son successeur. Je suis très-sincèrement. Monsieur, Votre très-humble et très-obeissant serviteur,—Carlingford m/p.

Translation: At Jarville-la- Malgrange June 6, 1704.

Sir,

His Royal Highness is very satisfied, Sir, with your negotiations. We are so badly off in Rome, that it we wish that we could make the permutation of benefices without being obliged to resort to it, only to ask for bulls from the abbey of Bouzonville in the name of the Prince of Nassau.

Does the Pope meddle in the canonries of Liège? You know that in Treves we didn't want that at all.

God finally delivers us from the bishop of Toul. The King of France appointed him to the Bishop of Meaux, and the Abbe de Camilli as his successor. I am very sincerely, Sir, Your most humble and obedient servant,

Carlingford m/p.

OBSERVATIONS ON AFFAIRS IN IRELAND

FROM THE SETTLEMENT IN 1691 TO THE PRESENT TIME

WITH AN APPENDIX CONTAINING SEVERAL INTERESTING PAPERS.

BY NICHOLAS LORD VISCOUNT TAAFFE.

PUBLISHED LONDON 1766. (304)

PREFACE

This chapter begins with an essay written by Nicholas Taaffe on the situation between England and Ireland in the late 1700's. In essence their relationship boiled down to religion: Protestant England versus Catholic Ireland. In my opinion, this is the best writing in the Memoirs. When I read it, I imagine it being spoken aloud, a long address by Nicholas to the English Parliament.

The seeds of this religious schism were sown in the 16th century King Henry VII of England and hist first wife, Queen Catherine of Aragon, were unable to conceive a male child together. Henry, and the English Parliament, wanted a male heir. Henry appealed to Pope Clement VII to annul his marriage to Catherine on technical grounds, but Clement refused. Frustrated by the Pope, Henry secretly marries his mistress, Anne Bolyn in a Protestant ceremony. Henry gives lip service to still being Catholic, but the this was a known falsehood.

Henry's son Edward VI (by his third wife, Jane Seymour) would accede to the throne in 1547 and worked with Thomas Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury, to further nurture Protestantism and weaken an inconvenient Catholic church. He adopts some of the theological positions of Martin Luther and other reformers. Edward dies an early death in 1553 and is succeeded by his Catholic sister, Mary, who tries to re-establish the supremacy of Catholicism in England, including the execution of Thomas Cranmer and others for heresy. Mary's reign is short lived (five years) and she is replaced by her sister, Elizabeth, who rolls back Mary's steps and establishes independence from Rome; appointing herself the Supreme Governor of the Church of England. These are dangerous, turbulent times in England.

Religious enmities can be long-lived, and this Christian divide extends for the next several hundred years, up to and including the "Troubles" that plagued Northern Ireland and its Catholic v. Protestant riots and terrorism, much of which spills over into England.

The Taaffes try to walk a middle ground. They maintain their Catholic faith, but also stand in service to the English crown. This is often not easy, as radical factions on both ends of the spectrum did not trust anyone who is not on their side. Trusted by both rebellious Catholics and zealous Protestants, they prove their loyalty and utility to England by working for them in foreign relations (where their Catholic background helps them within the states of the Holy Roman Empire) and in Ireland, where they can be trusted to try to cool the tempers of locals and urge Catholic church leaders to promote the peace of Christian tolerance amidst hardships of Protestant tyranny.

In Nicholas' essay, he makes several arguments about why the two sides should attempt reconciliation that resonate with more contemporary conflicts, sectarian and civil:

1. *The actions of extremists do not represent the values and beliefs of an entire population.*
2. *Other countries have demonstrated that Catholics and Protestants can peacefully co-exists with full liberties for each group.*

3. *Discriminatory laws that punish an entire population lead to poor economic and social outcomes for all people, both those in power and those without power.*
4. *The Irish population, forced into herding sheep rather than cultivating land, has led to environmental degradation of large swaths or Ireland,*
5. *The Irish "middle class," unable to fully engage in their usual activity of commerce and industry, are leaving the country to seek their fortunes elsewhere, thus draining the kingdom of entrepreneurs, inventors, and a skilled labour force,*
6. *That as a matter of practicing their Catholic faith. Believers will obey civil authority in as it comes to the law and not to the Pope.*
7. *The patience and forbearance that most Catholics have demonstrated during their many years of persecution demonstrates that they are a largely a peaceful and law-abiding people.*

Nicholas follows his treatise with several examples of letter published in Irish papers and messages put out by the Catholic church that reinforce his arguments.

A cynic might question Nicholas' motives, since his family has remained in the good graces of the Protestant rulers of England, and their titles and estates reflect their privilege, their protestations of the ill treatment of their Catholic friends and neighbours ring hollow. If he despairs so much of the poverty and ill fortunes of the Irish peasantry, let him follow the scripture of Matthew 19.21 when Jesus tells a rich man to "go and sell your possessions and give to the poor."

My view is that it's a bit of both. Like contemporary Western cultures, there are rich people who are progressive in their political views, and many of them create foundations that give away millions of dollars each year. Yet they still enjoy the privileges and power of the rich, and few would go so far as to impoverish themselves. Does this make them hypocrites?

—ST

Observations On Affairs In Ireland

The Sculoag race,[394] that great nursery of labourers and manufacturers, has been broken and dispersed in every quarter; and we have nothing in lieu, but those most miserable wretches on earth, the Cottagers,[395] naked slaves, who labour without food, and live while they can, without though. I had been called early into Germany, I yet had more frequent occasion of being particularly acquainted with the state of affairs in my native country, than falls in the way of those, who through want of employment, or through religious differences, take their flight into foreign lands, and never return. Before religion became a disqualification, my family distinguished itself early on behalf of the British crown, and had obtained those national honours, which are the rewards of national services. My ancestors distinguished themselves also, through the success of their negotiations between Britain and several German courts. They have obtained ample possessions and dignities from the house of Austria and court of Loraine; and they compounded so well with fortune, that the principles, which excluded them from serving in their native country, were no obstacle to their being useful to Britain in another, where their influence was considerable, and where those principles were no disqualification. By blood I was the next in remainder to the Earl of Carlingford and had consequently the prospect of a large patrimonial succession open to me. The expectations of my youth were hereby raised, and much as I had been employed in military services, I did not omit keeping an eye to the state of affairs in my native country, as it was there my expectations were in a considerable degree to be disappointed or gratified.

Were the knowledge I acquired personal to myself only, the public should not at this, nor at any time, be troubled on that account. But very considerable numbers of equally well affected subjects being involved in the causes and consequences of what determined the fate of my own affairs in this country, I shall succinctly take a view of the state of things here, from the final settlement in 1691 to the present time; omitting however every particular, but what relates to the penal laws passed within this period; the provocations given to such laws, and the effect, both immediate and remote, which they had on the true interests of the nation.

It is the best legacy I can leave behind me, and the only service, which the established laws permit me to render my native country. Sequestered by my religion from my seat in Parliament and stripped of most of the privileges of an Irish peer, I leave this pledge of affection to my king, to my country and to our present free constitution. And I may still be useful, if the time is come, as I trust it is, when true information can dare encounter every favourite error, and when prejudices equally worthless and unsociable, are renounced in favour of maxims, which experience has shown to be the lessons of nature, and which alone can render nations happy.

My readers must not expect elegance of style in the account I am giving. Truth, in my opinion, requires no assistance from the ornament of words, but comes best recommended by its own native simplicity. The matter I have collected, has been digested by a friend, under my own eye, nor did I choose him or elocution, but for his fidelity, in conveying my thoughts, in the plainness I dictated them. I shall, therefore, content myself with a bare recital of facts, and such judgments as naturally flow from them. They are facts, of which I have been mostly an eyewitness, and where this advantage failed me, I took care to be well informed. The acts of Parliament, passed within the period I have prescribed to myself, shall be my principal guides, and with the reader, they shall be my vouchers, leaving him to the

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394 Sculoag, properly spelled scológ, can refer to several things: a student, a tenant of church land, a farmer, or a hard-working young man. These people occupy a social rung equivalent to the working middle class in modern economies. Nicholas is stating that this middle class was destroyed by way of religious intolerance and associated legal but immoral discrimination.

395 *Cottagers* held the lowest rank in the British economic and social caste system.

judgment, which he will doubtless exercise, on the justness or weakness of my reasonings on the effects and consequences of those laws.

When the Irish submitted to King William's[396] government in 1691, they were reluctantly drawn into a measure, which wisdom should make their choice, but which several incidents prevented their adopting, sooner than they have done it. That monarch engaged to preserve entire to the Irish Catholics all the civil rights and immunities they enjoyed under Charles II. Such an engagement, just in itself, was the more commendable, as it was founded on the spirit of the revolution lately brought about and grafted on the principles of toleration and civil liberty. It was an engagement which King William could never be persuaded to depart from, and it soon produced its natural consequences. The security he granted to religious dissenters of all denominations, restored industry and plenty of all things; useful arts were introduced; the land was cultivated, and a fine island, reduced to a desert by the late war, soon assumed a new face. In fact, Ireland was never happier than under that monarch. He saw, though others could not, or would not see, that the Irish Catholics might, by kind treatment, be rendered as good subjects as the Catholics in Holland, who served him faithfully, and fought under him against King James.

Neither the vicinity of King James, who still had friends in the kingdoms he abdicated, nor the power of Lewis XIV, who maintained an army of Irish, who followed the fortune of that prince, could influence King William to alter his conduct towards the Catholics, who submitted to his government. He trusted to their engagements with him, and to the security he gave them: and their steady adherence to those engagements brought him daily proofs, that his confidence was well placed.

This conduct of affairs, so immediately subsequent to a great revolution, ought not to be slightly passed over, without a few reflections. Numbers of those who followed the fortune of the late King James, were still alive. The attainders and forfeitures, consequent of their resistance and flight, rankled in the breasts of those unhappy men. The victories of Lewis XIV, in the war of that time, flattered them in the expectation of returning into their native country, and overturning the establishment. They had some retainers and friends ready to join them on any invasion, a set of people of all religions, who had nothing to lose, and something to expect in the convulsions of government. Then, if ever, King William was in danger from subjects he so lately reduced by his arms. The appearances of it were never stronger; but that wise Prince trusted to the security he gave. He interested the people, in the subjection he extorted from them by the force of his arms, and they, on their part, preferred the stability granted to their properties, to the uncertainties of a new war, or the return of King James, who possibly could give no such stability. Such were the principles and effects of King William's policy; but that policy died along with him.

Anne, the daughter of the late King James, succeeded to King William. The dangers, which through his whole reign surrounded him, were removed from her. The bulk of the people were reconciled to the late revolution. She entered into the confederate war against France and conducted it victoriously to the end. All the efforts of that nation to disturb the domestic repose of her subjects, were defeated by the wisdom of her councils, and superiority of her fleets. The partisans of the late King James at home and abroad, were reduced in their numbers by death; and every event of the time reduced the survivors to the state of insignificance, which weakness adds to despair.

Thus, we see, that not only the reality, but the appearances of danger to the government were removed: and yet, what was the consequence? By a strange inversion of things our apprehensions increased, as every cause of apprehension vanished. The nation was alarmed anew. Old animosities have been

[396] King William III of England, a.k.a. William of Orange, defeated King James II, King of Ireland and Scotland in the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. In 1691, the Irish and England signed the Treaty of Limmerick, formally ending the hostilities. King James II fled to Europe along with his family and many loyalists.

revived; fresh panics were infused. The Irish Catholics, who embarked their whole fortune on the same bottom with the revolution, and whose only interest it was, that the state-bark[397] should glide smoothly, were no longer to be trusted, and a maxim hath been established, that this state-vessel could not be safe, while such men had any unperishable goods on board. It was deemed, that the security and self-interest, which is the support of every government, could not be a rule to go by, when applied to them. To distress their minds, damp their industry, and render their property precarious, was deemed sound policy. This was the favourite system, opposed to that adopted by King William; and conformably to this system it was, that Queen Anne was prevailed upon to annihilate the security he gave, and revoke the public faith, pledged to those Catholics, as the price of their submission at Limerick, in sixteen hundred and ninety-one.

When Queen Anne gave her royal assent to the legal incapacities and penalties laid on the Irish Catholics, they formed more than two thirds of the nation, but in a situation, however, which rendered labour and industry absolute necessary to their existence. Under so northern and unsteady a climate as ours, this necessity had demands on public encouragement, to lighten the burdens imposed by nature. Any additional weight laid on in such a case, renders the bearer uneasy and listless, and if it be great, he either sinks under it or flies from it. What therefore could induce to the necessity of reducing our Catholic labourers, farmers, and manufacturers to this alternative? What advantages, what honour hath this nation acquired by tying up the hands of a million of people, from cooperating with the public, in the public service?

It was not pretended at that time, that the Irish Catholics were restless or disobedient under the government. On the contrary, it has been acknowledged, that their visible conduct was unexceptionable, and time hath proved also, that they merited and improved the repose King William gave them. This conduct however served them in no stead. New burdens were laid on them, from time to time, and we can have but one solution for such a problem in politics: the danger of the public was found high at the time in question, and the legislature were induced to think, that constitutional security to such numbers, infected with the most virulent principles, would hazard the safety of the establishment. Under such apprehensions no wise legislature can be inactive or careless. But it might happen in this instance, as in many other instances in the history of mankind, that greater cautions were used than the public good could bear. It might not be sufficiently adverted to, that the proofs of civil delinquency were not entire and complete enough to justify our apprehensions, that possibly these objects of popular odium might be charged with principles they detested, and that very probably they professed the same principles with their brethren in Holland and Germany, who were not only tolerated, but rewarded for their civil orthodoxy.

Such considerations did not take place at the time we refer to. In Queen Anne's reign it was pressed home on the heads and hearts of the protestant fellow-subjects, that no faith was to be reposed in the peaceful conduct or avowed principles of Irish Catholics, that the latent and real principles of these men justified perjury in religion, and destruction to every civil government, wherein they had not the lead. Indeed, the accusations on this head have been numberless. Volumes of printed books are full of them, and every species of civil iniquity (from which no party of mankind is absolutely exempt) hath been charged on the Catholic religion, as the womb of all. All this, I say, has been advanced and is advanced perseveringly to this day, and would to God, it was from simple ignorance (for that is reclaimable), and not from an aversion to knowledge, in those instances particularly, where knowledge proves shocking to our prejudices.

This is a part of my subject, not a deviation from it.Unless the proofs of the wickedness ascribed to the civil principles of Catholics, be entire and complete, much injury may be done to the public, as well as

[397] An analogy we know more familiarly as "the ship of state."

to individuals, from the mistake of these principles. Other evidence should be called in, and listened to patiently, either to confirm or dissipate our apprehensions. They are at hand, and ought to be heard. Through this attention the infirmity of our human nature would be cured or guarded against. We would ourselves have the merit of opening the door to knowledge, a very unwelcome guest, when it forces its way in.

After all our research concerning religion and government within the present century, it is to me amazing, as it will amaze posterity, that we should forego all the knowledge derivable from such inquiries and [398]admit other protestant nations to get the start of us, in resigning every species of superstitious policy to the public interest. In the protestant states of Germany, the public interest is carried on by the cooperation of all hands, through an agreement in the same summary of civil principles, things in themselves easily ascertained, and not subject to the controversies about dogmatical points of faith, or the mysteries attending it. In Ireland, in Queen Anne's reign I mean, it was deemed sound policy, to abridge the immunities granted by King William to the Catholics, to lessen their connexion with their native country, and lay the exercise of their religion under such restrictions as virtually amounted to a prohibition. By the laws passed in that reign they are interdicted to realize the produce of their industry, under the penalty of forfeiture. They are also excluded, under alike penalties, from leasehold interests except for thirty-one years only, but this under considerable restrictions from the danger of trusting any durable property to such hands. The tenure is thus confined to a few years, and lest that should be too much, it has been enacted, that in case of their having more than a third penny profit in it, such tenure shall be forfeited to the sole advantage of the first protestant discoverer.

Thus, are informers set on the watch, benefiting of a right by law, where nature gives none; and what still may be more aggravating, a son conforming to the religion established, is, by law, invested with a power over his father's inheritance, making that father but a bare tenant for life, under great restrictions, and bringing his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave! Not only purchased estates inland, but small tenements, even houses are discoverable by law, and given to the first protestant informer. Nay, a horse of five pounds value, in the hands of a Catholic, may upon legal information be carried away from the owner. Such were the encouragements then given, and such the incentives interposed, to excite the industry, win the affections, and ensure the connexion of this devoted people.

Were I to recite in this place the legal incapacities and penalties laid on the Irish Catholics, through the whole reign of Queen Anne, I should wear out the reader's patience, and my own, before half my task could be over. I refer to the statute books. I will only observe here that those penalties and interdicts had their natural effects in the dis-peopling greatly the three fine provinces, wherein the bulk of Catholics reside. They took their effect in putting a stop to the cultivation begun in King William's reign. No sooner were the Catholics excluded from durable and profitable tenures, than they commenced graziers, and laid aside agriculture; they ceased from draining and enclosing their farms, and building good houses, as occupations unsuited to the new post assigned them in our national economy. They fell to wasting the lands they were virtually forbidden to cultivate, the business of pasturage being compatible with such a conduct and requiring also little industry and still less labour in the management. This business moreover brings quick returns in money, and though its profits be smaller, than those arising from agriculture, yet they are more immediate, and much better adapted to the condition of men, who are confined to a fugitive property, which can so readily be transferred from one country to another. This pastoral occupation also eludes the vigilance of our present race of informers, as the difficulty of ascertaining a grazier's profits is considerable, and as the proofs of his

[398] There have been four provinces in Ireland: Connaught, Leinster, Munster, and Ulster. Of the four, Ulster had the most protestants.

enjoying more than a third penny profit, cannot so easily be made clear in our courts of law. The keeping the lands waste also prevents, in a great degree, leases in reversion[399], what protestants only are qualified to take, and what (by the small temptation to such reversions) gives the prevent occupant the best title to a future renewal. This sort of self-defence, in keeping the lands uncultivated, had the further consequence of expelling that most useful body of people, called Yeomanry in England, and which we denominated Sculoags in Ireland. Communities of industrious housekeepers, who in my own time herded together in large villages, and cultivated the lands everywhere, till as leases expired, some rich graziers, negotiating privately with a sum of ready money, took these lands over their heads. This is a fact well known: houses or covering and under the lash of merciless and relentless taskmasters.

The Catholics, as we have seen, keep their farms in a bad plight, as they are excluded, by law, from durable and profitable tenures, and they derive some advantage from a source, which brings infinite mischief to the nation. Agriculture, the mother of population, the nurse of every useful art, the support of commerce, is exchanged in Ireland for pasturage, the parent of inconsequence, and the purveyor of national indigence, an occupation (if we may call it one), which occasions frequent returns of famine, drains the kingdom of its specie, and occasions the emigration of numbers, who for want of employment at home, are yearly on the wing! This is the price we pay for groundless panics, which sober reflexion despises, and which King William did despise.

It may be urged, that all this labour might be spared, that though the facts be fairly recited, and my reasonings on the consequences just in a general sense; yet that "we cannot pay too much for the internal peace, and public security of our country; that no composition for the public safety can be made with men, who are our enemies by principle, and that the sufferings of a nation on their account, must be borne, till they gradually fall off as the rotten branches of the community, or exchange their religious principles for those established by law."

To this it has been already answered that such reasoning is founded on a supposed fact, which without clear and incontestable proof, recoils upon itself. To prove Irish Catholics irreclaimable enemies to this protestant government, it will be necessary to show that they profess different principles (religious and civil) from their brethren in Holland, from those who are endowed with so many civil immunities in his present Majesty's German dominions, or those under his Prussian Majesty, in the electorate of Brandenburg. Without such a proof, the charge against Irish Catholics is unfair; it is shameful also, and if it be both, it is full time to lay aside groundless apprehensions, and recur to those judgments of nature, which sooner or later must blot out the comments of opinion, and impositions of prejudice.

Let us for once, and in God's name, commit a little violence on our favourite preoccupations, and listen to the voice of nature, and of truth. Catholics may doubtless become rebellious to protestant princes; they have, at times, proved rebellious to Catholic princes; but their religion forbids such public iniquity under the severest penalties. This is that most important truth, for which I bespeak the closest attention of the public, and for which chiefly I have been at the pain of giving it this trouble. In vain will it be to object, that some popes and some Roman doctors have run counter to this doctrine. If they have done so, the fact will only prove, that such popes, and such casuists[400] have followed the Lesbian rule,[401] mistakenly bringing their holy religion to countenance their worldly policy, instead of reconciling that policy with their religion. It is a species of civil superstition to view such occasional deviations in any other light or think otherwise on this head. It is such a civil superstition, as the protestant states of

[399] A *lease in reversion* is a term given to a lease that starts when another lease expires.

[400] Casuist. A person who uses clever but unsound reasoning, especially in regard to moral reasoning.

[401] A *lesbian rule* is a flexible ruler, often made of lead, that can be shaped into the curves to measure or reproduce a shape. When applied to ethical and moral reasoning, as Nicholas is doing here, is to suggest flexible and equitable justice based on circumstances as opposed to iron-clad, no-exception standards.

Germany have long since got rid of, and cannot be retained in Ireland, without the manifest disadvantages it must ever drag along with it.

I have asserted, and cannot repeat it too often, that the Catholic religion forbids (under the severest penalties) public rebellion, or private treachery towards this or any government; a gunpowder plot in England, or Irish massacre in Ireland, does not invalidate the eternal obligation of that religious prohibition.—If our human nature, at times, bursts the bounds this prohibition prescribes, what can be inferred, but that faction and violence prevail? Shall local incidents, and old pretensions bearing impressions of their own, and marked with colours peculiar to themselves, affect the present settled times, wherein no dispute about power or property exists or can exist? Shall the present innocent suffer because their ancestors of another age were guilty? Nay, shall the public be kept in alarm, and (what is much worse) kept in a state of languor, indigence and animosity, because the Catholics of former times have fallen into civil iniquities, no way countenanced by their religion?

The immunities and security granted to the Roman Catholics, on the surrender of Limerick, have been mentioned. The good consequences of King William's adherence to the articles there signed, and the effects of Queen Anne's setting them aside, have been mentioned also: on the demise of that Princess, a Prince ascended the throne, who, happily endowed by nature, wise by experience, and bred up in the principles of toleration, diffused the felicities of good government equally among his German subjects, protestant and Catholic. On his accession to the British crown, he could not alter any law then in force. There was therefore but one remedy left for royal compassion to apply, in his newly acquired kingdoms, where German toleration found no ingression. He relaxed, as much as possible, the penalties annexed to the exercise of the Catholic worship. From the persuasion he had, that the Irish Catholics professed no civil principles different from those of his German subjects, he permitted them to worship God in the way they deemed most acceptable to him.

George II trod in the same steps of his royal father; the same spirit of toleration pervaded every act of his administration. He knew that "religion, good or bad, is the best security we can have for the probity of men," and that the ideal problems for justifying persecution, however they may tend to the advantage of a few individuals, have never a good effect relatively to the public happiness, or private morals of mankind; that denying the use, by reasoning from the abuse of things, is injurious as well as unfair, that men occasionally warped from their duty, by the heats of enthusiasm, by the mistakes of zeal, and by local circumstances, do naturally return to that duty, when the clouds of ignorance or folly are dissipated, and when the lights of religion and nature combined, are let in on the mind; and farther, that the wholesome severities, which prevent public disturbances, ought to be calculated so, as never to produce them.

To this knowledge, and to the feelings of his royal breast, the Catholics of Ireland owe the repose they enjoyed through the whole course of George II's reign. That great monarch graciously received the public assurances they gave him of their obedience and fidelity to his government. From these professions of loyalty, they were not known to depart, either during the flames of rebellion, or in the sunshine of public tranquillity. Let religious hatred, the parent of distrust and malevolence, now come forward! Let it say on its own blind authority, that this good conduct of the Irish Catholics was due more to the want of power, than of willingness to rebel; that they only impiously dissembled with a monarch, who protected them, as far as they could be protected, from the severities of the law; and that gratitude had as little hold of such men, as any principle favourable to the present constitution! I have, to my great concern, been an earwitness of this righteous sentence, wherein we find the spirit and true features of its parent, that principle, I mean, which strips every merit of its reward, and finds the most detestable motives, lurking behind the most reprehensible actions.

It hath been averred, that when Mr. Constans had instructions for making a descent on the western coast of Ireland, the Irish Catholics had early intelligence of the design, and entered into engagements for joining the enemies of their king and country.[402] But glaring facts, facts of the greatest notoriety contradict this averment. What a few desperate men might hope from such an event, and what they would have done in consequence of it taking place, is here out of the question. Without any prejudice to the cause I have undertaken, I may safely grant, that men of that character would have acted the part here, which they have played in all ages and countries. Far from running to save the house, they would hasten to plunder it when on fire. But the Catholics of Ireland had an interest in the safety, not in the destruction of their country, and on the earliest alarm of an invasion, adopted immediately the only measure proper for them to take. From every quarter, where they had any weight or property, they gave the most solemn assurances of their affection to the government. I refer to their addresses to his Majesty's Viceroy on that occasion, and will only observe, that the sensible address of the Roman Catholics of Dublin gave so much satisfaction to the Lord-Lieutenant, that he graciously gave the most authentic proofs of it (dated from Dublin- Castle, December 10. 1759; see the appendix) in a letter to the speaker of the House of Commons. I need not express, what joy such a testimony of confidence (given in so critical a conjuncture) gave all the Catholics in the kingdom.

From the surrender of Limerick, in 1691, to the demise of his late Majesty, I have, I trust, given a satisfactory, though brief, account of the conduct of the Roman Catholics of this kingdom, and of the different treatment they received in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne. On the accession of his present Majesty, they have renewed their assurances of fidelity and loyalty. The insurrection of some of the cottagers in a few counties of Münster is no exception to the duty they owe, and pay to their sovereign; nor is it fair to reproach them with the madness of a rout of peasants, wearied with life, and desperate from invincible poverty. The whole body of Roman Catholics, however, have been reproached and are, in some degree, reproached still on this account. It has turned out a very serious and tragical affair, and had it not proved so, it would be cause of mirth to consider, how the appetite for popish plots must have been, which fed upon the idea, that France, on the conclusion of a treaty of peace with Britain, and evidently interested in the temporary observance of it, should immediately employ here the prevailing plenipotentiaries of money, arms, and officers, to conclude another private treaty with Munster rabble, and all this with the view of exciting a popish massacre and rebellion through every quarter of this kingdom! Such is the idea, that has been propagated, and so sillily have some played their game, that they admitted everybody, to look into their hands. It is happy, that they did so. Others were less to be blamed for being seduced to think, like Scrub in the play,[403] that there must be a plot, because they knew nothing about it. But men of good sense, the friends of their country and of virtue, went upon surer grounds, showed no unwillingness to be well informed, and are now very successfully, pushing this affair into daylight. (A candid inquiry on this subject is now in the press, and will speedily be published, to that I refer.) In and out of Parliament they are doing good; and may their country receive the full benefit of their moderation and patriotism.

The Irish Catholics easily foresaw, that the disorders of the Münster levellers would affect them, and, on the first rising of that mob, addressed the Earl of Halifax, then in the government, with the strongest assurances of their allegiance to His Majesty. The superiors of the Catholic Clergy in that province were, at the same time, edifyingly active in pressing the duty of obedience and loyalty on their people. This is well known. He of Waterford exerted himself, by giving the government the best and earliest intelligence he could get, of the intentions and motions of those miscreants. He of Ossory distinguished

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[402] See "Ireland's Narrow Escape from the Roman Empire," **Ireland Calling,** https://ireland-calling.com/ireland-and-roman-empire/

[403] A reference, I think, to a 1707 comedy written by George Farquar, *The Beaux Strategem.* Scrub is the name of a character in the play, More…

himself also, by excellent instructions (published in the public papers) for the civil conduct of the people under his care. They issued excommunications and denounced in vain the most tremendous censures of the church against the incorrigible and obstinate. Such, I say, hath been the conduct of the Catholic Clergy, and in truth, danger to our civil government is not owing to their influence, but to the Avant of it, in such instances as this before us. Their influence operates only on those who approach the communion, and who are (God be thanked) the majority; it cannot reach the reprobates, who fly from their confessionals, and despise their censures, as much as their exhortations. For such reprobates, therefore, they are not accountable. In every other respect relative to their civil duty, they are highly commendable. Through every quarter of the kingdom, they press the obligation of fidelity to the present government on the people under their care. (See the appendix.) They have from their altars prayed for the present royal family, and in these acts the Clergy of the capital city have particularly distinguished themselves. Such men, I repeat it, do infinite good. They pursue and detect vice in its most hidden recesses, and produce the great effects of rewards and punishments, in instances, where human laws are either silent or ineffectual. Lenity of government has been extended to them very deservedly, and it will set the spirit of intolerance hard, to discover any one good, that can accrue to the public from vilifying their characters or letting the penalties of the laws loose against them.

The Irish Roman Catholics, clergy, and laity, have no civil guilt to answer for; and if they have not, let us lay hand on our hearts, and confess, that civil punishment without a civil crime is the very essence of intolerance. Let us then no longer seduce ourselves but extract from religious division all the good it could ever bear. Let us consider, that it has been permitted by God, for the exercise of our patience, of our humility, and of our forbearance with one another. Let us not admit it to be any longer our punishment, by producing no other fruit in these islands, but spiritual calumny, and animosity, its pestilent concomitant. We have lighted up a great fire and fed it too long with oil. Let us make an effort and throw cold water on the flames. Like our German neighbours the protestant states of Lower-Saxony and Brandenburgh, let us charge no civil crimes on those men but what are fairly deducible from their avowed principles, and the general tenor of their actions, consequent of them. In a word, as religion's union is a happiness not likely to be attained, let us compound with things, and make no difficulty of admitting the possibility, that Protestants and Roman Catholics may be made as unanimous, in one summary of civil faith, through these kingdoms, as they are known to be under the protestant governments I have mentioned.

I have drawn up this short state of affairs in Ireland, for seventy-five years past, with the honest intention of opening my countrymen's eyes, so long and so fatally closed up, from the view of their immediate and unalterable interests. Before I end, I deem it proper to touch again on a point slightly handled above, because it is of the highest importance, for deciding at once and for ever the merits of prejudice, which though discarded by experimental knowledge in the protestant countries I have known abroad, yet prevails still here at home, in its full and obnoxious force. It is said of the Catholics in Britain and Ireland, that "they are warranted by papal dispensations to hold up one set of principles to the public and retain another for their private conscience; the one avowed, only to deceive; the other concealed, only to destroy."—This is a hard charge. But where are these papal dispensations, and these destroying creeds of private conscience to be found? Let it be answered ingenuously and honestly. They are to be found in the libraries of British controverts, in monthly magazines, in weekly journals, and in the mouths of public orators, who are either ignorant of the truth, or have an interest separate from it.[404] The Catholics renounce, and they detest also, such dispensations and creeds. They are the coinage of base materials, and every wise man will leave it on the hands of the coiners, till they provide better metal, and learn to make honester payments.

[404] See Anti-Catholicism in the United Kingdom

Let such as too fatally resign their judgments, without examination, rouse and recall on the present occasion the prerogative of judging for themselves, and consider, whether common honesty would not loathe the detestable doctrine we have mentioned, in any country; and whether common sense would not renounce it in our own? In our own, I say, where great legal penalties are incurred for professing the religion of Rome, and where the benefits of the civil constitution are conferred on those who renounce it for the religion established by law? Whether Catholics would profess openly, what they suffer for, or forego the great advantages offered them, if they were tolerated to dissemble their principles? Whether their open profession of a religion, which offers them no advantage, but what is merely spiritual, which renders their persons odious, and their worldly property precarious, be not equal to the most positive proof, that they have no dispensations for duplicity and perjury? Whether the public would not be benefited, or at worse undeceived by taking those people for what they really are? Whether that public may not be wronged, and sacred truth violated, by taking them for what they are not? Whether the taking them for what they are not (since Queen Anne's accession) had not the consequence of perpetuating unrelenting animosity, of multiplying legal incapacities, and preventing public prosperity, so far as it could be affected by legal restraints on so numerous a body of people?

The reducing such numbers to the necessity of leading a pastoral life, the decay of houses, improvements and plantations, where they reside, the inconnexion[405] and emigration of many, the languor occasioned by insecurity, the despair of all!—such things we see.—But is there no remedy? or is the cure of the distemper, so long since applied by the electors of Hannover and Brandenburgh, impossible in our case?—are Irish Catholics alone irreclaimable?

Some men of sense, indeed, who wish well to their country, have proposed to mitigate the rigour of some penal laws, and for preventing the great drains of our people, have proposed to admit the Catholics to take a permanent property in our uncultivated wastes, those large and useless tracts, offensive to the eye, reproachful to our industry, and noxious to the health of the inhabitants in their present state. But no attention was given to this proposal, though it be evident, that the wealth and revenue of the kingdom would receive a great increase from the execution of such a scheme, and prove the best security on earth, for the connexion and good behaviour of the people, intended to be benefited by it.

It hath been likewise proposed in heads of a bill brought into the House of Commons, to grant Catholics some stable security, besides a personal and precarious one, for the sums of money they might lend out at legal interest. Even this favour was refused, though many worthy and able members voted for it, and though many without doors could hardly conceive, how the public could be injured by any effectual law for obliging individuals, in such pecuniary contracts, to fulfil their engagements with one another.

After all, it is not to be denied, but at all times to be maintained, that penal laws are absolutely necessary in every country, particularly where the civil constitution is exposed to danger from restless men, whose principles, civil and religious, lead to the overthrow of the established government. In such a case, the commonwealth must be preserved, however it may be affected by the restraints and incapacities laid on the industry and property of such men. But in this, as in other cases of such importance, mistakes are fatal, the public interest in some instances resembling a sickly body, which requires skilful attention through the various stages of the disorder. Remedies once absolutely necessary, may become mortal by constant application. When the fever is over, such remedies should be suspended, cordials and restoratives should be administered. Our political fever, relative to power and property, hath been long over. It is nearly eighty years since a new settlement hath been made. All are now apparently reconciled to it, most are really so, and such as are not, may be detected, by putting

[405] *Inconnexion,* disconnection.

them to the test of their civil principles, such as may be sufficient for quieting the fears of the public on their account.

Such a civil test the Catholics of Ireland have given formerly: and King William was satisfied with it. Such a test they are ready to give, at the present time, and we must have the stronger conviction of their sincerity, as the principles of their religion press the obligation of such a duty upon them.

"They are ready, when called upon, to profess all civil obedience to his present Majesty, to renounce the pope's supremacy, relatively to any temporal authority or jurisdiction within these realms, and to oppose to the utmost him, or any other prince or person, who should make any attempt upon his Majesty's crown, authority, or dignity; that they renounce also any papal dispensations from the discharge of these duties, and abhor the damnable crimes of perjury, mental evasions, and all equivocations in so religious and solemn a test of their loyalty."

Such a test is undoubtedly equal to the importance of its object; and should any Irish Catholic refuse to give it, it is against such a delinquent, and such alone, that our penal laws should operate in their full force. By such a trial of principle, the government would be in possession of the mighty advantage of making an entire separation between its friends and enemies; nor would it be a moment in danger of committing any mistake in the distribution of rewards and punishments, these mighty sanctions, which form the strength, and secure the stability of every civil establishment.

While the Irish Catholics are at present, and long have been in the disposition of giving government such a test of their loyalty as is here set down, it can be no fault of theirs, if this disposition be not improved to the advantage, as well as quiet of the public, now so needlessly and indeed so strangely alarmed on their account. Through this period of near eighty years, they have paid a long quarantine of political health; and if all this does not entitle them to come on the shore of common safety, yet their conduct, surely, gives them some right to be considered as guiltless men!

The quiet they have obtained, nay their existence in this land of their birth, they owe to the compassion and lenity of government towards them, ever since the accession of his present Majesty's great grandfather to the throne of these realms. With great sensibility, and with great gratitude they acknowledge it. They see with interested gladness his throne established on as firm a foundation as the hands and hearts of men can lay, and good subjects of all denominations, undeniably, interested in the support of it.

Toleration, the known and exerted principle of His Majesty's royal house, has taken its proper and full effect in those parts of his dominions, where the royal hand is not restrained by antecedent laws. Such a principle is the impregnable fort, into which all parties enter for common safety, and wherein alone the weak can find any shelter. Intolerance, on the other hand, may be likened to the house of calamity, wherein suspicion governs, and into which peace never enters. In that habitation suspicion finds crimes without foundation or reality, and criminals consequently, in the abundance it chooses. In such a house innocent men but obnoxious to law may sojourn. Sooner or later, they must fly from it!

Let North America be the mirror to reflect the benign face of universal indulgence to conscience: that monitor within, which, when it suggests our proper duty as members of the community, ought to remain uncontrolled from all human restraints. In that part of the world, so lately conquered by His Majesty's arms, peace and order join their hands. The Catholics there though habituated to a Catholic government, have reconciled themselves to the government of a Protestant monarch, who permits them to worship God in their own way, and abridges them of no civil privileges, for so doing. What have Irish Catholics, born under the present establishment, and ever obedient under it: what, I say, have such men done, or what civil guilt can be produced against them, to distinguish their case from that of their brethren in Canada?

Wherever the spirit of intolerance prevails, it spreads immediate evils about itself, and sows the seeds of many more. In Germany, this spirit has been happily dispossessed. There, no subject forfeits the civil rights of the community because he dissents from the established mode of worship. In most of the states, of which that great empire is composed, it could hardly be conceived, that the alternative liberty or slavery should be the lot of any citizen, just as he believed or rejected this or that set of religious principles; no more than civil orthodoxy is required in those countries; and the deviation from that, and that alone, is penal. By this policy (adopted among the Catholic and Protestant states) civil rewards and punishments are directed to their proper objects, and the great mischief of exposing men to the danger of hypocrisy, or infidelity, from insincere conversions, is avoided. In a word, religious hatred is confined to private breasts, and the rights of conscience are preserved inviolate. The house of Austria in particular, hath in my own time, derived inexhaustible strength from this measure. It is a measure, that hath been invariably pursued, by the Emperor Charles the VI and her apostolic Majesty (the heiress of his wisdom and virtues, as well as of his kingdom) has reaped such mighty advantages from it, that further arguments in favour of toleration would be but a waste of words, after setting before our eyes the effects it had on that great queen's affairs, in the day of her distress. Her moderation and the equable conduct she held, won the affections of her Protestant subjects, and the resentment of the wrongs she sustained, armed all Hungary in her cause. By reigning thus in the hearts of her subjects, she triumphed over her enemies, and this she owed in a great degree to her not requiring conformity to her own religion, as the only qualification for enjoying the civil rights, which her Protestant subjects possess in common with the Catholics. These facts I have collected for the information of my countrymen, and I heartily wish, they may edify them. They are facts, of which I have been long an eyewitness, and I may presume upon obtaining more credit from readers of all persuasions, than a legion of mercenary pamphleteers, who write to please a party, and pick up, as they propagate any falsehood, for that end.

The Roman Catholic religion has been long established in the world. Let us admit hypothetically, and to put the case as strong as possible, that this religion is a compound of idolatry and superstition; yet is that alone a sufficient warrant for persecution or prosecution? Involuntary error, which includes no civil evil to the public, is not the proper object of pains and penalties. It is only, when the religious error affects the peace of civil society, that civil incapacities are justifiable ; and to show, that Irish Catholics are in this light culpable, it will be necessary to prove, that they maintain principles different from those of their brethren in Germany, I have touched on this matter before, and it is attended with pain, to consider, that it cannot be inculcated too often.

In the present short representation, I had no other view, but the good of my king and country. If I have offered any one good argument in favour of either, the trouble I have taken is amply compensated, and I thought the present task, weakly as I have executed it, the more incumbent on me, as others of better abilities have declined it. With the integrity of my intentions, and the deference, I owe to every legal authority as the appointment of God, I do not fear to give offence. In the access I had the honour of having to his late Majesty of glorious memory, he very graciously accepted from me the assurances I gave him of the loyalty and obedience of his Irish Catholic subjects, in the time of an open rebellion. The same assurances I repeated to His Majesty's Viceroys, and other principal persons in authority in this kingdom. And I flatter myself, that I did not thoroughly labour in vain. I endeavoured to remove some prejudices, which could never find place in the breasts of those I applied to, if they were not owing to mistakes and misinformation. To remove mistakes, which may affect the good and the peace of our country, is every man's duty, who has been so well informed, as I have been. The rest falls properly under the consideration of the legislature.

Let me conjure my fellow-subjects, the British and Irish Catholics, to continue steady in that loyalty, that subserviency to the ruling powers, which their religion prescribes; grateful to the sovereign, who

protects them, patient and resigned under the laws, which punish them. Let their civil conduct, like their civil principles be such, as every government must approve, and which our own legislature may (possibly) one day reward. Should it however be deemed expedient, to continue the burthens they lie under, let them consider their sufferings as remedies, not as evils; as the preventives of crimes on the one hand, and as the punishment of their sins on the other. In a state of suffering, Christians often fill their proper post, and of that post self-denial is the out guard. A state of prosperity is the state of danger, often as fatal, as it is flattering. Let us not, therefore, lose the merit of the sacrifice we make, that of worldly advantages, the bitterest acquisitions on earth, should we acquire them by dissimulation, or in other words, by the renunciation of principles, which are the best tests of human probity. Sincerity, insulted and punished sincerity, is a source of comfort in the world we inhabit. In a better state, we place our hope higher, nay, in an eternal reward. If we act in a manner unworthy of this hope, we are undone: we lose the merit of our sufferings, and thus criminal towards our God, how can we presume on favours from the governors, which he hath set over us?

APPENDIX 1. (327) Exhortation of the Roman Catholic Clergy of Dublin,

Read from Their Altars on the Second of October 1757. (Taken from the Dublin Journal of October 4. 1757.)

It is now time, Christians, that you return your most grateful thanks to the Almighty God, who after visiting you with a scarcity, which approached near unto a famine, has been graciously pleased, like a merciful father to hear your prayers, and feed you with a plentiful harvest; nor ought you to forget those kind benefactors, who in the severest times, mindful only of the public good, generously bestowed, without any distinction of persons, those large charities, by which thousands were preserved, who otherwise must have miserably perished the victims of hunger and poverty. We ought especially to be most earnest in our thanks to the chief governors and magistrates of the kingdom, and of this city in particular, who on this occasion proved the fathers and saviours of the nation.

But as we have not a more effectual method of showing our acknowledgments to our temporal governors, than by a humble, peaceful, and obedient behaviour, as hitherto, we earnestly exhort you to continue in the same happy and Christian dispositions, and thus by degrees you will entirely efface in their minds those evil impressions, which have been conceived so much to our prejudice, and industriously propagated by our enemies. A series of more than sixty years, spent with a pious resignation under the hardships of very severe penal laws, and with the greatest thankfulness for the lenity and moderation, with which they were executed over since the accession of the present royal family, is certainly a fact, which must outweigh in the minds of all unbiassed persons any misconceived opinions of the doctrine and tenets of our holy church.

You know that it has always been our constant practice, as ministers of Jesus Christ, to inspire you with the greatest horror for thefts, frauds, murders, and the like abominable crimes, as being contrary to the laws of God and nature, destructive of civil society, condemned by our most holy church, which so far from justifying them on the score of religion, or any other pretext whatsoever, delivers the unrepenting authors of such criminal practices over to Satan.

We are no less zealous than ever in exhorting you to abstain from cursing, swearing, and blaspheming, detestable vices, to which the poorer sort of our people are most unhappily addicted, and which must at one time or other bring down the vengeance of heaven upon you, in some visible punishment, unless you absolutely refrain from them. It is probable, that from hence some people have taken occasion to brand us with this infamous calumny, that we need not fear to take false oaths, and consequently to perjure ourselves, as if we believed, that any power upon earth could authorise such damnable

practices, or grant dispensations for this purpose. How unjust and cruel this charge is, you know by our instructions to you, both in public and private, in which we have ever condemned such doctrines as false and impious. Others likewise may easily know it from the constant behaviour of numbers of Roman Catholics, who have given the strongest proofs of their abhorrence to those tenets, by refusing to take oaths, which, however conducive to their temporal interest, appeared to them entirely repugnant to the principles of their religion.

We must now entreat you, dear Christians, to offer up your most fervent prayers to the Almighty God, who holds in his hands the hearts of kings and princes; beseech him to direct the counsels of our rulers, to inspire them with sentiments of moderation and compassion towards us. We ought to be more earnest at this juncture in our supplications to heaven, as some very honourable personages have encouraged us to hope for a mitigation of the penal laws. Pray then the Almighty to give a blessing to these their generous designs, and to aid their counsels in such a manner, that, whilst they intend to assist us, like kind benefactors, they may not, contrary to their intentions, by mistaking the means, most irretrievably destroy us.

To conclude, be just in your dealings, sober in your conduct, religious in your practice, avoid riots, quarrels and tumults, and thus you will approve yourselves good citizens, peaceable subjects, and pious Christians.

APPENDIX 2. (329) The Humble address of the Roman Catholic Gentlemen, Merchants, and Citizens of the city of Dublin, (329)

to His Grace John Duke of Bedford[406] etc. (From the Dublin Gazette, 15 December 1759)

May it please Your Grace,

We His Majesty's dutiful and faithful subjects, the Roman Catholic gentlemen, merchants, and citizens of the city of Dublin, do, with the greatest respect, approach Your Grace, the illustrious representative of the best of kings, with our hearty congratulations on those glorious successes, by sea and land, which have attended His Majesty's arms in the prosecution of this just and necessary war.

We gratefully acknowledge the lenity extended to us by his most sacred Majesty, and by his royal father, of happy memory. Our allegiance, may it please Your Grace, is confirmed by affection and gratitude; our religion commands it, and it shall be our invariable rule firmly and inviolably to adhere to it.

We are called to this duty, at the present time in particular, when a foreign enemy is meditating desperate attempts to interrupt the happiness, and disturb the repose, which these kingdoms have so long enjoyed, under a monarch, who places his chief glory in approving himself the common father of all his people; and we sincerely assure Your Grace, that we are ready and willing, to the utmost of our abilities, to assist in supporting His Majesty's government against all hostile attempts whatsoever.

Whenever, My lord, it shall please the Almighty, that the legislative power of this realm shall deem the peaceable conduct of His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects of Ireland, for many years past, an object worthy of its favourable attention, we humbly hope means may then be devised, to render so numerous

[406] John Russell, 4th Duke of Bedford (1710-1771). He was an avid player of cricket, so much so that he was accuses at times of spending more time and energy on the cricket pitch than at his job in parliament and the office of the Admiralty of the British Navy. Nevertheless, he survived such accusations and political in-fighting and by 1756 had been appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, where he was sympathetic to a relaxation of the onerous English Penal Laws that so restricted the rights of Catholics. Yet he continued to butt heads with other politicians, and his career had many ups and downs. Bedford will respond to this editorial in the letter below, which is long on praise but short on promises.

a body more useful members to the community, and more strengthening friends to the state, than they could possibly have hitherto been, under the restraint of the many penal laws against them.

We most humbly beseech Your Grace to represent to His Majesty these sentiments and resolutions of His Majesty's faithful subjects, the Roman Catholics of this metropolis, who sincerely wish, that a peace, honourable to His Majesty, and advantageous to his kingdoms, may be the issue of the present war, and that the people of Ireland may be long governed by Your Grace, a Viceroy, in whom wisdom, moderation, and justice, are so eminently conspicuous.

Dated this first day of December 1759.

APPENDIX 3 (330) His Grace the Duke of Bedford's Answer to the Address of the Roman Catholics of Dublin, (330)

in his letter to the Right Honourable John Ponsonby, Esq., Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons. (Taken from the Dublin Gazette, 11 December 1759.)

Dublin-Castle, 10 December 1759.

Sir,

I beg the favour of you, to return my most sincere thanks to the gentlemen, the Roman Catholics of Dublin, for the address, which you brought me from them this morning, and for the good opinion, which they have therein expressed of me.

The zeal and attachment, which they profess for His Majesty's person and government, can never be more seasonably manifested than in the present conjuncture.

It gives me the greatest pleasure to find, that they are so fully sensible of the lenity, which hath been extended to them, during the whole course of His Majesty's reign, and they may be assured, that so long as they conduct themselves with duty and affection to the king, they will not fail to receive His Majesty's protection.

I am, with great truth and regard, Sir, Your most obedient humble servant,

Bedford.

APPENDIX Number 4 (331)

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, The humble address of the Roman Catholics of the Kingdom of Ireland. (From the London Gazette, 7 February 1761)

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We Your Majesty's dutiful and faithful subjects, the Roman Catholics of the Kingdom of Ireland, beg leave to approach Your Majesty with this humble tender of our unfeigned loyalty, on Your Majesty's happy accession to the throne of Your ancestors.[407]

[407] King George III ascended to the crown at age 22 upon the death of his father, George II, on 25 October 1760. Unmarried at the time, he would eventually be paired with Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, whom he met for the first time in person on their wedding day. Together, they would have 15 children, including two future kings. Before her marriage to George, she was a German princess a small and insignificant duchy eastern German. George III would be the monarch against whom the American colonies would fight a war for independence. In his later years, he would also be afflicted with mental illness, as depicted in the 1994 film The Madness of King George.

While Your Majesty's subjects, of all denominations, are now endeavouring to be foremost in the exertion of every duty towards Your Majesty's person and government, and while all circumstances of affairs at home and abroad, unite for the present happiness and future glory of Your reign, permit us to con- dole with Your Majesty, and to pour out our sincere sorrow for the loss we have sustained, by the death of a monarch, who hath always approved himself the common father of all his people: a loss, the more sensible on our part, as the repose we have so long enjoyed, entirely proceeded from his royal clemency, and the mild administration of his government in this kingdom.

Ever since the accession of Your Majesty's royal house to the throne of these realms, we have in a particular manner experienced the paternal interposition of Your illustrious predecessors. We, most gracious sovereign, who are so unfortunately distinguished from the rest of our fellow-subjects, cannot subsist without a continuance of the royal favour and protection.

Sensible of the same hereditary compassion in Your Majesty's breast, we most humbly hope for that share in the happiness of Your reign, which our peculiar circumstances can admit; and we beg leave to assure Your Majesty of our grateful and constant return of affection and loyalty: a loyalty, which our conduct has proved, and our religion enforces; happy, might it entitle us to express a wish, that of all Your Majesty's dutiful subjects of this kingdom, we alone may not be left incapable of promoting the general welfare and prosperity of it.

May the Almighty so influence and direct Your counsels, through the whole course of Your reign, that they may be ever productive of real happiness to all Your people, and may that reign be as memorable for its duration and felicity, as for the greatness and variety of those blessings, which we have already so much reason to expect from it!

APPENDIX 5 (333) Exhortation of the Roman Catholic Clergy, (333)

Read from Their Altars. 7 February 1762. (From the Dublin Gazette. 9 February 1762.)

Dear Christians,

As it is our indispensable duty, so has it been our constant practice, strongly to inculcate the principles of a peaceful, humble, and obedient behaviour. We have done it lately, we do it now again, the more readily, because it is expected from us by those powers, whom the Almighty has placed over us, of whom St. Paul sayeth: "Let all persons be subject to higher powers, for there is no power but from God: obey those who are placed over you. And our blessed Saviour himself."[408] Give unto Caesar what belongeth to Caesar, and unto God what belongeth to God."[409] Nor have we been wanting to raise in your minds a true sense of gratitude for the lenient hand of government in the execution of several of those penal laws, which particularly distinguish you from your fellow-subjects: laws, which however severe in themselves, yet give us an opportunity of feeling with grateful hearts the clemency of his present Majesty and his royal ancestors, whose generous indulgence hath, in a great measure, suspended the sharp edge of those laws, made before their accession to the throne of these realms, against a people, who from their dutiful, inoffensive behaviour, seem to merit a milder fate. — Wherefore, dear Christians, urged by duty, gratitude and hope, we earnestly exhort you in the words of St. Paul, "to make supplications, prayers, intercessions, thanksgivings for all men, for kings, and all those who are in high-stations, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all piety and chastity."[410]

[408] Romans. 13.1
[409] Mark. 12,17
[410] 1 Timothy. 2.1-2

And as in these days of war and calamity His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant and council have thought proper to appoint a general fast on Friday next, we order you to observe the same exactly, at this time of humiliation and penance, and that you will offer up your prayers for the spiritual and temporal happiness of his gracious Majesty, King George the III, and his royal consort, beseeching the Almighty God to assist his councils, to inspire and direct his ministers, that he may be the happy instrument of restoring a solid, lasting, and advantageous peace, and so put a stop to the further effusion of Christian blood. Nor can we without a breach of gratitude, as well as of duty, omit to implore heaven, to pour down its blessings on His Majesty's Vice-regent, our chief governor here, whose noble heart, like that of his royal master, incapable of any partial prejudice, knows no happiness equal to that of rendering all His Majesty's subjects happy without distinction.

JOHN TAAFFE'S CORRESPONDENCE DURING HIS SOJOURN AT LISBON (335)

Preface to John Taaffe's Correspondence

There is a charm to John Taaffe's letters missing from many of the others in these Memoirs. What he writes about is more informal, newsy, and almost gossipy. He finds himself passing on personal information about a possible marriage partner to a boy's anxious mom, who happens to also be a monarch, with honesty and wit. He's willing to correct misperceptions about a young lady's character, while at the same time always remembering where he stands in the hierarchy of things and paying due diligence to the proper forms of address and obsequiousness. There is a comedic element to all of this, the Queen going to lengths to make sure no one knows that John is snooping around for her, and John likewise making sure that he uses a third-party to pass messages between them to provide them both with some cover of deniability. There is a kindness to his prose.

Other correspondence will show letters of condolence regarding the loss of a son, letter of congratulations upon royal promotions, and a touching love letter to his wife along with a hilarious incident about the Prince of Wales carried in a local newspaper that he urges his wife to read, but not breathe a word of it except to a couple of close friends.

—ST

Marie Thérèse m/p. Points d'instruction pour le Comte de Taaffe. Vienne ce 26. Février 1764. (337)

Comme vous êtes destine à porter à Lisbonne la nouvelle du couronnement de mon fils Joseph, Je veux bien profiter de cette occasion, pour me procurer des notions de ce pays: persuadée, comme Je suis, que vous vous y appliquerez avec autant de zèle que de prudence.

Je vous charge en premier lieu de me faire une description exacte du caractère de l'infante Cadette Marie Benoîte, en me marquant, quel est son extérieur et sa figure, de même que sa santé: si elle à déjà eu la petite vérole et la rougeole: quelle est l'éducation, qu'on lui à donnée tant par rapport à la religion, qu' à l'esprit et au coeur: quelle est sa façon de vivre, et la conduite, qu'elle tient en particulier; comment elle soutient sa personne en public: quelle est son limeur, ses sentimens, ses inclinations, ses amusements: quel est le progrès qu'elle à fait dans les langues, sciences et connaissances, qui conviennent à sa naissance et à son âge.

Mais non content de me fournir des notions détaillées au sujet de I'Infante Marie Benoîte, vous devez les étendre aussi à tous les Princes et Princesses, qui composent la famille Royale, en me rendant compte de leur fa,on de penser et de vivre, de l'état de leur santé, des étiquettes et usages, de même que des intrigues de la cour.

Vous y ajouterez encore vos remarques sur le système politique du Portugal, sur ses liaisons avec les puissances étrangers, sur les forces de terre et de mer, sur la constitution intérieure du pays, sur l'état de son commerce, sur le crédit et les sentimens des ministres, qui sont à la tête des affaires, et sur les maximes, qu'ils suivent dans les différentes parties du gouvernement, sur les objets, qui les divisent en factions, ou qui lient leurs partis sur le degré du pouvoir; où le Comte d'Oyeras et sa clique se soutient, sur l'influence, que le clergé (soit régulier ou séculier) à dans les affaires, sur les égards, qu'on à pour la religion, sur l'affection ou l'aversion, que la noblesse et le peuple ont pour le souverain et pour les ministres: enfin sur l'opinion, que les gens du pays et les étrangers ont de la forme du gouvernement, des maxi nies des ministres et du fort ou faible du royaume. Comme je souhaite avoir préférablement des notions sur ce qui regarde l'infante Marie Benoîte, vous pouvez m'en envoyer vos rapports, chiffres par le chiffre, dont je fais vous pourvoir, en les adressant an Comte de Rosenberg à Madrid, qui sera charge de me les faire parvenir.

Mais pour le reste des notions, que je vous demande, vous n'avez qu'à les rassembler pendant votre séjour de Lisbonne, dont la durée dépendra de votre clioix, pour me les remettre à votre arrivée ici.

Le Comte de Taroucca vous parlera avant votre départ de ses intérêts en Portugal; Je vous les recommande de même, que ceux de sa belle-soeur, au mieux, souhaitant de coeur d'être utile à l'un et à l'autre ; mais Je vous avertis, qu'en vous engageant à appuyer leurs affaires, vous deviez bien prendre garde de mesurer vos démarches avec la circonspection nécessaire, pour ne pas compromettre Ma Personne d'une façon, qui no saurait me convenir. Vienne ce 26. Février 1764.

Marie Thérèse m/p.

Translation: Points of instruction for the Count of Taaffe. Vienna 26 February 1764.

As you are destined to bring to Lisbon the news of the coronation of my son Joseph[411], I am willing to take advantage of this opportunity to acquire some notions of this country, convinced, as I am, that you will apply yourself there with as much zeal as of caution.

[411]Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperor. I highly recommend this short Wikipedia entry about him More…

I charge you in the first place to give me an exact description of the character of the Infanta Cadet Marie Benoîte[412], marking me. What is her appearance and her face, as well as her health. Has she had smallpox and measles? What is her education, in both religion as well as to the mind and the heart? What is her way of life, her conduct, her filer?[413] How does she act in public? What are her thoughts, her feelings, her inclinations, her amusements? What progress has she has made in languages, science, and knowledge, suitable for her station and her age?

But don't just provide me with details about Marie, you must also learn about the princes and princesses who make up the Royal Family, giving me an account of their way of thinking and living, the state of their health, etiquettes, and usages, as well as court intrigues.

You will also add your remarks on the political system of Portugal, on its connections with foreign powers, on the forces of land and sea, on the internal constitution of the country, on the state of its commerce, on credit and sentiments of the ministers, who are at the head of affairs, and on the maxims which they follow in the different parts of the government, on the objects which divide them into factions, or bind their parties on the degree of power; where the Comte d'Oyeras and his clique maintains, on the influence, which the clergy (whether regular or secular) has in business, on the regard, which one has for religion, on the affection or the aversion, which the nobility and the people have for the sovereign and for the ministers. Finally on the opinion, which the people of the country and the foreigners have of the form of the government, of the maxima of the ministers and of the strong or weak of the kingdom. As I prefer to have notions on what concerns the Infanta Marie Benoîte, you can send me your reports, number by number, with which I am providing you, by addressing them to the Count of Rosenberg[414] in Madrid, who will be in charge to send them to me.

But for the rest of the notions, which I ask of you, you have only to collect them during your stay in Lisbon, the duration of which will depend on your choice, to give them to me on your arrival here.

The Count of Taroucca[415] will speak to you before your departure about his interests in Portugal. I recommend them to you as well as those of his sister-in-law, at best, sincerely wishing to be useful to both of them; but I warn you, that in pledging yourselves to support their affairs, you must be careful to measure your steps with the necessary circumspection, so as not to compromise me in any unflattering way.

Marie Therese m/p.[416] Vienna 26 February 1764

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412 The *Infanta Cadet Marie Benoîte* mentioned is Maria Louisa (1745-1792), who would end up marrying her son, Leopold II. In 1764, Marie would be 19 years old and perhaps still being schooled, hence the addition of the description "cadet." She is asking John Taaffe to provide his personal assessment of the health and character of her potential daughter-in-law, and to ask others in the court about her fitness for her son as well, but to do so discretely.

413 The French dictionaries I have consulted translate the word *limeur* to "filer," which can mean something along the lines of a person who files things (like papers in an office) or shapes things "like a machinist." Neither definition is satisfactory. Perhaps the French word is misspelled, or it had an additional meaning that is not reflected in current dictionaries.

414 The Count is Franz Xaver Wolfgang, Fürst von Orsini und Rosenburg, who helped negotiate the marriage of Joseph to Maria of Spain.

415 Possibly Sylva Tarouca Unwerth.

416 Marie Theresa Walburga Amalia Chrsitina (1717-1780) ruled the Hapsburg Dominions, comprised of Hungary, Croatia, Bohemia, Translyvania, Mantua, Milan, Lodomeria, Galacia, Austrian Netherlands, and Parma for 40 years. Unlike many female monarchs of the time, she refused to cede power to her husband or son and ruled with absolute power. A zealous Catholic, she made life hard for Jews and Protestants. She was well educated and personally participated in various arts and activities. In 1736 she would marry Francis Stephen of the Duchy of Romaine, whom she loved dearly and expressed it in her letters to him. He, on the other hand, was very formal in his responses and unfaithful in his activities. When her father, Charles VI died in 1740, Marie ascended to the throne but initially felt unready to play an active role, deferring to her husband in her father's former ministers. Her weakness emboldened some countries to

Vienne co 15. Mars 1764. (338)

Comte de Taaffe. Informe, comme vous êtes de la commission, dont Je vous ai chargé pendant le séjour, que vous ferez à Lisbonne, Je veux bien y ajouter encore, que Je viens de recevoir des notions fort avantageuses de la fig-ure et des qualités de l'Infante de Portugal, quoiqu'on me dise, qu'elle est un peu méchante; Je suis donne d'autant plus empressée de savoir à fond ce qui en est, souhaitant, que vous me mandiez, le plutôt qu'il se pourra après votre arrivée à Lisbonne, votre rapport chiffré, aussi exact que détaillé, tant sur l'extérieur que sur les qualités d'esprit et de coeur de cette Princesse; en Ic dirigeant ici par la voie la plus courte.

Je voudrais aussi avoir de bon tabac d'Espagne: vous pourriez m'en procurer une médiocre provision par le Comte de Hessenberg qui pourrait me le faire parvenir à l'occasion de l'envoi d'un courrier, ou par quelque autre voie, ou bien vous le remettre à votre passage par Madrid, en retournant ici. Je vous assure de ma constante grâce et bienveillance.

Marie Thérèse m/p.

P.S. J'ai oublié que vous ne passez papa r l'Espagne à cause du tabac.

Translation: (French) Vienna, 15 March 1764

Count of Taaffe,

Informed, as you are of the commission, with which I entrusted you during the stay, which you will do in Lisbon, I am willing to add to it again, that I have just received very advantageous notions of the figure and the qualities of the 'Infanta of Portugal. (I am told, though, she is a bit wicked!) I am therefore even more eager to find out in depth what is going on, hoping that you will tell me, as soon as possible after your arrival in Lisbon, your quantified report, as exact as it is detailed, both on the exterior than on the qualities of mind and heart of this Princess; by directing here by the shortest route.

I would also like to have some good tobacco from Spain.[417] You could get me a mediocre supply of it through the Count of Rosenberg, who could send it to me when sending a courier, or by some other means, or give it to you on your way through Madrid, returning here. I assure you of my constant grace and benevolence.

Marie Therese m/p.

P.S. I forgot that you don't pass through Spain for the tobacco.

question their loyalty to her or her or more boldly renounce her. She would give birth to 16 children, 4 of whom died in childhood. Smallpox killed some of them, and she herself contracted by survived the disease. (She would become an early proponent of smallpox inoculation.) A curiosity that all her sisters shared the first name, *Marie,* including the infamous *Marie Antoinette* of France.

[417] Spain introduced tobacco to the Europe in the 16th century, dominating early trading in as it grew in popularity throughout the old world. Much of the Spanish tobaccos came from Central and South America and Caribbean islands, including Cuba. Europeans had been smoking and chewing other botanicals before them, but tobacco was new to them and its addictive qualities contributed to its widespread adoption.

John Taaffe's copies. (339)

Sacrée Majesté, Madame,

Pour obéir aux ordres de Votre Majesté, j'ai l'honneur de lui mander qu'étant arrivé ici le 16. du courant, je fis les visites accoutumées aux ministres, eus mes audiences le 19. et fus reçu très gracieusement de toute la famille Royale, comme Votre Majesté pourra le voir par ma relation à Monsr. le Prince de Colorado.

La Princesse du Brésil, le Prince de Beira, son fils et les trois Infantes furent présentes á l'audience de la Reine; je fis un compliment à chacune, selon la coutume d'ici, mais comme je fus reçu en cérémonie, elles furent toutes debout et rangées selon leur rang à la gauchie de la Reine et ne me répondirent qu'en peu de mots, de sorte que toute l'audience ne dura guère plus d'un demi quart d'heur. Elles sont généralement toutes bien faites; la Cadette, l'infante Marie Benoîte, est jolie sans être une beauté régulièr, elle est d'une taille médiocre et incline à devenir grasse, elle jouit d'une santé parfaite et eut la petite vérole il y a une couple d'années, je n'ai pu m'apercevoir si elle en était marquée, comme on tient ici les chambres à demi obscures à cause de la chaleur du soleil; on fait ici si peu de cas de la rougeole, que je n'ai pu encore apprendre si elle l'à eue. Elle passe pour avoir de l'esprit, un caractère et une humeur admirables, ainsi que beaucoup de caractère. Dans celle dont Votre Majesté m'honora à Francfort en date du 15. Mars, Elle me fit l'honneur de me marquer qu'Elle avait appris que l'infante était un peu méchante; Je m'en suis informé autant qu'il m'à été possible, et je puis assurer Votre Majesté que j'ai lieu de croire qu'on lui fait tort sur ce point et qu'on s'est selon toute apparence trompe dans la personne; on en taxe plutôt la troisième qui jouit d'une petite santé, ce qui pente y contribuer. La cour ne dine jamais en public, et les Princesses sont fort retirées; la Cadette aime beaucoup la musique, elle en fait son amusement principal, on dit qu'elle compose et chante fort joliment. Voila tout ce que j'ai pu apprendre sur ce joint jusqu'à cette heure; une indisposition qui m'est survenue le lendemain de mon audience, me fit garder la chambre quelques jours, mais j'ai appris que n'étant jais sur le pied de ministre étranger á cette cour, Leurs Majestés me permettront d'assister à un concert à la cour, où j'aurai l'honneur d'entendre les Princesses chanter et jouer et de les voir sans tout ce cérémonial d'usage dans les audiences. Je me réserve jusqu'alors l'honneur de donner à Votre Majesté des notions plus exactes et détaillées aussi bien sur ce point que sur les autres contenus dans mon instruction.

Translation: John Taaffe's copies.

Sacred Majesty, Madam,

To obey your Majesty's orders, I have the honour to inform you that having arrived here on the 16th of the current, I made the usual visits to the ministers, had my audiences on the 19th and was very graciously received by all the Royal Family, as Your Majesty will see from my letter to Monsieur the Prince of Colorado.

The Princess of Brazil,[418] the Prince of Beira,[419] her son and the three children were present at the Queen's audience. I paid a compliment to each, as is the custom here, and as I was ceremonially received. They were all standing and arranged according to their rank on the Queen's left and only answered me in a few words, so that the whole audience lasted hardly more than seven or eight

[418] Maria I of Portugal (1734-1816) was Queen of Portugal from 1777 until her death. She married her uncle, Dom Pedro in 1760. She was considered to be a good ruler until around 1786 when some sort of mental illness afflicted her and in 1792 she was declared incompetent and leadership fell to her son. Her affliction continued unabated until her death. More…

[419] Jose Francisco (1761-1788), the eldest son of Maria I. He would die of smallpox at age 27.

minutes. They are generally all well done. The youngest, Marie Benoîte, is pretty without being a regular beauty, of moderate height and prone to becoming fat, enjoys perfect health and had smallpox a couple of years ago but, as the rooms here are kept shaded because of the heat of the sun, I could not see if it was scarred by it. Measles is so ignored here that I have not yet been able to find out if she has had it. She is said to have admirable wit, character, and humour, as well as a great deal of character.

In that with which Your Majesty honoured me at Frankfurt, dated March 15th, you did me the honour of notifying me that you had learned that the girl was a little wicked. I have inquired about it as much as I could, and I can assure Your Majesty that I have reason to believe that you have been wronged on this point and that, to all appearances, you have been mistaken in the person. We rather tax the third who enjoys poor health, which tends to contribute to it.

The court never dines in public, and the Princesses are very shy. Our student is very fond of music, she makes it her main amusement, and it is said that she composes and sings very beautifully. This is all I have been able to learn about this place up till nw. An indisposition occurred to me the day after my audience, caused me to remain alone for a few days. But I learned that, even though I am not on the footing of a foreign minister at this court, their majesties will allow me to attend a concert at court, where I shall have the honour of hearing the princesses sing and play and of seeing them without all the ceremonial customary in audiences. Until then, I reserve the honour of giving Your Majesty more exact and detailed notions on this point as well as on the others contained in my instructions.

Sacrée Majesté, Madame, (340)

Je supplie très—humblement Votre Majesté de ne point l'imputer à un manque de zèle pour Son Auguste Service, si je n'ai pu jusqu'à cette heurs Lui donner des notions plus exactes touchant la famille Royale, mais de l'attribuer à l'impossibilité causée par l'étiquette de la cour; un Portugais ne peut passer la première porte du palais sans que tous les yeux soient fixés sur lui et qu'on juge des raisons qui l'y amènent; la noblesse attachée à la cour n'en sort guère et ne reçoit pas de visite, de sorte qu'il n'y à de communication entre celle-ci et celle de la ville que dans le cas de la plus proche parenté. On m'avait fait espérer que je pourrai aller aux concerts, qui se donnent de temps en temps à la cour, mais comme cela ne vint jamais à l'effet et que l'infant Dom Pedro donne toutes les années à sa maison de campagne une fête à la famille Royale le jour de la St. Jean, je priai le Comte d'Oyeras de m'obtenir la permission de pouvoir y assister; je l'obtins, m'y rendis et fus reçu le plus gracieusement du monde, on me plaça partout de manière que je pouvais tout voir et entendre et fus pendant le feu d'artifice, qui dura pros d'une heure, dans le même pavillon duquel la famille Royale et ceux qui étaient de service le virent. L'infante donne une fête pareille le joui- de St. Pierre', mais comme les ministres étrangers avaient obtenu cette même permission pour la première fois, je la vis avec eux dans une loge construite à cet effet.

Je donnerai en peu de mots à Votre Majesté dans celle-ci et mes suivantes un détail de ce que j'ai pu apprendre de la famille Royale depuis mon séjour ici, mais La supplie de croire que ce n'est que Son ordre précis, qui pourrait me faire parler avec cette franchise, ou même m'informer de cette façon des têtes couronnées et des familias Souveraines.

Le Roi est de moyenne taille et robuste, à un air gracieux, un caractère doux et bienfaisant et une grande vénération dans le fond pour la religion, quoiqu'on en pourrait juger autrement par divers arrangements pris depuis l'administration du Comte d'Oyeras; il est ferme dans ses résolutions et a peut-être un peu trop de faiblesse pour ceux en qui il à une fois placé sa confiance.

La Reine à infiniment de l'esprit, se mêle peu ou point du tout dans les affaires, a beaucoup de religion et élevé ses enfants de même; pour ce qui regarde le reste de l'éducation, elle n'est point telle que Votre Majesté par ses soins indéfatigables la donne à Son Auguste Famille ; la Reine est à la vérité très-sévère, mais, si j'ose le dire en parlant d'une Souveraine, elle pense trop aux amusements de la musique, de la chasse, des courses à cheval et en voiture, pour y donner tous ses soins ; les Princesses eurent un Jésuite, homme de talent, qui les instruisit dans la géographie, les belles lettres, le latin, même la philosophie et la physique expérimentale, mais lorsque les Jésuites furent bannis. on négligea de le remplacer par im sujet convenable.

Dom Pedro, frère du Roi, est affable, gracieux etc.,—à beaucoup de religion, son bon goût brille dans toutes les fêtes, qu'il donne à Leurs Majestés, et l'ordre règne dans tout ce qu'il entreprend.

La Princesse de Brésil, son épouse, à un caractère doux et beaucoup de bonté, passe la plus grande partie de la matinée en prières ou en conversation avec son confesseur, un Carme, elle tient une conduite irréprochable envers Dieu, ses parents, son époux et le l'este de sa famille.

L'Infante Marianne est plus jolie, a plus de talents et d'application; elle a profite des instructions qu'on lui donna, aime la lecture et à beaucoup de piété; elle a la plus belle voix, aime la parure, et est un pen économe, elle est résolue et naïve, à ce c|u'on dit, niais à au reste pour chacun les égards nécessaires et convenables.

L'Infante Marie Dorothee est fort maigre, on dit qu'elle est un pen méchante, ce qui pent provenir de ses maladies continuelles; elle ne parait en public que les jours de ceremonie.

L'Infante Marie Benoîte est incomparablement la plus jolie, elle est de moyenne taille, à de l'embonpoint et est bien faite, elle à le teint beau et quoiqu'elle soit un pen marquée de la petite vérole, ce n'est cependant pas de manière que cela la défigure le moins du monde; elle à un air de grandeur et se présente en public mieux qu'aucune de la famille Royale, ses amusements sont la musique, la broderie et autres ouvrages à l'aiguille, elle n'à pas la voix tout- à-fait aussi belle que l'infante Marianne, mais chante très-bien et avec beaucoup de grâce; leur maitre est un certain Perez, qui fût autrefois à Vienne. Elle jouit d'une santé parfaite, est vive, à un caractère admirable, beaucoup de piète et de souplesse dans son humeur, est gracieuse, genereuse et affable envers tout le monde. Je l'ai souvent entendu appeler par les noms de notre chére, notre adorable, notre belle Princesse, son âge peu avancé lorsque les Jésuites furent proserits, l'empêcha de profiter autant que l'infante Marianne des instructions qu'on leur donna, mais on m'assure qu'elle à un désir et une grande facilite à apprendre tout ce qui pent convenir à son rang et à sa naissance. Elle ainsi que ses aînées ne parle que le Portugais coulammentj mais com-prend tres-bien le Français et l'italien, de sorte qu'il ne lui couterait je crois guère de peine de parler ces deux langues en peu de temps. J'aurai l'honneur d'en donner encore quelques nouvelles à Votre Majesté avant mon départ et de lui remettre son portrait à mon arrivée.

Je me mets avec soumission aux pieds le Votre Sacrée Majesté et ne cesserai d'être avec le zèle le plus ardent pour Son Auguste Service etc…

La cour fût comme à l'ordinaire à la fête des taureaux Dimanche passé, les Infantes Marianne et Marie Benoîte fûrent renversées au retour, la Cadette eût une contusion assez forte au front et au bras gauche, mais montra beaucoup de courage et de résolution, et monta dans la même chaise pour s'en retourner au palais; on la saigna le lendemain, mais elle se porta si bien que le Roi et la Reine ne remirent point le parti dc plaisir qu'ils s'étaient propose à la maison de campagne de l'infant; elle n'eut d'autre blessure qu'une bosse au front et une égratignure au bras, et ne garda le lit qu'aussi long-temps qu'on le croit nécessaire ici pour la saignée.

Translation: Sacred Majesty, Madam,

I very humbly beg Your Majesty not to assume a lack of interest in being of service. If I have been able to give you more exact notions about the royal family, it's because of the limitations caused by court etiquette. A Portuguese cannot pass the first door of the palace without all eyes being fixed on him and the reasons which lead him there being judged. The nobility attached to the court rarely leave it and receive no visitors, so that there is little communication between the latter and that of the city except in the case of the closest kinship.

I had been led to hope that I would be able to go to the concerts, which are given from time to time at court, but since that never came to fruition and that the Infante Dom Pedro gives every year at his country house a feast at the royal family on St. John's Day,[420] I begged the Comte d'Oyeras to obtain permission for me to be able to attend. I obtained it, went there and was received most graciously. I was placed everywhere so that I could see and hear everything and was during the fireworks display, which lasted nearly an hour, in the same pavilion from which the Royal family and those who were on duty saw it. The Infanta gives a similar feast on St. Peter's Day [June 29], but as the foreign ministers had obtained this same permission for the first time, I saw her with them in a box built for the purpose.

I will give in a few words to Your Majesty in this and my attendants a detail of what I have been able to learn of the Royal family since my stay here. I beg Your Majesty to believe that it is only your strict orders that could make me speak with so frankly, or even inform me in this way of crowned heads and sovereign families.

The King is of medium height and robust, with a graceful air, a gentle and benevolent character, and a deep veneration for religion, although one could judge otherwise by various arrangements made since the administration of the Count of Oyeras. He is firm in his resolve and perhaps has a little too sympathetic to those in he once placed his trust in.

The Queen is infinitely witty, interferes little or not at all in affairs, is very religion and brings up her children in the same way. As for the rest of the education, it is not such as Your Majesty by your indefatigable care gives it to his family. The Queen is indeed very severe, but, if I dare say it in speaking of a Sovereign, she thinks too much of the pleasures of music, hunting, horse and carriage racing, to pay close attention to her children. The Princesses had a Jesuit tutor, a talented man, who instructed them in geography, literature, Latin, even philosophy and experimental physics, but when the Jesuits were banished,[421] they neglected to replace him with a suitable replacement.

Dom Pedro, brother of the King, is affable, gracious, etc.—to many religions, his good taste shines in all the feasts he gives to Their Majesties, and order reigns in all that he undertakes.

The Princess of Brazil, his wife, with a gentle character and a lot of kindness, spends most of the morning in prayer or in conversation with her confessor, a Carmelite, she maintains an irreproachable conduct towards God, her parents, her husband, and the rest of his family.

The Infanta Marianne is prettier, has more talent and application; she took advantage of the instructions given to her, loved reading and had a lot of piety. She has the most beautiful voice, likes finery, and is a

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[420] Probably June 24, feast day of St. John the Baptist in the Roman Catholic Church. It also coincides with Midsummer Day festivals in many countries.

[421] In what is called the *Suppression of the Society of Jesus*, Jesuits were banned form most western countries, starting with Portugal in 1759. The Jesuits were not above meddling in politics, and the ideas espoused by them were unpopular with many monarchs. For example, the supported the idea of closer relations between countries based on mutual interests rather than artificial geographical boundaries. They were distrusted as being too close to the Roman Papacy. Their progressive views of theology clashed with the darker Calvinist views of the depravity mankind and personal agency in making moral and ethical decisions rather than relying on authority and doctrine.

thrifty pen, she is resolute and naive, so to speak, but, moreover, she gives everyone the necessary and proper consideration.

The Infanta Marie Dorothee is very thin, it is said that she is a bit disobedient, which may be due to her continual illnesses. She appears in public only on ceremonial days.

The Infanta Marie Benoîte is incomparably the prettiest, she is of medium height, overweight and well made, she has a beautiful complexion and although she is marked with smallpox, it does not disfigure her in the least. She has an air of grandeur and presents herself in public better than any of the Royal family. Her pasttimes are music, embroidery, and other needlework. She does not have a voice quite so beautiful than the Infanta Marianne but sings very well and with much grace. Their master is a certain Perez, who was formerly in Vienna. She enjoys perfect health, is lively, of an admirable character, much piety and suppleness in her temper, is gracious, generous, and affable towards everyone. I have often heard her called by the names of *our dear*, *our adorable, our beautiful Princess*, but I am assured that she has a desire and a great facility to learn everything that can suit her rank and her birth. She, like her elders, only speaks fluent Portuguese but understands French and Italian very well, so that it would hardly cost her, I believe, to speak these two languages in a short time. I shall have the honour of giving Your Majesty some more news to him before my departure and of presenting him with his portrait on my arrival.

I place myself submissively at Your Sacred Majesty's feet and will not cease to be with the most ardent zeal for His August Service etc. The court was as usual at the feast of the bulls last Sunday,[422] the Infantas Marianne and Marie Benoîte were knocked down on their return, the Cadette had a fairly strong bruise on her forehead and on her left arm, but showed a lot of courage and resolution, and climbed into the same chair to return to the palace; they bled her the next day, but she was so well that the King and Queen did not postpone the party of pleasure they had proposed to the country house of the infant; she had no other wound than a bump on her forehead and a scratch on her arm, and only kept her bed so long as is believed necessary here for the bleeding.

Count Pückler to Count John Taaffe. (343) Pressbourg cc 16, Juillet 1764.

Monsieur,

Je n'ai reçu qu'à Pressbourg, ou je me trouve depuis le commencement de ce mois, la lettre du 29. de Mai, que vous avez bien voulu m'adresser, Monsieur, pour S. M., à qui je n'ai pas laisse de la remettre d'abord; j'ai en conséquence l'honneur de vous dire, que contente comme est Sa Majesté parfaitement du contenu de votre lettre, elle compte que sans vous arrêter quelque part, ou en faire un long détour, vous ne tarderez pas, Monsieur, d'arriver bientôt à Vienne, pour vous trouver à portée, de faire de bouche votre rapport sur les particularités de votre voyage.

Sa Majesté vous supposant, Monsieur, déjà en chemin, je crois ne pouvoir mieux faire, que d'adresser ma lettre à Monsr. le Secrétaire Kaill, en le priant de vous la faire parvenir.

Rien ne saurait égaler mon empressement de vous renouveler, Monsieur, à votre retour les assurances du plus respectueux dévouement avec lequel j'ai l'honneur d'être,

Monsieur, Votre très-humble et très-obeissant serviteur, Pückler m/p.

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[422] This is probably like the famous Running of the Bulls event held each year in Pamplona, Spain each July. There is a Portuguese variant of this popular yet dangerous activity where the bull has a rope around its neck, allowing for some control over the bull to precent too much havoc. More…

Translation: Count Pückler[423] to Count John Taaffe. 16 July 1764.

Sir,

I only received at Pressburg, where I have been since the beginning of this month, the letter of the 29th of May, which you kindly addressed to me, Monsieur, for his majesty, to whom I gave it to first. I therefore have the honour to tell you that, perfectly satisfied as Her Majesty is with the contents of your letter, she trusts that without stopping somewhere, or making a long detour, you will not delay, Sir, to arrive soon in Vienna, to find yourself within reach of making your report by mouth on the particulars of your journey.

His Majesty supposing you, Sir, already on the way, I think I can do no better than to address my letter to Monsignor Secretary Kaill, asking him to send it to you.

Nothing could equal my eagerness to see to you, Sir, on your return the assurances of the most respectful devotion with which I have the honour to be, Sir, Your most humble and obedient servant,

Pückler m/p.

Untitled. 19 August 1764 (344)

Sereníssimo e Potentissimo Senhor Imperador Meu muito charo e amado bom Irmão, e Primo. Por não dilatar nemhum só dia as primeiras expressões do sumo prazer, que Vossa Majestade me anunciou pelo Conde de Taaffe com q noticia da feliz exaltação do Senhor Archiduque seu digníssimo Filho Meu bom Irmão, e Sobrinho ao Throno do Roy dos Romanos, encarreguei por hum expresso a Ambrozio Freire de Andrade e Castro Meu Ministro Plenipotenciário na corte de Vossa Majestade àqueles sinceros testemunhos do meu justo e natural contentamento: Reservando as ulteriores demonstrações do meu fervoroso jubilo para à partida de hum Ministro Extraordinário que logo destinei para completar na Real presença de Vossa Majestade as minhas vivas congratulações por bum tão fausto e interessante sucesso. Offercendose porem agora à partida do Conde de Taaffe, não posso deixar de aproveitar também esta ocasião de repetir à Vossa Majestade, que o meu contentamento tem sido em tudo igual aos grandes desejos que cultivo de ver acumuladas a esta felicidade as muitas outras que o meu fino e cordialíssimo afecto espera ver na Imperial Família de Vossa Majestade. Devo com esta oportunidade testificar a Vossa Majestade, que o referido Conde de Taaffe, no tempo que residia nesta corte, deu nela claras provas de probidade, prudência, e acerto, com que se me fez tão agradável, como o julgo digno de todas as honras, e Mercês que à Real grandeza de Vossa Majestade lhe quiser conferir. Deus guarde a Vossa Majestade como desejo. Palácio de Nossa Senhora da Ajuda à 19. de Agosto 1764.

Bom Irmão e Primo de Vossa Majestade

Jozeph m/p.

Translation: Most Serene and Most Powerful Lord Emperor, My very dear and beloved good Brother and Cousin.

I could not delay for a single day to extend the first expressions of the supreme pleasure, which Your Majesty announced to me through the Count of Taaffe with the news of the happy exaltation of the Lord Archduke, his most worthy Son My good Brother, and Nephew to the Throne of Emperor of the Holt Roman Empire. I have entrusted for a I express to Ambrozio Freire de Andrade e Castro, my

[423]August Heinricj von Puckler (1720-1810)

Plenipotentiary Minister[424] in Your Majesty's court to those sincere testimonies of the just and natural contentment: Reserving the further demonstrations of my fervent joy for the departure of an Extraordinary Minister that I soon intended to complete in the Royal presence of Your Majesty, my cheers, congratulate you on such a prestigious and interesting success. Now, however, on the occasion of the Count of Taaffe's departure, I cannot fail to take this opportunity to repeat to Your Majesty that my contentment has been in every way equal to the great desires I cultivate to garner the happiness and many others that my kind and cordial affection hopes to see in Your Majesty's Imperial Family. I owe this opportunity to testify to Your Majesty, that the aforementioned Earl of Taaffe, during the time I resided in this court, gave in it clear proofs of probity, prudence, and success, with which he made me as pleasant as the judge worthy of all honours, and favours that Your Majesty's royal grandeur wishes to bestow upon you. God keep Your Majesty as I wish. Palace of Nossa Senhora da Ajuda[425] on the 19th of August 1764. Good Brother and Cousin of Your Majesty, Joseph m/p.

Copia. Eccelso Cesareo Regio Capte Consiligo. (345)

Decembre 1765; Nr. .54. Praes. 13. Dec. 1765.

In seguito alli graziosi ordini di questo Eccelso Consiglio si siamo portati per rilevare la facoltà relitta dal defunto Signor Conte Giovanni Battista de Taaffe, Cesareo Regio Aulico Consigliere, ed in tal' incontro presente il Signor Giuda Conte de Cobenzl intervenuto a nome della Signora Contessa Vedova de Taaffe, non furono ritrovati se non li pochi effetti della di lui particolare ragione apparenti dall' ingionta specifica, li quali furono consegnati come dalla sottonotata quitanza alia sudetta di lui relitta Vedova Signora Contessa Taaffe nata Contessa Chotek atteso che il di lui bagaglio formale viaggiava separatamente, fu pure ritrovato un plico di scritture, in cui non furono, se non alquante lettere particolari apparenti dalla stessa specifica consegnate pure alla medesima Signora Contessa Vedova.

In questo incontro s'ha ulteriormente à norma delle sovrane prescrizioni indagato e rilevato che il prefetto Signor Conte de Taaffe sia morto in questa mane alle ore 6 di convulsioni, d'eta d'anni 33 ab intestato, con aver lasciato doppo di se la di lui Vedova Signora Consorte Maria Contessa de Taaffe nata Contessa de Chotek, e due flglj, l'uno di nome Rodolfo d'anni 4, e l'altro d'anni 11/2 di nome Giovanni, come non meno una figlia d'anni 6 di nome Mariana.

Tanto in adempimento de' nostri doveri rassegnammo a quest' Eccelso Consiglio con tutto' ossequio dedicandosi. Di quest' Eccelso Cesareo Regio Capte Consiglio, Devotissimo

Ottavio Barone de Terzi m/p. Gorizia li 10. Decemb. 1765. Conimissario ad acta.

Translation: Advise of the Court Legal Counsel[426]

Following the gracious orders of this legal advisers, we went to take over the uncertain state of the deceased Count William Taaffe, Cesareo Regio Court Councillor, and in this meeting present Mr. Giuda

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[424] A plenipotentiary minister is an individual with full power to act on behalf of his superior.

[425] The *Palácio da Ajuda* has an interesting history. In 1765 it was still a wooden structure erected to house the royal family following a magnitude 7.7 earthquake and tsunami that occurred on November 1, 1755. Interruptions due to inconvenient invasions and money problems would delay major progress until 1796. Lisbon was devastated, and after considering their options leaders decided to completely raze what was left of the city and start over from scratch. The palace itself appears to be lovely, and I suggest interested readers to follow the hyperlinks to learn more about it and the devastation that led to its rise.

[426] This was a difficult piece to translate as it mixes several languages as well as legal terms, but I think I have the gist of it. William Taaffe has died suddenly, and confusingly, without a will. He was only 33, so one might excuse him based on his age. The local authorities step in, much like a probate court would nowadays, to help his widow, Vedova, sort things out for her and her young children.

Conte de Cobenzl intervened in the name of the Countess Widow[427] de Taaffe, only the few effects of his particular reason were found, apparent from the specific order, which were delivered to the Widow Lady Countess Taaffe, born Countess Chotek[428], expecting that his formal baggage traveling separately, a bundle of writings was also found, in which only a few apparent particular letters from the same specification were also delivered to the same Lady Countess Widow.

In this meeting it was further investigated in accordance with the sovereign prescriptions and found that the prefect Mr Conte de Taaffe died in this morning at 6 o'clock of convulsions, aged 33 years without a will, having left after himself his widow Mrs. Consort Maria Contessa de Taaffe born Countess de Chotek, and two children, one named Rudolf aged 4, and the other aged 11/2 named Giovanni, as no less a daughter of 6 years old named Mariana.

So, in fulfilment of our duties, we resigned ourselves to this Excelled Council with all respect by dedicating ourselves. Of this Excelled Cesareo Regio Capte Council, Most Devoted

Ottavio Barone de Terzi m / p., Commisioner of the files, Gorizia, Italy, 10 December 1765

Letter of the Empress to Nicholas L. Viscount Taaffe. 17 December 1765. (346)

Le mérite de feu votre digne fils M'était trop connu pour que je puisse Me refuser à partager avec vous les regrets de sa perte; il me sera toujours agréable de pouvoir contribuer à soulager votre juste affliction sur un éventement aussi fatal, et vous pouvez compter avec tout ce qui vous appartient encore, sur la continuation de Mon ancienne bienveillance.

Marie Thérèse m/p. Vienne le 17. de Décembre 1765.

Translation: Letter of the Empress to Nicholas L. Viscount Taaffe. 17 December 1765.

The merit of your late worthy son was too well known to me for me to refuse to share with you the regrets of his loss. It will always be pleasant for me to be able to contribute to alleviating your just affliction on such a fatal event, and you can count with all that still belongs to you, on the continuation of my former benevolence.

Marie Therese m/p. Vienna on 17 December 1765

Letter of the Empress to Lady Anne Taaffe. 17 December 1765. (346)

Me chère Taaffe. Je suis très-sensible h la douleur dont doit vous accabler à si juste titre, la perte inopinée d'un fils qui devait vous être cher, et qui par son zèle, son attachement, et ses autres belles qualités avait su se rendre digne de Mon estime et de Ma bienveillance; Je connais par une triste expérience, quelle doit 'être l'amertume de votre situation, et je désire bien sincèrement que le Tout Puissant, auteur de toute consolation, vous fasse trouver dans votre vertu et dans votre religion tout le soulagement, dont vous avez besoin; soyez toujours bien persuadée de la continuation de Mes anciens

[427] Vedova, Portugese of widow.

[428] The information I unearthed about Window Chotek, suggest her full names as Marie Quidobaldina Brigit Chotkova und Vojnin (1738-1810), married to John Philippi Taaffe, son of Nicholas Taaffe, 6th Viscount. *John must have adopted* William as nickname or an assumed name, as later letters of condolence to Nicholas Taaffe about the death of his son at a young age in 1765 confirm that William and John are the same person.

sen- timens pour vous, ainsi que de Ma constante disposition à en donner des marques à toute votre famille.

Marie Thérèse m/p., Vienna, 17 december 17. de Décembre 1765

Translation: Letter of the Empress to Lady Anne Taaffe.

My dear Taaffe. I am very sensitive to the pain which must so rightly overwhelm you, the unexpected loss of a son who was to be dear to you, and who by his zeal, his attachment, and his other fine qualities had known how to make himself worthy of my esteem and my benevolence; I know from sad experience what the bitterness of your situation must be, and I very sincerely desire that the Almighty, author of all consolation, make you find in your virtue and in your religion all the relief, of which you have need; always be well persuaded of the continuation of my continuing affection for you, as well as of my constant disposition to give the same to all your family.

Marie Therese m/p. Vienna, 17 December 1765.

Count Francis Taaffe to L. Clementina Taaffe-Bellew. Dublin, 15 July 1788. (347)

Dublin ce 15. de Juillet 1788.

J'ai été long-temps, tendre épouse, sans vous entretenir: quelques heures suffisent pour me faire éprouver une pareille sensation, je veux dire un besoin de jaser avec vous. Quoique j'ai résolu de ne vous parler dans mes lettres que, ou d'affaires, ou de ceux dont je suis content, je ne laisse pas que de prendre de petites notes que je conserve pour me rafraîchir la mémoire, quand j'aurai le bonheur de me trouver avec vous.

Ce matin Martin, frère des nôtres, vint me voir; il est et plus grand et plus beau que Bob, il voulait voir si j'y étais, pour que mon Cousin Mac-Donnel (son oncle) pût venir me faire visite; le pauvre homme a trop de peine à se trainer pour que j'acceptasse l'offre. J'y fus dès que j'eusse achevé de m' habiller: j'y fus reçu, tant de lui que de son épouse avec la plus grande joie: nos deux officiers, dans la ferreur de leur reconnaissance, ont écrit Dieu sait quoi de nous à leur famille; pour vous, ma femme, tous seriez réellement fâchée, si je tous disais, de mon crû, la moitié de ce qu'on pense de vous. Si j'ai dit que Mac-Donnel à beaucoup à se trainer, ce n'est pas pour cela, que je le crois aussi dangereusement qu'on me l'à représenté: il souffre des nerfs, et ses craintes naissent de cette triste maladie: une chose me paraît même avantageuse, il n'est plus d'une corpulence aussi énorme, que ci-devant: ils me prièrent avec tant d'affection de diner avec eux, que je ne pus le refuser, j'en reviens dans ce moment. Mrs. Mac-Donnel est accompagnée d'une soeur de nos Chartins. Jamais je n'ai rien vu de mieux fait, le visage très-joli, quoique je soupçonne qu'il l'à été en-core davantage il-y-a trois ou quatre ans, quoiqu'elle ne soit pas avancée dans les vingt. Nous étions très-bien servis, et je ne me souviens pas depuis long-temps d'avoir goûté de si bon Bourgogne; en général en fait de vin je me trouve bien de ce voyagé, ce que je crois contribuer beaucoup au bon état de ma santé; car d'ailleurs, je ne puis pas croire le climat sain, à celui qui est accoutumé à un air plus pur: des brouillards continuels, et depuis mon arrivée en Angleterre jusqu' aujourd'hui un seul jour sans pluie! dans ce moment il en tombe à verse: ma bonne mère avait bien raison, d'appeler ce pays, le pays des Canards; et ce qui est particulier, les bonnes gens ne se plaignent pas du tout: cela me passe après cette digression, à laquelle le bon vin de notre Cousin donna lieu; je dirai seulement, que je ne compte pas de me contenter de faire du dégât à sa cave; je n'épargnerai rien, pour faire une bonne saignée à sa bourse; s'il ne m'offre pas d'argent pour nos jeunes gens, je ne ferai aucune difficulté de lui en demander.

Qui osera dorénavant reprocher à la populace la basse crapule, quand elle peut se vanter d'exemples tels que vous trouverez dans la traduction littérale d'un paragraphe de la gazette d'aujourd'hui.

(Extrait d'une gazette.) London 11 July 1788. (348)

Une fredaine d'un jeune personnage du plus haut rang, a manqué Lundi passe à Newmarket (aux courses des chevaux) d'avoir des suites très-des-agréables. Son Altesse Royale dina avec le Due d'Orleans et l'Abbe son frère, et une compagnie mêlée de Français et Anglais au café se promenant ensemble après diner, l'Abbé proposa une gageure, qu'en chatouillant un poisson qu'on voyait dans le bassin, il resterait immobile, jusqu'à ce qu'il le saisit: le Prince gagea contre, l'Abbe se baissant à cet effet, le Prince le fît tomber dans l'eau la tête la première. Le Due d'Orleans outre de ce qui était arrivé à son frère, et armé d'un grand fouet courût après le Prince pour le châtier: celui-ci eut le temps de s'enfuir dans le café. L'Abbe tout trempé fût ramené chez lui: les Dues de Queensberry, Grafton et Bedford s'interposèrent, ils réussirent à accommoder l'affaire par une déclaration au nom du Prince, qu'il était bien éloigné d'avoir jamais voulu l'offenser, et qu'il convenait qu'il avait plus tôt trop bû: l'Abbé s'en contenta, et se promenait le lendemain matin bras dessus bras dessous par la ville avec le Prince. Une pareille anecdote n'à pas besoin de commentaire.

Continué Mercredi 16.

Pendant que j'étais h diner tout ce qui restait de place a l'hôtel ou je loge, fut occupe par des voyageurs qui arrivaient d'Angleterre : ils étaient partis Dimanche le soir de Holyhead, ainsi leur passage à dure environ quatre fois aussi long- temps que le mien: je n'en fais mention que parce que je me flatte d'avoir par cette malle de vos chères lettres. Dieu donne que le temps orageux ait cesse et rendu le calme à vos nerfs agites. Je ne sais comment cela me vient en tête, mais je m'imagine que j'entendrai quelque chose de notre nouveau chapelain, que le bon Spalek à recommande.

Pendant que j'étais sorti hier, Mr. O'Reilly, frère du Lieu- tenant-Colonel, passa chez moi, à ce qu'il parait, au lieu de répondre à la lettre que je lui écrivis en arrivant, il est venu lui-même en ville; m'ayant manque, il reviendra ce matin, ainsi que vous aurez probablement de ses nouvelles avant la conclusion de la présente. L'anecdote du Prince de Galles vous pouvez communiquer au digne Pater Petra, et si vous voulez à Hussey, mais point à d'autres : J'ai honte au lieu du Prince de son ivrognerie. Le frère de notre ami Hussey passa encore chez moi hier. Je le trouve bien dispose; si Madame l'était de même, tout s'arrangerait aisément; il est certain qu'il est tourmente, et suce par les Avocats; c'est leur pays de cocagne, il y à par exemple un Mr. Scott, lequel, il y à vingt ans, n'avait pas, comme tout le monde en convient, dixL. St. de bien, dans ce moment possède en terres et dans les fonds pour la valeur de 16 mille L. St. de rente et le titre de Mylord Earlsford, et on croit qu'il va devenir Chancelier, poste qui rapporte L. 12000 de revenu! son frère est encore un Attorney, par ou il commença lui-même.—Les gens de loi ont aussi leur place distinguée dans la note que je vous garde. Je parlerai plus en détail dans ma prochaine, et ne diffère de conclure celle-ci, que dans l'espérance de recevoir de vos chères nouvelles.—

Je dois men passer jusqu'a l'ordinaire prochain; ces deux mors à passer ajoutent bien à mon chagrin de me voir sépare de vous, et à devoir craindre que le même sort retarde également nies lettres! —il faut se soumettre, mais qu'il en coute! Vos soufFrances à cette occasion, me vont encore plus à coeur que les miennes. Celui qui à permis notre séparation, nous rejoindra: confions en lui.

F. Taaffe.

Translation: Count Francis Taaffe to L. Clementina Taaffe-Bellew. Dublin this July 15, 1788.

I have been a long time, tender wife, without talking to you: a few hours are enough to make me experience such a feeling, I mean a need to chat with you. Although I have resolved to speak to you in my letters only, either of business, or of those with which I am happy, I do not leave anything but to take little notes which I keep to refresh my memory when I have the happiness of finding myself with you.

This morning Martin, brother of ours, came to see me. He is taller and more handsome than Bob. He wanted to see if I was there, to ask if my cousin MacDonnel (his uncle) could come and visit me. The poor man has too much trouble weighing on him to me to come himself.

I went there as soon as I had finished dressing. I was received, both by him and by his wife, with the greatest joy. Our two officers, in the fervour of their gratitude, wrote God knows what from us to their family. For you, my wife, everyone would be really angry if I were to say, of my own accord, half of what people think of you. If I said that MacDonnel has a lot to carry, it is not for that I believe him as dangerously as I have been represented to him. He suffers from the nerves, and his fears are born of this melancholy.

One thing even seems positive to me, he is no as fat as he was before. They begged me with so much affection to dine with them, that I could not refuse it, and I will I come back in to this in a moment.

Mrs. MacDonnel is accompanied by a sister from our Chartins. I have never seen anything better done, her face very pretty, although I suspect it was even more so three or four years ago, although she is not more than 25 years old.

We were very well served, and I cannot remember for a long time having tasted such good Burgundy. In general, in terms of wine, I find myself well from this trip, which I believe contributes a great deal to the good state of my health.

Besides, I cannot believe the healthy climate, to that which is accustomed to a purer air. Continual fogs, and since my arrival in England until today a single day without rain! At this moment it is pouring out. My good mother was quite right to call this country the country of the Ducks. What is more, the good people do not complain at all.

That passes me after this digression, to which the good wine of our cousin gave rise. I will only say that I do not intend to content myself with causing damage to his cellar. I will spare nothing to make a good bloodletting of his purse. if he offers me no money for our young men, I will have no problem in asking him for it.

Who will henceforth dare to reproach the populace for the base scoundrel, when they can boast of examples such as you will find in the literal translation of a paragraph in today's gazette.

(Excerpt from a gazette.) London this 11 July 1788.

A frenzy of a young personage of the highest rank, Monday passes in Newmarket (at the horse races) failed to have a very pleasant sequel. His Royal Highness dined with the Due d'Orleans and the Abbot, his brother, and a mixed company of French and English at the cafe strolling together after dinner, the Abbot offered a bet, that by tickling a fish which could be seen in the basin he would remain motionless, until he seized him: the Prince wagered against, the Abbot stooping for this purpose, the Prince made him fall headlong into the water. The Due d'Orleans, besides what had happened to his brother, and armed with a great whip ran after the prince to chastise him: the latter had time to flee

into the cafe. The drenched Abbot was taken home: the Dues of Queensberry, Grafton and Bedford interposed, they succeeded in accommodating the affair by a declaration in the name of the Prince, that he was far from having ever wanted the to offend, and that it was proper that he had sooner drunk too much: the Abbot contented himself with it, and walked the next morning arm in arm through the town with the Prince remark.[429]

Continues Wednesday 16…

While I was at dinner, all that was left of room at the hotel where I was staying was occupied by travellers arriving from England: they had left Holyhead[430] *on Sunday evening, so their passage lasted about four times as long as mine: I only mention it because I flatter myself that I have your dear letters in this trunk. God grant that the stormy weather may cease and restore calm to your restless nerves. I don't know how it comes to mind, but I imagine I'll hear something from our new chaplain, whom the good Spalek recommended.*

While I was out yesterday, Mr. O'Reilly, brother of the Lieutenant-Colonel, passed by my house, it seems, instead of answering the letter I wrote to him on arrival, he came himself in town; having missed me, he will return this morning, so that you will probably have news of him before the conclusion of the present.

The anecdote of the Prince of Wales you can communicate to the worthy Pater Petra, and if you want to Hussey, but not to others. I am ashamed instead of the prince of his drunkenness.

Our friend Hussey's brother came by my house again yesterday. I find him well disposed. If Madame were the same, everything would be easily arranged. It is certain that he is tormented, and sucked by the Advocates. It is their land of plenty, there is for example a Mr. Scott[431], who, twenty years ago as everyone agrees, was not £t en de bien [a pound in the good], now possesses in lands and funds to the value of £16,000 annually, the title of Mylord Earlsford, and it is believed that he will become Chancellor, a post which yields £12,000 income! His brother is still an attorney, where he himself began. I will speak more in detail in my next latter, and only delay concluding this one in the hope of hearing from you dear news.

I must skip it until the next ordinary; these two bits to pass add greatly to my grief at seeing myself separated from you, and to have to fear that the same fate will also delay my letters! —you have to submit, but at a cost! Your sufferings on this occasion mean even more to my heart than mine. The one who allowed our separation, will join us: let us trust in him.

F. Taaffe

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429 A very funny story, one of the few instances of real comedy in the entire book.

430 Holyhead is a town in Wales, just off the coast of Ireland, opposite Dublin. Today its about a 3.5 hour trip from one city to the other by ferry boat across the Irish Sea..

431 John Scott (1739-1798) was first Earl of Clonmell and Lord of Earlsford, and Irish trial lawyer and judge. A gourmand and heavy drinker, he became quite fat and sported ref face which earned him the nickname "Copper-faced Jack", which also was the name of a popular Dublin pub. Apparently he introduced the sport of "bayonet fencing" which,as the name suggests, is a bayonet on the end of a rifle in which two people duel with one another as if they were holdng a very heavy sword. Seeing is believing: https://wmbfa.com/. Bayonets are still used to this day in militaries around the world, where they serve double duty as knives, add ceremonial flair to marches, an intimidate a foe, assuming the foe is not a master baïonnette escrimeur.

EXTRACTE AUS DEN FELD-UND HOFKRIEGSRÄTHLICHEN

DES K.K.KRIEGS-ARCHIVS
UND DEN
PROTOCOLLEN DE HOKFRIEGSRÄTHLICEN REGISTRATUR(351)

I. Die Militär-Dienstleistung (353) des ein Jahre 1704 verstorbenen

k. k. Feldmarschalls Franz Grafen Taaffe v. Carlingford

betreffend.

1668 August: kömmt zum ersten Male ein Gesuch des Ritt-meisters Franz Grafen Taaffe des Carl Lothringen'schen Kürassier-Regiment vor, dass seine Compagnie auf dem Fusse belassen, und nickt redueirt werden möchte.

1670 December: erscheint der Graf Franz Taaffe von Carlingford bereits als Oberstleutnant und Kommandant des Carl Lothringen'schen Kürassier-Regiments.

1672 befand sich das Carl Lothringen'schen Kürassier-Regiment unter Kommandant des Oberstlieutenants Franz Grafen Taaffe auf dem Marsche durch Böhmen zur k.k. Armee im Reich unter Kommando des Generals der Kavallerie Grafen Montecuculi.

1673 bis 1676: wahrend des Krieges Osterreichs gegen Frankreich 1673 bis 1676 im Römischen Reiche und Elsass befehligte der Oberstlieutenant Franz Graf Taaffe das Carl Lothringen'schen Kürassier-Regiment, welches vor dem Feinde auf folgende Art verwendet wurde:

1673 vom 6. bis 12. November: war Oberstlieutenant Franz Graf Taaffe mit dem Carl Lothringen'schen Kürassier-Regiment bei der Belagerung von Bonn, welche Stadt sich am 12. November mit Kapitulation an die Aliirten ergab.

1674 15. Juni: befand sich derselbe mit dem Carl Lothringen'schen Regimente in der Scblacbt bei Sinzheim.

1674 29. December: bat sich der Oberstlieutenant Franz Graf Taaffe mit besagtem Kürassier-Regiment in dem Treffen bei Mühlhausen am 29. December 1674 laut der vom F.-M. Herzog v. Bournonville eingeschickten Relation besonders ausgezeichnet.

1675 26. und 27. Juli: befand sich der Oberstlieutenant Franz Graf Taaffe mit dem Regimente unter Kommando seines Inhabers, des Herzogs Carl von Lothringen, in der Affäre bei Sassbach im 1.Treffen, rechten Flügel.

1675 1. August: war derselbe mit diesem Regimente in der Affäre bei Attenheim und Goldschier.

1675 18. September: wurde der Oberstlieutenant Franz Graf Taaffe vom Gen.-Lieut. Raim. Grafen Montecuculi aus dem Feldlager bei Weissenburg an den churpfälzischen Hof mit dem Auftrage abgeschickt, gegen die vom besagten Hofe vorhabende Abschliessung eines Separat-Waffenstillstands- und Neutralitäts-Traktates mit Frankreich Gegen-Vorstellungen zu machen.

1676 September: war derselbe mit dem Carl Lothringen'schen Kürassier-Regiment bei der Belagerung und Eroberung von Philippsburg.

1677 31. Jänner: wurde dem Oberstlieutenant Franz Grafen Taaffe wegen dessen in allen feindlichen Affären bezeigten Wohlverhaltens und sonstigen Meriten das Obersten und In-habers-Patent über das vom Herzog Carl von Lothringen zu dessen Gunsten resignierte k. k. Kürassier-Regiment gleiches Namens verliehen.

1682 27. Juli: Wurde der Oberst Graf Taaffe vermöge kaiserlichen Patentes vom 27. Juli 1682 zum k. k. General-Feldwachtmeister befördert.

1683 24. Juli: wurde der General-Feldwachtmeister Franz Graf Taaffe von S. M. dem Kaiser mittelst Instruktion ddo. 24. Juli 1683 an den Gen.-Lieut. Herzog Carl von Lothringen nach Ungarn abgeschickt wegen Beschleunigung des Succurses zur Befreiung der von den Türken belagerten Haupt- und Residenzstadt Wien.

1683 12. September: bei dem Entsätze der Residenzstadt Wien durch die k. k. Reichs- und König. polnische Armee am 12. September 1683 befand sich der General-Feldwachtmeister Franz Graf Taaffe mit dessen inhabendem Kürassier-Regiment bei dem linken Flügel der k.k. Armee ünter Kommando des Herzogs Carl von Lothringen, welcher die Türken in der Flanke angegriffen.

1684 Mai und Juni: befehligte derselbe bei der k.k. Armee in Ungarn unter Kommando des Herzogs Carl von Lothringen im 2. TrefFen, linken Flügel, dessen inbabendes Kürassier-Regiment.

1684 27. Juni: im Treffen bei Waitzen den 27. Juni wurde das unter Kommando seines Proprietairs gestandene Kürassier-Regiment Taaffe von den Türken mit grosster Wuth angegrifFen, dieser AngrifF aber auf's Tapferste zurückgeschlagen.

1684 22, Juli bis 24. September: bei der 1. Belagerung von Ofen durch die k. k. Armee, und dem Angriff derselben auf die zum Entsatze der Festung angerückte türkische Armee, befehligte der General-Feldwachtmeister Franz Graf Taaffe einen Theil der k.k. Cavallerie des rechten Flügels.

1685 10. August: desgleichen beim Angriff auf das türkische Belagerungsheer vor der Festung Gran am 10. August.

1685 5. September: wurde der General - Feldwachtmeister Franz Graf Taaffe mittelst kaiserl. Patentes zum k. k. General- Feldmarschall-Lieutenant befördert.

1686 22. Juni bis 2. September: während der 2. Belagerung der Festung Ofen durch die k.k. und Alliierten Truppen vom 22. Juni bis 2. September kommandierte besagter F.-M.-L. abermals einen Theil der k. k. Kavallerie des 1. Treffens, rechten Flügels, worunter dessen inbabendes Kür. -Regiment befindlich war.

1687 26. December: wurde der F.-M.-L. Franz Graf Taaffe vermöge Kaiser. Patentes vom 20. December 1687 zum k. k. General der Kavallerie befördert.

1689 24. August: zu Folge eines Kaiser. ofFenen Patentes vom 24. August 1689 wurde dem General der Kavallerie Franz Grafen Taaffe die Convoyirung der in k. k. Kriegsdienste herübergeretteten irländischen Truppen nach Ungarn aufgetragen.

1694 13. Mai: wurde der General der Cavallerie Franz Graf Taaffe laut kaiserl. Patentes vom 13. Mai zum k. k. Feldmarschall erhoben.

1704 18. August: vermöge Kaiser. Patentes vom 18. August 1704 wurde dem Grafen Leiningen das durch Ableben des Feldmarschalls Franz Mylord Taaffe von Carlingford erledigte Kürassier-Regiment gleiches Namens verliehen.

Gesehen.
Hannekart m/p.,
Oberst und Archivs-Director.

v. Egger m/p.,
Major, Director der Registraturs-Aütheilung
des k. k Kriegs-Archivs.

Translation: The Military Service Imperial-Royal Field Marshal Franz Grafen Taaffe, Viceroy of Carlingford, Who Died in 1704.

August 1668: For the first time, there is a request from the Rittmeister Franz Grafen Taaffe of the Karl Lothringen[432] Cuirassier Regiment that his company should be left intact and not be reduced.

1670 December: Count Franz Taaffe von Carlingford appears as lieutenant colonel and commander of Karl Lothringen's cuirassier regiment.

1672 the Karl Lothringen's cuirassier regiment under the commander of Lieutenant Colonel Franz Grafen Taaffe was on the march through Bohemia to the k.k. Army[433] in the Reich under the command of General der Cavalerie Count Montecuculi.

1673 to 1676: During Austria's war against France from 1673 to 1676 in the Holy Roman Empire and Alsace, Lieutenant-Colonel Franz Graf Taaffe commanded the Karl Lothringen cuirassier regiment, which was used by the enemy in the following ways:

[432] This refers to Karl (aka Charles) IV (Lothringen), Duke of Lorraine. He was a commander in what was called "The Catholic League," an alliance of Catholic states of the early 1early part of the 1600s and the Spanish Army. HE status as Duke was shaky at first, and there were family battles about who should lead the Duchy of Lorraine. By the previous Duke's will, the position belonged to Karl, but he was opposed by his uncle Henry II who wanted his daughter (Nicole) to rule. Karl married Nicole but was unhappy that she was the "official" ruler. Things got more confusing when Karl's father claimed the throne and was awarded it to him the King (of France) advisors, who then turned around and gave the title to his son, who immediately kicked Nicole out of the government, and one assumes, their bed. Relations soured between Karl and the King of France, not helped by Karl's open disdain for the King's friend and confidant, Cardinal Richelieu. Karl would go on to have better success in military campaigns during the several, on-going wars in the region, gaining more friends and enemies as he negotiated sides in the struggles within politics and religion of the Holy Roman Empire. He would die of natural causes on September 18, 1675.

[433] k.k. stands for Kaiserlich-Königlich, which translates to "Imperial-Royal."

1673 from November 6th to 13th: Lieutenant Colonel Franz Graf Taaffe was with Karl Lothringen's' cuirassier regiments at the siege of Bonn, which surrendered to the Allies on November 12th with capitulation.434

1674 June 15th: he was with Karl Lothringen's regiment in the castle near Sinzheim.

1674 December 29th: Lieutenant-Colonel Franz Graf Taaffe asked with said cuirassier regiment in the meeting near Mühlhausen[435] on December 29, 1674, according to F.-M. duke v Bournonville sent relation particularly excellent.

1675 July 26th and 27th: Lieutenant Colonel Franz Graf Taaffe was with the regiment under the command of its owner, Duke Karl Lothringen, in the affair near Sassbach in the 1st meeting, right wing.

1**675 August 1st** [Taaffe]was with this regiment in the affair at Attenheim and Goldschier.

1675 September 18: Lieutenant-Colonel Franz Graf Taaffe was appointed by Gen.-Lieut. Raimondo Count Montecuculi sent from the field camp near Weissenburg to the Chur-Palatinate436 court with the order to make counter-representations against the said court's plans to conclude a separate armistice and neutrality treaty with France.

1676 September: was the same with the cuirassier regiments of Karl Lothringen during the siege and conquest of Philippsburg.

1677 January 31st: Lieutenant Colonel Franz Grafen Taaffe was granted the colonel's and owner's patent for the k.k. Cuirassier Regiment of the same name.

1682 July 27th: Colonel Graf Taaffe was promoted to k.k. General Field Sergeant.

1683 July 24th: the General Field Sergeant Franz Graf Taaffe was appointed by HM the Emperor by means of instructions July 24, 1683, to Gen.-Lieut. Duke Karl Lothringen sent to Hungary to speed up the pursuit of the liberation of the capital and royal seat of Vienna, which was besieged by the Turks.

1683 September 12th: when the imperial city of Vienna was relieved by the k. k. imperial and king. Polish army on September 12, 1683, the general field sergeant Franz Graf Taaffe was with his own cuirassier regiment on the left wing of the k.k. Army under the command of Duke Karl Lothringen of Lorraine, who attacked the Turks on the flank.

1684 May and June: commanded the same at the k.k. Army in Hungary under the command of Duke Carl von Lorraine in the 2nd meeting, left wing, his incoming cuirassier regiment.

1684 June 27th in the encounter near Waitzen[437] on June 27th: the Cuirassier Regiment Taaffe, which was under the command of its proprietor, was attacked by the Turks with great fury, but this attack was bravely repulsed.

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434 *Capitulation* and *Surrender* are sometimes used synonymously, but there is a small difference. Capitulation in this case meant that the local leader of the French army engaged in battle with Colonel Taaffe and ultimately surrendered to him for this battle; it did not mean that the French as a whole surrendered their *war* with Austria.

435 *Muhlhausen* (Thuringia) is a city in the northwest of Germany.

436 The Palintate was a German territory part of the Holy Roman Empire, was contested between many countries, but primarily France versus everybody else.

437 *Waitzen,* or Vác, Hungary, is about 22 miles (35km) north of Budapest along the Danube River. See Battle of Vác.

1684 July 22 to September 24: at the 1st siege of Ofen by the k. k. Army, and the same attack on the Turkish army that was moving to the relief of the fortress, the general field sergeant Franz Graf Taaffe commanded a part of the k.k. Cavalry of the right wing.

1685 August 10th: same with the attack on the Turkish besieging army in front of the Gran fortress on August 10th.

1685 September 5th: the General–Field Sergeant Franz Graf Taaffe was kaiser-l. patent for the k. k. Promoted to Lieutenant-General Field Marshal.

1686 22 June to 2 September: during the 2nd siege of the Ofen Fortress438 by the k.k. and Allied troops from June 22 to September 2 commanded said F.-M.-L. again a part of the k. k. Cavalry of the 1st meeting, right wing, including its freestyle regiment.

1687 December 26th: the F.-M.-L. Franz Graf Taaffe by Emperor. patent dated December 20, 1687 to k. k. Promoted General of the Cavalry.

1689 August 24: following an Emperor. open patent of August 24, 1689, the general of the cavalry Franz Grafen Taaffe the convoying of the in k.k. War service assigned to rescued Irish troops in Hungary.

1694 May 13th: General of the cavalry Franz Graf Taaffe was kaiser-l. Patent dated May 13 to k. k. Field Marshal captured.

1704 August 18: by Emperor. Patent of August 18, 1704, the Count Leiningen was awarded the cuirassier regiment of the same name, which had been eliminated by the death of Francis Taaffe, 3rd Earl of Carlingford.439

Seen.
Hannekart m/p.,
Colonel and Director of Archives.

v. Egger m/p.,
Major, Director of Registrar's Office
of the k. k war archives.

438 *Ofen* was the German name for Budapest, and the battle is known as the *Siege of Budapest.* This was a huge battle, with the Holy Roman Empire's army consisting of soldiers from a dozen nations against the Turkish force occupying the city. After fierce fighting, the overwhelming forces of the Holy League's forces entered the city, where non-Christians, Muslims, and Jews, were slaughtered by the score and others imprisoned. Mosques and temples were razed, and their holy books burned.

439 Francis died in Nancy, in eastern France. His body was laid allegedly laid to rest in the Nancy Cathedral. More…

II. Die Militär-Dienstleistung (356)

des ün Jahre 1776 verstorbenen k. k. Feldmarschall - Lieutenants Nicolaus Grafen Taaffe betreffend.

- **1726 März:** in den Acten der hofkriegsräthlichen Registratur vom Jahre 1726 Monat März, kömmt zum ersten Male ein Ge- such des Ritt-meisters Nicolaus Grafen Taaffe vom k. k. Kürassier-Regiment Graf Hautois, an den Hofkriegsrath um die Be- willigung eines sechsmonatlichen Urlaubs nach Irland vor.

- **1726 Mai**: bewilligt der k. k. Hofkriegsrath dem Ritt-meister Nicolaus Grafen Taaffe die angesucht Prolongation seines Urlaubs auf drei Monate.

- **1729 October:** wurde vom General der Kavallerie Grafen Hautois die bei dessen unterhabendem Kürassier-Regiment erledigte Oberstlieutenants-Charge dem Ritt-meister Nicolaus Grafen Taaffe verliehen.

- **1730** erscheint derselbe im Militär-Schema vom Jahr 1730 als Oberstlieutenant des besagten Kürassier-Regiments.

- **1732 3. Jänner:** wurde der Oberstlieutenant Nicolaus Graf Taaffe vermöge Kais. Patentes vom 3. Jänner 1732 zum Obersten bei dem k. k. Kürassier-Regiment Lanthieri befördert.

- **1734 Marz:** rütckte das k. k. Kürassier-Regiment Lanthieri unter Kommando des Obersten Nicolaus Grafen Taaffe bei der k. k. Armee unter Kommando des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen im Lager bei Philippsburg ein.

- **1734 bis 1735 :** während der Feldüge gegen Frankreich vom Jahre 1734 bis 1735 war Oberst Nicolaus Graf Taaffe mit dem Lanthieri'schen Kürass-Regiment bei der k. k. Armee im Reich.

- **1736**: vor Ausbrucli des Turkeükrieges 1736 bis 1739 befand sich der Oberst Nicolaus Graf Taaffe mit dem Lanthieri'-schen Kürassicr-Regimente in den Winterquartieren in Ungarn, im Baeser, Szolnaer und Neutraer Comitate.

- **1737 1. Mai:** brach der Oberst Graf Taaffe mit dem Lanthie-ri'schen Kürassier-Regimente aus besagten Winterquartieren auf und rückte über Ketskemet, Futak und Peterwardein in's Lager der k. k. Armee bei Semlin.

- **1737 14. Juli:** befand sich derselbe mit ob-erwähntem Kürassier-Regiment beim Truppencorps des F. -M. Grafen Seckendorff im Lager bei Barragen im 1. Treffen, rechten Flügel, unter F.-M.-L. Kavanagh und General-Major Löwenwalde.

- **1737 1. August:** kömmt derselbe mit besagtem Kürassier-Regiment beim Corps des F.-M. Grafen Klievenhüller im Lager bei Nissa vor, und hatte hierauf bei dem Marsche dieses Corps gegen Widdin die Avantgarde mit diesem Regimente.

- **1737 November:** beim Rückzuge der k.k. Armee hatte Oberst Graf Taaffe mit dem Lanthieri'schen Kürassier-Regiment die Arrieregarde und deckte bei dem Fort St. Elisabeth den Marscli der k. k. Artillerie und Bagage.

- **1737 19. December:** bei Bezieliung der Winterquartiere war derselbe anfangs mit besagtem Regimente auf AYinterpostirung in Serbien, wurde aber in der Folge zum Corps des F.-M. Grafen Klievenhüller in's Temesvarer Banat beordert, wo er bis April 1738 verblieb.

- **1738 2. September:** befehligte Oberst Graf Taaffe dieses Regiment in der Affaire bei Pallesch, 2. September.

- **1738 2. September:** hat derselbe mit dem Lanthieri'schen Kürassier-Regimente unter Kommando des G.-M. Ciceri den Rückzug der k. k. Armee gedeckt.

- **1738 11. October**: befand sich besagter Oberst mit diesem Kürassier-Regiment beim Truppencorps des F.-M. Grafen Künigsegg im Lager bei Semlin im 1. Treffen, linken Flügel, unter Kommando des F.-M.-L. Balayra und G.-M. Ciceri.

- **1738 27. October:** ist derselbe mit besagtem Kürassier-Regiment aus dem Lager bei Semlin aufgebrochen, um in die Winterquartiere in das Honter Comitat nach Ungarn einzurücken.

- **1739 14. Jänuer:** in dem Vorschlage des Hofkriegsraths-Präsidenten Grafen Harrach zur Bestimmung der für den Feldzüg 1739 erforderlichen Generalitat wird der Oberst Graf Taaffe vom Lanthieri-Kürassier-Regimente, als besonders hierzu tauglich, züm General-Feldwachtmeister vorgeschlagen.

- **1739 11. Februar:** wurde der Oberst Nicolaus Graf Taaffe des Lanthieri'schen Kürassier-Regiments vermoge kais. Patentes vom 11. Februar 1739 zum k. k. General-Feldwachtmeister befördert, imd demselben zugleich die angesucbte Urlaubs-bewilligung nach England ertheilt.

- **1739 11. Februar:** vermöge Standesausweises und Eintheilungsliste der k. k. Generalität und der Truppen zum Feldzuge von 1739 gegen die Türken, war der General-Feldwachtmeister Graf Taaffe zur k. k. Hauptarmee bestimmt.

- **Konnte bis 1748** in den Acten nicht vorgefunden werden.

- **1752 2. Juli:** wurde der General-Feldwachtmeister Nicolaus Graf Taaffe vermöge kaiserl. Patentes ddo. Wien 2. Juli 1752 zum k. k. Feldmarschall-Lieutenant befördert.

- **1772:** in einer Consignation über die pensionirten Herren Generale, Stabsund Oberoffiziere vom Jabre 1772 erscheint der F.-M.-L. Nicolaus Graf Taaffe im Pensionsstande befindlich.

- **1776 ist besagter** F.-M.-L. mit Tode abgegangen.

Gesehen.
Franz v. Hannekart m/p.,
Oberst und Archivs-Director.

v. Egger m/p.,
Major, Director der Registraturs-Aütheilung
des k. k Kriegs-Archivs.

Translation: The military service of who died in 1776.

Field Marshal Lieutenants, Concerning Nicholas Count Taaffe

1726 March: in the files of the court war council registry for the year 1726, month of March, there is a request from the cavalry master Nicolaus Count Taaffe of the k. k. Cuirassier Regiment Graf Hautois, to the Court War Council for approval of a six-month leave to Ireland.

1726 May: the k.k. Hofkriegsrath the cavalry captain Nicolaus Grafen Taaffe the requested extension of his vacation to three months.

1729 October: the cavalry general, Count Hautois, awarded the lieutenant-colonel charge, which had been completed in his commanding cuirassier regiment, to Rittmeister Nicolaus Count Taaffe.

In 1730 he appears in the military scheme of 1730 as a lieutenant colonel of the said cuirassier regiment.

1732 January 3: Lieutenant Colonel Nicolaus became Count Taaffe by virtue of Kaiser. patent of January 3, 1732 to the Supreme at the k. k. Promoted to Cuirassier Regiment Lanthieri.

1734 March: moved the k. k. Cuirassier Regiment Lanthieri under the command of Colonel Nicolaus Grafen Taaffe at the k. k. Army under the command of Prince Eugene of Savoy in the camp near Philippsburg.

1734 to 1735: during the campaigns against France from 1734 to 1735, Colonel Nicolaus Graf Taaffe was with the Lanthieri cuirass regiment at the k. k. army in the empire.

1736: before the outbreak of the Turkish War from 1736 to 1739, Colonel Nicolaus Graf Taaffe was with the Lanthieri cuirassier regiment in winter quarters in Hungary, in the Baeser, Szolnaer and Neutraer counties.

1737 May 1st: Colonel Count Taaffe left the said winter quarters with Lanthieri's cuirassier regiment and advanced via Ketskemet, Futak and Peterwardein to the camp of the k. k. Army at Semlin.

1737 July 14: was the same with the above-mentioned cuirassier regiment with the troop corps of the F. -M. Count Seckendorff in the camp near Barragen in the 1st meeting, right wing, under F.-M.-L. Kavanagh and Major-General Löwenwalde.

1737 August 1st: he arrives with the aforementioned cuirassier regiment at the Corps des F.-M. Count Klievenhüller in the camp near Nissa, and then had the advance guard with this regiment during the march of this corps against Widdin.

1737 November: during the retreat of the k.k. Army had Colonel Graf Taaffe with the Lanthieri cuirassier regiment the rear guard and covered the Marscli of the k. at Fort St. Elisabeth. k. artillery and baggage.

1737 December 19th: when aiming for the winter quarters, he was at first posted in Serbia with said regiment, but subsequently became the corps of F.-M. Count Klievenhüller was ordered to the Temesvarer Banat, where he remained until April 1738.

1738 September 2nd: Colonel Graf Taaffe commanded this regiment in the Pallesch affair, September 2nd.

1738 September 2nd: the same with the Lanthieri cuirassier regiment under the command of G.-M. Ciceri the retreat of the k. k. army covered.

1738 October 11th: said colonel was with this cuirassier regiment with the troop corps of the F.-M. Count Künigsegg in the camp near Semlin in the 1st meeting, left wing, under the command of F.-M.-L. Balayra and G.-M. Ciceri.

1738 October 27th: he left the camp near Semlin with said cuirassier regiment to move into winter quarters in the Honter County in Hungary.

1739 January 14th: in the proposal of the Hofkriegsraths President Count Harrach[440] to determine the generalitat[441] required for the campaign in 1739, Colonel Count Taaffe of the Lanthieri Cuirassier Regiment is proposed as a general field sergeant as particularly suitable for this purpose.

1739 February 11: Colonel Nicolaus Graf Taaffe of the Lanthieri cuirassier regiment was promoted by imperial patent of February 11, 1739 to k. k. General field sergeant promoted and at the same time granted the requested vacation permit to England.

1739 February 11: according to the status certificate and classification list of the k. k. Generals and troops for the campaign of 1739 against the Turks, the general field sergeant Count Taaffe was k. k. main army determined.

Could not be found in the records until 1748.

1752 July 2: General Field Sergeant Nicolaus Count Taaffe became Kaiser-l442 by virtue of patent ddo. Vienna July 2, 1752 to the k. k. Promoted to Field Marshal Lieutenant.

1772: F.-M.-L. Nicolaus Graf Taaffe in retirement.

In 1776 said F.-M.-L. died.

Seen.
Hannekart m/p.,
Colonel and Director of Archives.

v. Egger m/p.,
Major, Director of Registrar's Office
of the k. k war archives.

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[440] Johann Phillip von Harrasch was President of the Hofkriegsraths (Imperial War Council) of Austria, an advisory group which in the U.S. might be somewhat like the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

[441] Generalitat, or what we might call Generalissimo, was the highest ranking General in the military (similar to 5-star, U.S. general) whose job it was to coordinate all of the forces of one side engaged in a battle. Continuing with U.S. analogies, this would have been like Dwight Eisenhower's role leading the European Theater of Operations for all Allied nations in WWII.

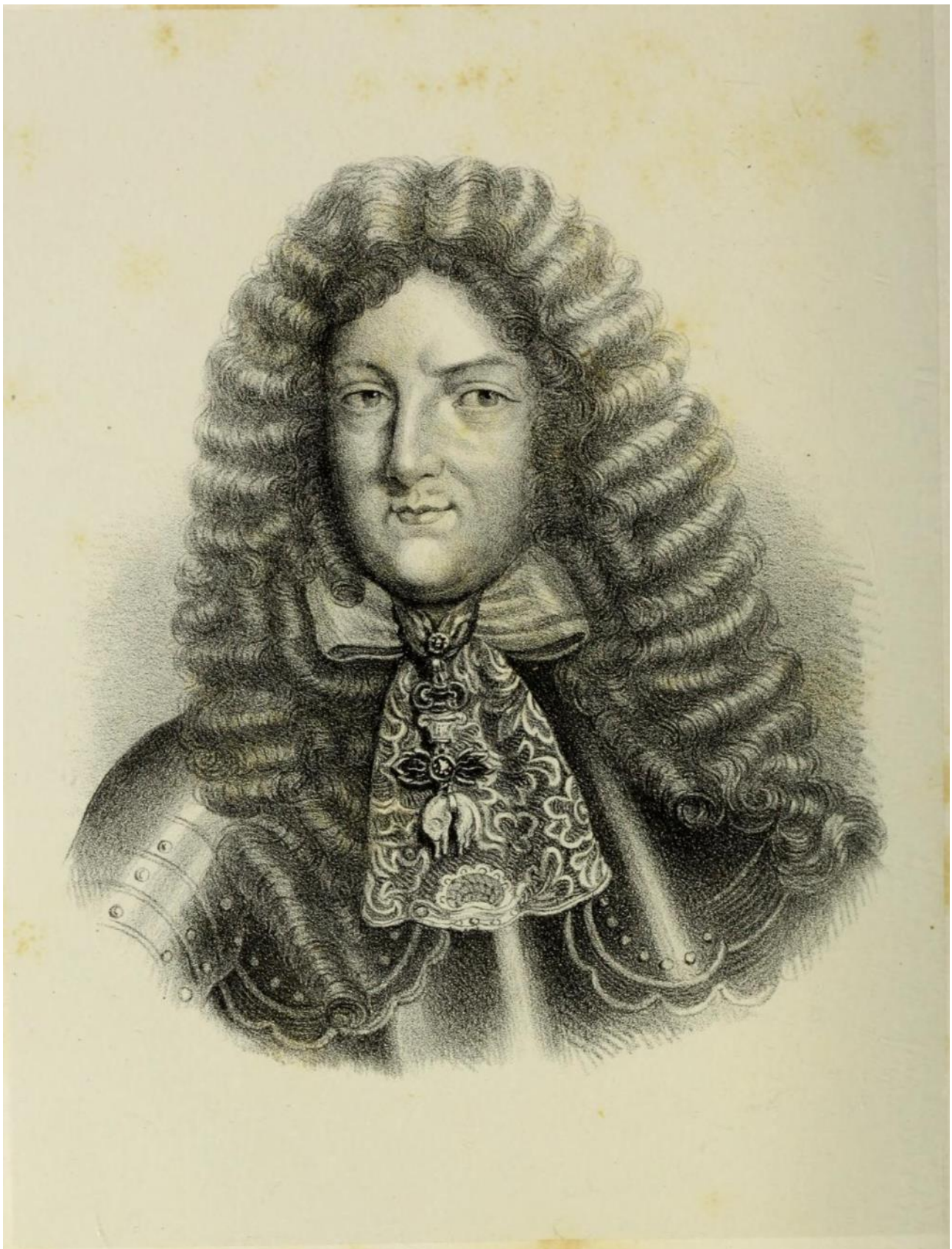
[442] *Kaiser-L* makes no sense to me. The title of "Kaiser" was the Austrian equivalent of "Emperor" and not, to my knowledge, a military rank.

APPENDIX 1. PORTRAITS

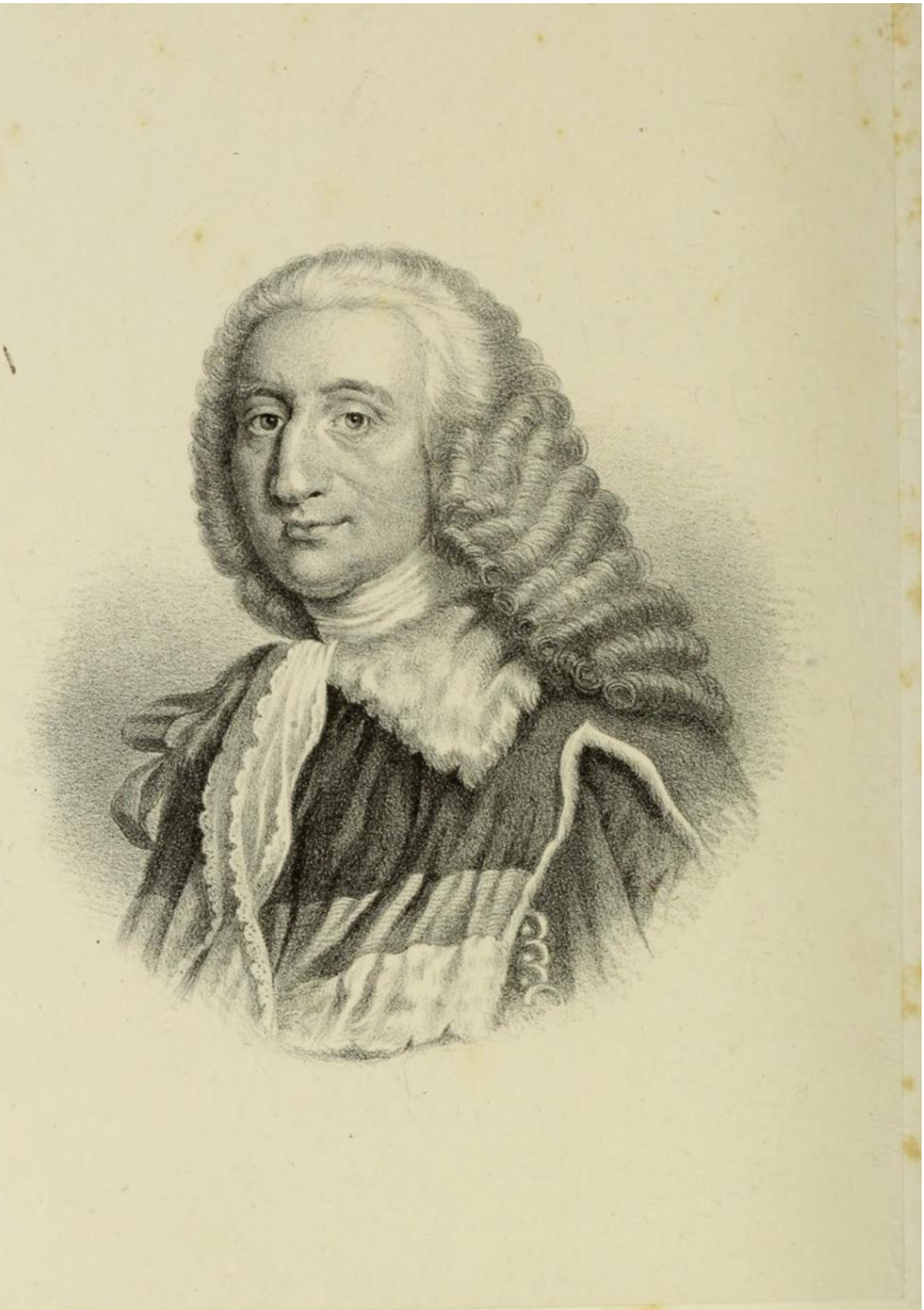
Lord Lewis Fauffe present and ninth Viscount.

Lord Rodolphus Taaffe.

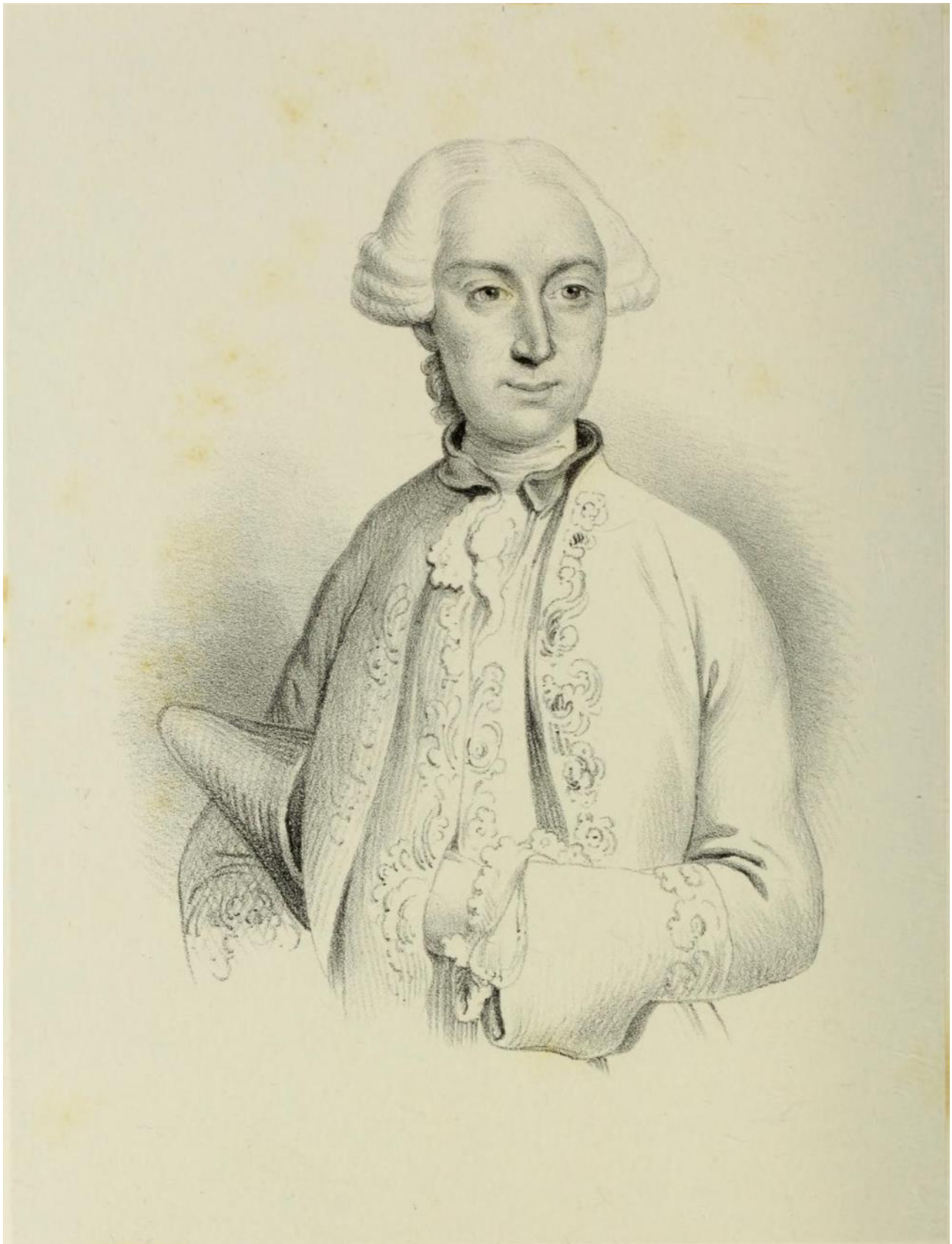
Count Francis Taaffe.



Francis Taaffe 3d Earl of Carlingford.



Lord Nicholas Taaffe.



Count John Taaffe.

APPENDIX 2. POSSESSIONS (361)

The family of Taaffe since the beginning of English domination in Ireland had ample possessions in every part of this kingdom, their principal estates in Louth, Meath, Tipperary and Sligo, being more than sufficient to enable their owners to live according to the splendour of their rank as Peers of the realm.

Notwithstanding the subsequent civil wars, their different sacrifices for the Stuarts and adherence to Catholic Religion, most of the said estates still belonged to Francis Taaffe Earl of Carlingford and—though restrained by his will and encumbered by several debts—1704 passed to his nephew Theobald, last Earl of Carlingford. The same dying without an issue, the Earldom of Carlingford grew extinct whilst the dignity of Viscount Corran and Baron of Ballymote devolved upon Nicholas Taaffe (next male descendant of John the first Viscount), whom the last Earl in his will had named his sole heir and executor.

Lord Nicholas Taaffe then took possession of the Corran estates, when Robert Sutton[443], a Protestant and female relation to Theobald, raised a protestation, claiming the whole property for himself. In consequence of this, different lawsuits were brought before the Court of Chancery and several other Irish courts of justice, and finally were terminated by an agreement, according to which the estates of Ballymote, Ballyntuber, Ballyglass, etc. were to be sold, one third of the product of sale falling to the share of Nicholas Lord Viscount Taaffe, for which he got a bond drawn by the hand of John Petty Fitzmaurice, afterwards Earl of Shelburne, whilst the other two by the latter were paid to the aforesaid Robert Sutton Esq.

The Carlingford-estates together with the Earldom of Tyrconnel, were granted to the family of Carpenter. (George III. 1761 May 28.)

Ballymote Castle

Ballymote Castle was built in the year 1300, by Richard de Burgh, the second Earl of Ulster, from his complexion commonly called the Red Earl. This nobleman, the first for possessions and power in the kingdom, after most magnificently entertaining the Parliament of Ireland in Kilkenny, in 1326, retired to the Abbey of Athassel, in the county of Tipperary.

It was granted to Sir William Taaffe Knt., ancestor of the present Viscount Taaffe; the castle was large and strong, crowned with six round towers, the top of the highest fifty-three feet front the ground. The walls are nine feet thick and seem to have had a gallery or covered way all round. On the top is a parapet of two feet thick, and a footway round. The entrance was defended by outworks, a few vestiges of which remain. The inside is a large area or lawn, so that the garrison must have dwelt in the towers.

The church stands at the end of the town and was the cemetery of the Taaffes for many years; the building is not large, but of good workmanship, and the eastern window is remarkably handsome.

Clonshanville Abbey.

This monastery was granted by the Crown to William Taaffe; it stands upon the edge of a very extensive bog, the country for a great distance round being a flat. In Irish it is named Cluan-sean-mhil, or the retreat of the old Leper. It stands in the Barony of Boyle, and seven miles from the town of that

[443] Probably Robert Sutton, born 1661 in Averham Park, 1661, who became the second and last Lord Lexington. Like many of the Taaffe's he was a diplomat and soldier, serving as representative to members of the Holy Roman Empire. They certainly ran in the same circles. Copies of his correspondence were published by his descendent as *The Lexington Papers,* https://archive.org/details/lexingtonpapers00lexigoog, the introduction to which provides a brief biography of Robert, but the correspondence itself ends in 1689, fifteen years before the lawsuit.

name. A legendary account ascribes the foundation of the church to St. Patrick. The monastery consists of three distinct parts, which seem to have been formerly united, but now very much in ruins. The eastern window is entire: the tower sixty feet high, standing upon an arch, and has offsets. There are no remains of cloisters. Near the belfry is a vault, the cemetery of the Frenches of Frenchpark[444]; on the eastern wall of this vault are their arms, and this inscription:

Pray for the Souls Of
Patrick French Fitz Stephen of Galway Burgess,
who lived in this world eighty six years.

Castle of Ballyhara

This castle was erected by the O'Haras, a powerful sept[445] in this and the neighbouring counties. It stands on the edge of a bog, with a flat country all around it, and not far from the village of Tubbercorry. About 1686, Hiberius O'Hara, who married Elizabeth, daughter of William Taaffe, resided at Ballyhara. Since that time it has gone so much to decay, that the entrance into the castle cannot be ascertained.

Carlingford Castle

Carlingford formerly gave the title of Earl to the family of Taaffe. This Earldom becoming extinct in that family by the decease of Theobald the fourth Earl without issue in 1738, his late Majesty, George III bestowed the title of Viscount Carlingford on the family of Carpenter together with the Earldom of Tyrconnel.

The construction of this castle is ascribed by tradition to King John, about the year 1210; it is an extensive ruin, seated on a solid rock, the sides of which are laved by the sea. Lofty mountains rise in an inland direction, at the foot of which is a narrow pass, formerly commanded by the fortress. The building was of an irregular form, adapted to the natural circumstances of its site. A wall divides it in the centre, and the divisions of the apartments in the south end are still standing. On one side seems to have been a platform or battery, for the defence of the harbour.

The bay of Carlingford, remarkable for the finest green-finned oysters, is three miles long and as many broad, and capable of receiving the largest vessels; but so full of rocks, as make the navigation dangerous. The prospect from this magnificent castle is grand; to the southeast the bay and ocean present themselves, and on the northeast the stupendous mountains of Mourne raise their lofty heads.

On the southern side of the town of Carlingford are the ruins of a monastery, founded in the year 1305 by Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, under the invocation of St. Malachy.[446] The remains of the buildings are extensive and picturesque, exhibiting traces of the pointed architecture of the fourteenth century; the church consists of two chapels, divided by a square belfry, supported by a lofty arch. The west end of the monastery has two square towers on each side, and a small turret in the centre. On the summit of a neighbouring bill is a spacious burying-ground, and a church adjoining it. Ivy, which covers these ruins, gives them a romantic wildness.

Friary of Jamestown, County Leitrim

This obscure Franciscan friary is extremely remarkable in the annals of Ireland, for being the place where the Roman Catholic Prelates assembled, 6August 1650. The forces of Parliament had been very successful, and a gloomy darkness hung over the affairs of the King and Catholics. The Duke of

444 *Frenchpark* is a village in County Roscommon.
445 *Sept,* a division of a clan.
446 *Saint Malachy* (1094-1148), the first Irish-born saint of the Roman Catholic church.

Loraine frequently professed his attachment to both, and declared that he was ready to assist them with men and money on the mortgage of any considerable city or town. The Lord Lieutenant appointed the Lords Taaffe and Athenry, and Mr. Geoffry Browne, to treat with him, and Galway was to be offered to his Highness.

The clergy, without consulting the government, met at Jamestown, and nominated commissioners to enter into a treaty with any foreign power, who was ready to aid them. The curious reader will not be displeased to see their names and titles:

- Hugh O'Reilly, Archbishop of Armagh.
- John Burk, Archbishop of Tuam.
- John Culenan, Bishop of Raphoe.
- Eugene Sweeney, Bishop of Kilmore.
- Francis Kirwan, Bishop of Killala.
- Nicholas French, Bishop of Ferns, and Proctor for Thomas Fleming, Archbishop of Dublin.
- Anthony Geoghegan, Bishop of Clonmacnois.
- Walter Lynch, Bishop of Clonfert and Proxy for Edmund O'Dempsey, Bishop of Leighlin.
- Arthur Magines, Bishop of Down and Connor, and Proxy for the Bishop of Dromore.
- Hugh Burk, Bishop of Kilmacdough.
- William Burk, Provincial of the Franciscans.
- James, Abbot of Cong, and Commissary of the Canon's Regular of St. Austin.
- Thomas Koran, Abbot of Boyle.
- Charles Kelly, Dean of Tuam.
- Bernard Egan, Proctor for the Provincial of the Dominicans.
- Richard 0' Kelly, Prior of Rathbran.
- Thady Egan, Provost of Tuam.
- Luke Plunket, Apostolic Protonotary, Rector of the College of Killeen in heath, and Chaplain to the Leinster army.
- John Dowly, Abbot of Kilmanock, and one of the Proctors for the chapter and clergy of Tuam.
- Walter Enos, Apostolic Protonotary, Treasurer of Ferns and Proxy for the Provost of the collegiate church of Galway.

Their excommunication and other proceedings may be found in the history of this time. This friary was never considerable nor the town of Jamestown, until the latter was incorporated and walled round about the year 1623. Sir Charles Coote, to whom this town and large estates in Leitrim were granted, executed this business. He also erected a castle, which in 1645, was taken by the Earl of Carlingford after the discharge of a few cannon.

Ellischau Castle (Bohemia)

Was built in the year 1595 by the Swihowskys, at that time one of the most powerful families in Bohemia. It stands in the district of Klattau about four leagues from the town of that name. About 1769, Count Putting sold it to Francis Taaffe, a colonel in the Austrian service and second son of Nicholas Viscount Taaffe. He married Clementina, daughter of Lord John Bellew, by whom he had no issue, and after her decease 1797 made a donation of the castle and lands of Ellischau in favour of his nephew Rodolphus Viscount Taaffe.

The castle, a large and perfect building, forms an ample quadrangle, flanked by four towers, and has besides a very high, lantern-shaped central turret, proudly domineering over the others. It is pleasantly situated upon a small rising ground., having the parish-church of Silberberg to the North of it, the mountain of Raby to the West and the Prassiwec forest to the South, all bold points of view, with several other remarkable objects, which every way enliven the prospect round it.

The gardens, though not very extensive, are beautifully laid out, rich in exotic plants and in perfect keeping with the palace. They seem larger than they are, abounding in intricate alleys, labyrinths and mazes. In addition to the gardens is the Prassiwec forest with Lord John Bellwefine walks, commanding extensive views of the lovely scenery around and numerous enclosures for pheasants and deer.

BALLYMOTE CASTLE.

ABBEY OF CLONSHANVILLE.

BALLYHARA CASTLE.

CARLINGFORD ABBEY.

CHURCH AT JAMESTOWN.

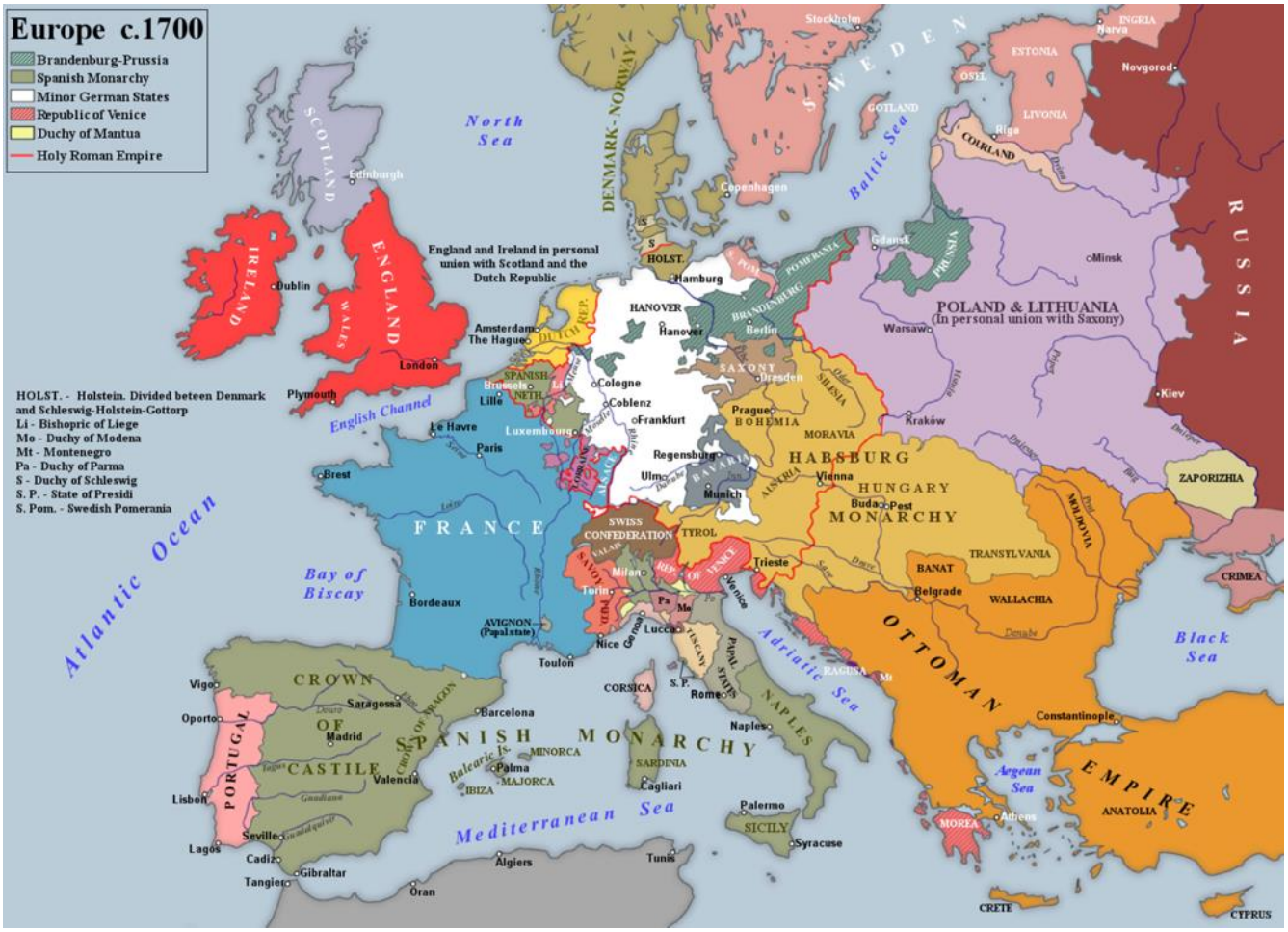
ROSS CASTLE (Co. of Kerry).

ELLISCHAU (Bohemia).

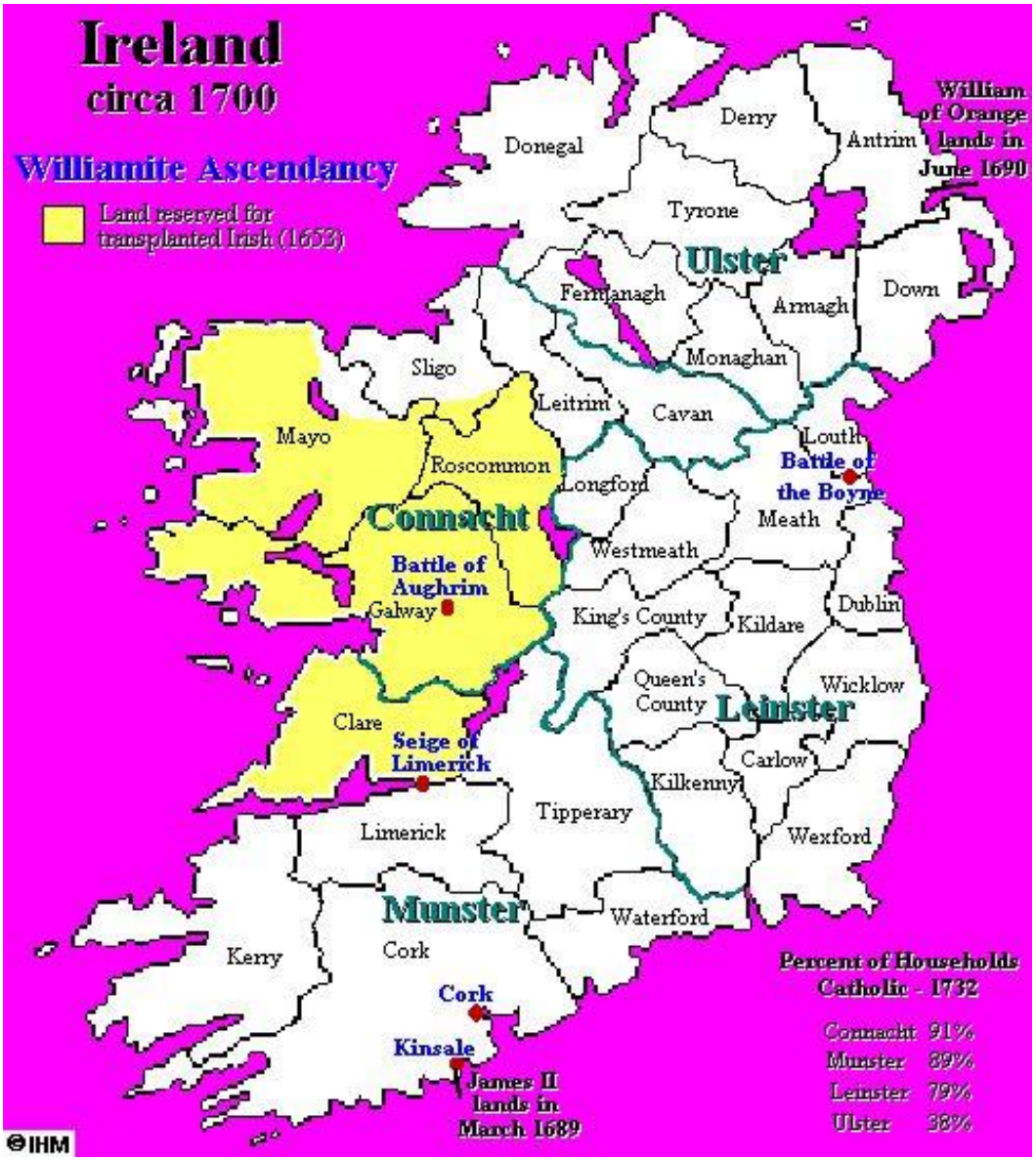
St ANTHONY's CHAPEL (Ellischau).

KOLINETZ (Bohemia).

APPENDIX 3. REGIONAL AND COUNTRY MAPS



Minor German States
Holy Roman Empire
BREMEN
Hamburg
MECKLENBURG
CELLE (1705)
HANOVER
Hanover
BRANDENBURG - PRUSSIA
Berlin
POLAND
DUTCH REPUBLIC
Amsterdam
The Hague
MUNSTER
CLEVES
Guelders
MARK
SAXONY
HESSE-KASSEL
Dresden
SPANISH NETHERLANDS
Brussels
Lille
Liege
Cologne
Bonn
JULICH
NASSAU
HESSE-DARMSTADT
SILESIA
Coblenz
Mainz
Frankfurt
Prague
Trarbach
Trier
Luxembourg
WURZBURG
BOHEMIA
HABSBURG
MORAVIA
Mannheim
Landau
Philippsburg
ANSBACH
Regensburg
FRANCE
Paris
Stollhofen
Strasbourg
LORRAINE
ALSACE
BADEN
WURTTEMBERG
Passau
MONARCHY
BAVARIA
Ulm
Augsburg
Munich
AUSTRIA
Vienna
HUNGARY
Breisach
Freiburg
Buda
Pest
SWISS CONFEDERATION
TYROL
SALZBURG
STYRIA
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
c. 1700


Ireland
circa 1700
Williamite Ascendancy
Land reserved for transplanted Irish (1652)
William of Orange lands in June 1690
Donegal
Derry
Antrim
Tyrone
Ulster
Fermanagh
Armagh
Down
Monaghan
Sligo
Leitrim
Cavan
Louth
Mayo
Roscommon
Longford
Battle of the Boyne
Meath
Connacht
Westmeath
Battle of Aughrim
Galway
King's County
Kildare
Dublin
Queen's County
Leinster
Wicklow
Clare
Seige of Limerick
Carlow
Kilkenny
Tipperary
Limerick
Wexford
Munster
Waterford
Kerry
Cork
Cork
Kinsale
James II lands in March 1689
Percent of Households Catholic - 1732
Connacht 91%
Munster 89%
Leinster 79%
Ulster 36%
©IHM

APPENDIX 4. ALPHABETICAL LIST OF PLACE NAMES

Place Name	Spelling Variations	Present Location
Albi, River		France
Algiers		Algeria
Althofen	Altoffen	Austria
Antwerp	Antwerpe	Belgium
Ardee		County Louth, Ireland
Arensberg		Germany
Armagh, County		Northern Ireland
Arthurstown		County Wexford, Ireland
Athclare		County Louth, Ireland
Athirdee		Parish in County Louth, Ireland
Athlone		Counties Roscommon and Westmeath, Ireland
Aude		France
Austerlitz		Czech Republic
Awny	? County Offaly	Ireland
Balbriggan	Ballybraggan	County Dublin, Ireland
Ballinduth		County Mayo, Ireland
Ballinlowre		County Dublin, Ireland
Ballintogher		County Sligo, Ireland
Ballybraggan		County Louth, Ireland
Ballyhara		County Sligo, Ireland
Ballykelly	Ballykilly	County Wexford, Ireland
Ballymartin		County Carlow, Ireland
Ballymote		County Sligo, Ireland
Ballynasquiddane		Unknown
Bandon, River		County Cork, Ireland
Basel		Switzerland
Bathdoony		County Sligo, Ireland
Belgrade		Hungary
Belle Ile	Belille; Island off French coast	France
Bensberg		Germany
Bermeath		Germany
Bingerston		County Meath, Ireland
Birs, River	Birst	Switzerland
Bitsch, Comte de		France
Bouzanville		France
Bolies		County Louth, Ireland
Boyle		County Roscommon, Ireland
Boyne, River		County Louth, Ireland
Brabant		Belgium
Braganstown		County Louth, Ireland

Place Name	Spelling Variations	Present Location
Brandenburg		Germany
Bratislava	Pressburg	Slovakia
Breisach	Brisac	Germany
Breisgau	Brisgow	Germany
Bretzenhaim	Brezenheim-Regéez	Germany
Bruges		Belgium
Brunswick	Bronsvic	Germany
Brussels		Belgium
Budapest	Buda, Pest	Hungary
Capo Corco		Island of Corsica, France
Carbery		County Cork, Ireland
Carlingford		County Louth, Ireland
Castlelumpnagh	? Castlebar	County Mayo, Ireland
Castlepark	Castlenparke	County Cork, Ireland
Častkov	Cashaw	Slovakia
Cavan, County		Ireland
Celle	Cell	Germany
Charlestown	Harleston, Harlestown	County Mayo, Ireland
Chester		England
Cleves	Cleve, Kleve	Germany
Clonfert		County Galway, Ireland
Clonshanville		County Roscommon, Ireland
Clontarf	Clantarffe	County Dublin, Ireland
Clunigashell		Ireland
Coesfeld	Coesvelt	Germany
Cologne	Colen	Germany
Connaught	Connacht	Ireland
Cookstown		County Tyrone, Northern Ireland
Cork, County		County Cork, Ireland
Corren		County Cavan, Ireland
Cottlestown	Cotletstown	County Sligo, Ireland
Cremona		Italy
Dauphiné	Dauphin	France
Delden		Netherlands
Derry	Londonderry	County Londonderry, Northern Ireland
Derrymaclaghtny		County Galway, Ireland
Deux-Ponts		Germany
Donaghcumper	Donacumper	County Killdare, Ireland
Dortmund		Germany101
Downmore		County Galway, Ireland
Drakeston		County Louth, Ireland
Dresden		Germany
Drogheda		County Louth, Ireland
Dromin		County Louth, Ireland
Dromyng		County Sligo, Ireland

Place Name	Spelling Variations	Present Location
Drumconrath	Drumconragh, Drumcondra	County Meath, Ireland
Dublin		County Dublin, Ireland
Dummoylin	Dunmoylin	County Limmerick, Ireland
Duncashell		County Sligo, Ireland
Dundalk		County Louth, Ireland
Dunmore	Downmore	County Galway, Ireland
Dunsany		County Meath, Ireland
Dusseldorf		Germany
Edsteek		Hungary?
Elbe River		Czech Republic and Germany
Ellischaw		Germany
Emmerich am Rhein	Emmerick	Germany
Erd	Ertz	Hungary
Eslingen am Neckar	Eslingen	Germany
Eztergom	Gran, Solva, Strigonium	Hungary
Finfgall, County		Ireland
Flanders		Belgium
Fontainebleau	Fontanablò	France
Freese		Germany
Freiburg im Breisgau	Freiburg, Friborg	Germany
Galway		County Galway, Ireland
Galmoye	Galmoy	County Galway, Ireland
Gelderland		Netherlands
Gibston		Ireland
Glückstad		Germany
Goes	Goe	Netherlands
Gortz		Germany
Greenwich		England
Gronigen		Netherlands
Güssing		Germany
Hague	Haag, La Haye	Netherlands
Halberstadt		Germany
Hanover		Germany
Hersfeld	Badabbey	Germany
Herford		Germany
Hesse	Hessia	Germany
Holstein		Germany
Ichonloe, County		Ireland
Inistiock, Priory		Ireland
Innsbruck		Austria
Jamaica		Island of Jamaica
Jarville-la- Malgrange		France
Jülich	Juliers	Germany
Kassel	Cassel	Germany
Kells	Kenlys, Kenenus, Kenelles, et al	County Meath, Ireland

Place Name	Spelling Variations	Present Location
Kempten		Germany
Kerry, County		Ireland
Kildare, County		Ireland
Killerrig	Killergy, Killerick	County Carlow, Ireland
Kingsale	Kinsale, Kinsalien	County Cork, Ireland
Komorn	Comorn	Hungary
Komarano	Korn	Slovakia
Krens an der Donau	Crems	Austria
Landshut		Germany
Lauenburg	Luneberg	Germany
Leitrim, County		Ireland
Leten		
Leutch		Slovenia
Liege		Belgium
Limburg		Netherlands
Limmerick, County		Ireland
Lindau		Germany
Lintz		Austria
Lisbaleely	Lisballin	County Sligo, Ireland
Liscahane	Liscahan	County Cork, Ireland
Lisle		Belgium
Lochem	Lochemius	Netherlands
London		England
Longforth, County		Ireland
Longwy		France
Lorrain		France
Loughmoe	Loughmore	County Tipperary, Ireland
Louth, County		Ireland
Lübcek		Germany
Madrid		Spain
Magdeburg		Germany
Mainz	Mentz	Germany
Malpas Bridge	Malpa	County Cheshire, England’
Mandevilstown	Mandeville	Ireland
Marchegg	Maregg	Austria
Mayo, County		Ireland
Meath, County		Ireland
Meppen		Germany
Meux		France
Mohács	Montacts	Hungary
Mollahiffe, Rectory		County Kerry, Ireland
Monaghan, County		Ireland
Morava	Mark, March	Czech Republic
Marsals		France
Moymet		County Meath, Ireland

Place Name	Spelling Variations	Present Location
Munster, County		Ireland
Muskery		County Cork
Nancy		France
Naples		Italy
Neustadt an der Weinstraße	Neistad, Newstad	Germany
Neuburg an der Donau	Newburg	Germany
Neuhäsusel		Germany
Nijmegen		Netherlands
North Foreland		County Kent, England
O'Carrol's Country		County Offaly, Ireland
Odorney, Abbey		County Kerry, Ireland
Olmütz		Germany
Ormond		County Tipperary, Ireland
Orelans		Francesco
Osnabrück	Osnabrugh	Germany
Ossenabrue		Germany
Ostend	Oostende, Ostende	Belgium
Oxford	Oxon	Oxfordshire, England
Padderborn		Germany
Paris		France
Patak	Pattac	Hungary
Peppardstown		County Tipperary, Ireland
Peternanec	Peternel	Croatia
Phillsburg		Germany
Platen		Ireland
Pomerania	Pommern	Poland
Prague		Czech Republic
Prešov	Epries	Slovakia
Queens, County		Ireland
Raab, River	also a town name	Austria
Ranitty		Ireland
Rath	several towns with this name	Counties Clare, Limmerick, and Offaly
Ratheskyr		County Sligo, Ireland
Rathmolyn		County Meath, Ireland
Rathreagh, Rectory	Rathreogh	County Mayo, Ireland
Rauenstein		Germany
Ravensburg		Germany
Reese	Rees	Germany
Regensberg	Rattisbone	Germany
Rheinfelden		Switzerland
Rhonen	Rhone (dept.); Near Lyon	France
Riswick		Netherlands
Rocella Ionica	Rocella	Italy
Roscommon, County		Ireland

Place Name	Spelling Variations	Present Location
Ross		County Meath, Ireland
Sankt Nikola an der Donau	St. Nicholas	Austria
Sáros		Slovakia
Sarum	Sarun	England
Saur, River	Sore	Germany
Saverne		France
Saxony	Saxe	Germany
Schwechat, River		Austria
Silesia		Poland, Czechia, and Germany
Sligo, County		Ireland
Smarmore		County Louth, Ireland
Spain		Spain
Sankt Pölten	St. Hipolet, St. Hyppolyt	Germany
Stade		Germany
Stephenstown		County Dublin, Ireland
Stettin	Szczecin	Poland
Stockholm		Sweden
Stormanstown		County Louth, Ireland
Suam	Monastery	
Terschelling	Shellingham	Netherlands
Texel Island		Netherlands
Thionville		France
Tipperary		County Tipperary, Ireland
Tirerill	Tirrerill	County Sligo, Ireland
Treveri		
Trier	Treves	Germany
Trim		County Meath, Ireland
Tripoli		Libya
Tulln an der Donau		Austria
Tulloch		County Carlow
Tunis		Tunisia
Ulster		Northern Ireland
Vac	Watts	Hungary
Varkony		Hungary
Veresgyház	Vice Grade	Hungary
Versailles		France
Vienna		Austria
Vincennse		France
Waldec	Wadek	Germany
Waterford, County		Ireland
Watten		Scotland
Wedderborg	Castle of Wedde	Netherlands
Wessel		Germany
Westmeath, County		Ireland
Westminster		London, England

Place Name	Spelling Variations	Present Location
Westphalia		Germany
Wetzlar		Germany
Whitehall		England
Winschoten	Winschot	Netherlands
Wessembourg	Weissenbourg, Weißenberg	France
Wismar, Hanseatic City		Germany
Wodeton		County Sligo, Ireland
Wreden		Germany
Zeeland		Netherlands

APPENDIX 5. LIST OF EUROPEAN MONARCHS 1550-1750

Name followed by date their reign ended, which often coincided with the date of their death.

England	France	Germany	Netherlands (House of Orange)	Netherlands (House of Nassau)	Spain	Holy Roman Empire	Ottoman Empire
Edward VI 1553	Henry II 1559	Charles V 1556	William I 1584	John VI 1581	Joanna 1555	Charles V 1556	Suleiman I 1566
Lady Jane Grey 1553	Francis II 1560	Ferdinand I 1564	Maurice d625	William Louis 1620	Philip I 1506	Ferdinand I 1564	Selim II 1574
Mary I 1558 & Phillip I of Naples, 1558	Charles IX 1574	Maximilian II 1576	Frederick Henry 1647	Ernest Casmir I 1632	Charles I 1556	Maximilian II 1576	Selim III 1595
Elizabeth I 1603	Henry III 1589	Rudolph II 1612	William II 1650	Henry Casmir I 1640	Phillip II 1598	Rudolph II 1612	Murad III 1595
James I 1625	Charles X 1590	Mathias 1619	William III 1702	William Frederick 1664	Philip III 1621	Matthias 1619	Mehmed III 1603
Charles I 1649	Henry IV 1620	Ferdinand II 1637	William IV 1751	Henry Casmir II 1696	Phillip IV 1665	Ferdinand II 1637	Ahmed I 1617
None 1649-1660	Louis XIII 1643	Ferdinand III 1657		John William Friso 1711	Charles II 1700	Ferdinand III 1657	Mustafa I 1618
Charles II 1685	Louis XIV 1774	Leopold I 1705			Charles III 1715	Leopold I 1705	Osman II 1622
James II 1688		Joseph I 1711			Phillip V 1724	Joseph I 1711	Mustafa I 1623
Mary II 1694		Charles VI 1740			Louis I 1724	Charles VI 1740	Murad IV 1640
William II 1702		Charles VII 1745			Philip V 1746	Charles VII 1745	Ibrahim 1648
Anne 1714		Francis I 1765			Ferdinand VI 1759	Francis I 1765	Mehmed 1687
George I 1727							Suleiman II 1697
George II 1760							Ahmed II 1695
							Ahmed III 1730
							Mahmud I 1754

APPENDIX 6. SELECTED EVENTS IN EUROPEAN HISTORY – 1600-1750[447]

1600s

1600: Michael the Brave unifies the three Romanian countries: Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania after the Battle of Șelimbăr from 1599.
1601: Battle of Kinsale, England defeats Irish and Spanish forces at the town of Kinsale, driving the Gaelic aristocracy out of Ireland and destroying the Gaelic clan system.
1601: Michael the Brave (first unifier of Romania), voivode of Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania, is assassinated by the order of the Habsburg general Giorgio Basta at Câmpia Turzii.
1601–1603: The Russian famine of 1601–1603 kills perhaps one-third of Russia.
1602: The Dutch East India Company (VOC) is established by merging competing Dutch trading companies.[1] Its success contributes to the Dutch Golden Age.
1603: Elizabeth I of England dies and is succeeded by her cousin King James VI of Scotland, uniting the crowns of Scotland and England.
1603–1623: After modernizing his army, Abbas I expands the Persian Empire by capturing territory from the Ottomans and the Portuguese.
1605: Gunpowder Plot failed in England.
1605: The fortresses of Veszprém and Visegrad are retaken by the Ottomans.
1606: The Long War between the Ottoman Empire and Austria is ended with the Peace of Zsitvatorok—Austria abandons Transylvania.
1606: Treaty of Vienna ends anti-Habsburg uprising in Royal Hungary.
1606: Assassination of Stephen Bocskay of Transylvania.
1606: Time of Troubles: Vasili IV becomes Tzar of Russia.
1607: Jamestown, Virginia, is settled as what would become the first permanent English colony in North America.
1607: Flight of the Earls (the fleeing of most of the native Gaelic aristocracy) occurs from County Donegal in the west of Ulster in Ireland.
1609: The Netherlands and Spain agree to a Twelve Years' Truce in the Eighty Years' War.
1609: Maximilian of Bavaria establishes the Catholic League.

1610s

1610: The Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth army defeats combined Russian- Swedish forces at the Battle of Klushino and conquers Moscow.
1610: Ottoman Grand Vizier Kuyucu Murad Pasha is able to crush the major remnants of the Jelali Revolts, bringing an end to general anarchy in Anatolia.
1610: King Henry IV of France is assassinated by François Ravaillac. .
1611: The first publication of the King James Bible.
Robert Dover: Cotswold Olimpick Games first organized by .
1613: The Time of Troubles in Russia ends with the establishment of the House of Romanov, which rules until 1917.
1613–1617: Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth is invaded by the Tatars dozens of times.[4]
1614: John Napier publishes Mirifici Logarithmorum Canonis Descriptio, the first table of logarithms.
1616: The last remaining Moriscos (Moors who had nominally converted to Christianity) in Spain are expelled.

[447] Source wikipedia.com

1616: English poet and playwright William Shakespeare dies.
1618: The Defenestration of Prague.
1618: The Bohemian Revolt precipitates the Thirty Years' War, which devastates Europe in the years 1618–48.
1618: Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Transylvania joins Protestant Rebels.
1619: Bethlen Gabor is defeated outside Vienna.

1620s

1620: Emperor Ferdinand II defeats the Bohemian rebels in the Battle of White Mountain.
1620: The Brownist Pilgrims arrive in the Mayflower at Cape Cod.
1620–1621: Polish-Ottoman War over Moldavia.
1620: Bethlen Gabor allies with the Ottomans and an invasion of Moldavia takes place. The Polish suffer a disaster at Cecora on the River Prut.
1620: Almost the entire native population of Banda Islands was deported, driven away, starved to death or killed in an attempt to replace them with Dutch colonial slave labour.
1620: Diplomatic agreements in Europe commence a three-year period of cooperation between the Dutch and the English over the spice trade.[2]
1621: The Battle of Chocim: Poles and Cossacks under Jan Karol Chodkiewicz defeat the Ottomans.
1622: Capture of Ormuz; The island of Hormuz was captured by an Anglo-Persian force from Portuguese.
1622: Deposition and regicide of Ottoman sultan Osman II.
1623: Maffeo Barberini is elected Pope Urban VIII at the Papal conclave of 1623.
1624–1642: As chief minister, Cardinal Richelieu centralises power in France.
1624: The Dutch West India Company invades the Portuguese colony of Bahia in Brazil.
1626: St. Peter's Basilica in the Vatican completed.
1627: Cardinal Richelieu lays siege to Protestant La Rochelle, which eventually capitulates.
1627: Aurochs go extinct.
1628—1629: Sultan Agung of Mataram launched a failed campaign to conquer Dutch Batavia.
1629: Abbas I, the Safavids king, died.
1629: Cardinal Richelieu allies with Swedish Protestant forces in the Thirty Years' War to counter Ferdinand II's expansion.

1630s

1631: Mount Vesuvius erupts.
1632: Battle of Lützen, death of king of Sweden Gustav II Adolf.
1633: Galileo Galilei arrives in Rome for his trial before the Inquisition.
1633: Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul is formed.
1634: Battle of Nördlingen results in Catholic victory.
1636: Harvard University is founded in Cambridge, Massachusetts.
1637: René Descartes publishes "Discours de la Méthode" ("The Discourse on the Method") in French.
1637: The first opera house, Teatro San Cassiano, opens in Venice.
1637: End of Tulip mania.
1639: Naval Battle of the Downs – Republic of the United Provinces fleet decisively defeats a Spanish fleet in English waters.
1639: Disagreements between the Farnese and Barberini Pope Urban VIII escalate into the Wars of Castro and last until 1649.
1639–1651: Wars of the Three Kingdoms, civil wars throughout Scotland, Ireland, and England.

1640s

1640: King Charles was compelled to summon Parliament due to the revolt of the Scots.
1640–1668: The Portuguese Restoration War led to the end of the Iberian Union.
1640: Torture is outlawed in England.
1641: The Irish Rebellion.
1641: René Descartes publishes Meditationes de prima philosophia Meditations on First Philosophy.
1642: Beginning of English Civil War, conflict will end in 1649 with the execution of King Charles I, abolishment of the monarchy and the establishment of the supremacy of Parliament over the king.
1643: Louis XIV is crowned King of France. He reigned over the Kingdom of France until his death in 1715, making his reign the longest of any monarch in history at 72 years and 110 days.
1644: Giovanni Battista Pamphili is elected Pope Innocent X at the Papal conclave of 1644.
1644–1674: The Mauritanian Thirty-Year War.
1644: An alliance with Scotland enables Parliamentarian forces to win the Battle of Marston Moor.
1645-1647: East Anglian Witch Hunt;[6] catalysed by Matthew Hopkins.
1645–1669: Ottoman war with Venice. The Ottomans invade Crete and capture Canea.
1646: Sultan Agung of Mataram dies – and is buried at his graveyard at Imogiri.
1646: Defeated, King Charles I flees and surrenders to the Scottish. The First Civil War has ended in a victory for Parliament.
1647: Seven-year-old Mehmed IV becomes sultan.
1647–1652: The Great Plague of Seville.
1648: The Peace of Westphalia ends the Thirty Years' War and the Eighty Years' War and marks the ends of Spain and the Holy Roman Empire as major European powers.
1648–1653: Fronde civil war in France.
1648–1657: The Khmelnytsky Uprising – a Cossack rebellion in Ukraine which turned into a Ukrainian war of liberation from Poland.
1648–1667: The Deluge wars leave Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in ruins.
1648–1669: The Ottomans capture Crete from the Venetians after the Siege of Candia.
1649: King Charles I is executed for High treason, the first and only English king to be subjected to legal proceedings in a High Court of Justice and put to death.
1649–1653: The Cromwellian conquest of Ireland.

1650s

1650: Francesco Redi challenges the theory of spontaneous generation by demonstrating that maggots come from eggs of flies.
1651: English Civil War ends with the Parliamentarian victory at the Battle of Worcester.
1653: Oliver Cromwell dissolves the Rump Parliament and replaces it with the Nominated Assembly (also called the Assembly of Saints or Barebones Parliament.) After three months, the Nominated Assembly passes a motion to dissolve itself and Cromwell establishes the Protectorate.
1656–1661: Mehmed Köprülü is Grand Vizier.
1655: The English, led by Sir William Penn and General Robert Venables, took over the last Spanish fort in Jamaica.
1655–1661: The Northern Wars cement Sweden's rise as a Great Power.
1658: Cromwell dies and his son Richard becomes Lord Protector.
1659: Richard Cromwell is pressured into dissolving the Protectorate; the Rump Parliament is restored.

1660s

1660: The Commonwealth of England ends and the monarchy is brought back during the English Restoration.

1660: Royal Society of London for the Improvement of Natural Knowledge founded.
1660: Royale General Post Office established.
1661: Mehmed Köprülü dies and is succeeded by his son Ahmed.
1661: Cardinal Mazarin, de facto ruler of France, dies.
1662: Blaise Pascal invents a horse-drawn public bus which has a regular route, schedule, and fare system.
1662: Jacques Aymar-Vernay, who later reintroduced Dowsing into popular use in Europe, is born.
1663: Ottoman war against Habsburg Hungary.
1663: France takes full political and military control over its colonial possessions in New France.
1663: Robert Hooke discovers cells using a microscope.
1664: The Battle of St. Gotthard: count Raimondo Montecuccoli defeats the Ottomans. The Peace of Vasvar – intended to keep the peace for 20 years.
1664: John Evelyn's forestry book, Sylva, is published in England.
1665: The Great Plague of London.
1665–1667: The Second Anglo-Dutch War fought between England and the United Provinces.
1666: The Great Fire of London.
1667: The Raid on the Medway during the Second Anglo-Dutch War.
1667–1668: The War of Devolution; France invades the Netherlands. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668) brings this to a halt.
1667–1699: The Great Turkish War halts the Ottoman Empire's expansion into Europe.
1667: As a result of the Treaty of Breda between Dutch and England, the Dutch secured a worldwide monopoly on nutmeg by forcing England to give up their claim on Run, the most remote of the Banda Islands.
1668: Peace Treaty of Lisbon between Spain and Portugal recognizes Portugal as independent country.
1669: The Ottomans capture Crete.

1670s

1670: The Hudson's Bay Company was founded in New France (Modern-day Canada).
1670: The city of Charleston is founded in present-day South Carolina.
1672–1673: Ottoman campaign to help the Ukrainian Cossacks. John Sobieski defeats the Ottomans at the second battle of Khotyn (1673).
1672–1676: Polish-Ottoman War.
1672: Rampjaar in the Netherlands – Combined attack by France, England and two German states on the Republic of the United Provinces.
1672: Lynching of Johan de Witt and his brother Cornelis de Witt in the Hague – William III of Orange takes power.
1672–1678: Franco-Dutch War.
1673: Antoni van Leeuwenhoek is the first to observe microbes with a homemade microscope, using samples he collected from his teeth scrapings, raindrops, and his own feces. He calls them "animalcules."
1674: The Treaty of Westminster ends the war between England and the Republic of the United Provinces.
1676: The Treaty of Zurawno brings Polish-Ottoman hostilities to a halt.
1675: Greenwich Observatory commissioned.
1676: Kara Mustafa becomes Grand Vizier.
1676–1681: Russia and the Ottoman Empire commence the Russo-Turkish Wars.
1678: The Treaty of Nijmegen ends various interconnected wars among France, the Dutch Republic, Spain, Brandenburg, Sweden, Denmark, the Prince-Bishopric of Münster, and the Holy Roman Empire.

1680s

1680: Johnathan's Coffee-House opened by John Miles.
1681: The Pasha of Buda supports Imre Thököly's rebellion in Hungary.
1682: Sultan Mehmed IV, advised by Kara Mustafa, decides to disregard the existing peace treaty with Leopold I, due to expire in 1684.
1682: Peter the Great becomes joint ruler of Russia (sole tsar in 1696).
1682: La Salle explores the length of the Mississippi River and claims Louisiana for France.
1682: Chateau de Versailles becomes the primary royal residence of Louis XIV; Saint-Gobain produced glass for the Hall of Mirrors.
1683: The Ottoman Empire is defeated in the second Siege of Vienna.
1683-1699: The Great Turkish War leads to the conquest of most of Ottoman Hungary by the Habsburgs.
1685: Edict of Fontainebleau outlaws Protestantism in France. King Charles II dies.
1687: Isaac Newton publishes Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica.
1688: The Siege of Derry.
1688–1689: The Glorious Revolution starts with the Dutch Republic invading England, England becomes a constitutional monarchy.
1688–1691: The War of the Two Kings in Ireland.
1688–1697: The Grand Alliance sought to stop French expansion during the Nine Years War.
1689: William and Mary ascend to the throne over England, Scotland, and Ireland.
1689: John Locke publishes his first 'Letter Concerning Toleration'.
1689: The Treaty of Nerchinsk established a border between Russia and China.
1689: The Battle of Killiecrankie is fought between Jacobite and Williamite forces in Highland Perthshire.
1689: The Karposh rebellion is crushed in present-day North Macedonia, Skopje is retaken by the Ottoman Turks. Karposh is killed, and the rebels are defeated.
1689: Two Treatises of Government published anonymously by John Locke.
1689: Bill of Rights takes effect.

1690s

1690: The Battle of the Boyne in Ireland.
1692: Salem witch trials in Massachusetts.
1692–1694: Famine in France kills 2 million.[7]
1693: The College of William and Mary is founded in Williamsburg, Virginia, by a royal charter.
1694: The Bank of England is established.
1694: Mary II of England dies.
1696–1697: Famine in Finland wipes out almost one-third of the population.[8]
1697: The earliest known first-class cricket match takes place in Sussex.
1697-1699: Grand Embassy of Peter the Great.
1699: The Treaty of Karlowitz ends the Great Turkish War.
1699: Thomas Savery demonstrates his first steam engine to the Royal Society.

1700s

1700: With the decline of the spice trade, textiles are now the most important trade item in the Dutch East Indies.[9]
1700–1721: Great Northern War between the Russian and Swedish Empires.
1701: Kingdom of Prussia declared under King Frederick I.
1701–1714: War of the Spanish Succession is fought, involving most of continental Europe.[1]

1701–1702: The Daily Courant and The Norwich Post become the first daily newspapers in England.
1702–1715: Camisard Rebellion in France.
1703: Saint Petersburg is founded by Peter the Great; it is the Russian capital until 1918.
1703–1711: The Rákóczi Uprising against the Habsburg monarchy.
1705: George Frideric Handel's first opera, Almira, premieres.
1706: War of the Spanish Succession: French troops defeated at the battles of Ramillies and Turin.
1706: The first English-language edition of the Arabian Nights is published.
1707: The Act of Union is passed, merging the Scottish and English Parliaments, thus establishing the Kingdom of Great Britain.[3]
1707: War of 27 Years between the Marathas and Mughals ends in India.
1708: The Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies and English Company Trading to the East Indies merge to form the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies.
1708–1709: Famine kills one-third of East Prussia's population.
1709: The Great Frost of 1709 marks the coldest winter in 500 years.
1709: Charles XII of Sweden flees to the Ottoman Empire after Peter I of Russia defeats his army at the Battle of Poltava.

1710s

1710: The world's first copyright legislation, Britain's Statute of Anne, takes effect.
1710–1711: Ottoman Empire fights Russia in the Russo-Turkish War.
1711–1715: Tuscarora War between British, Dutch, and German settlers and the Tuscarora people of North Carolina.
1712: War of the Spanish Succession: The French defeat a combined Dutch-Austrian force at the Battle of Denain.
1712: The first shipment of coffee from Java reaches Amsterdam.[4]
1713: The Treaty of Utrecht ends the War of the Spanish Succession.
1714: Accession of George I, Elector of Hanover, to the throne of Great Britain.
1715: The first Jacobite rising breaks out; the British halt the Jacobite advance at the Battle of Sheriffmuir; Battle of Preston.
1715: Louis XIV dies, leaving France greatly enlarged but deep in debt; The Regency takes power under Philippe d'Orleans.
1715: Pope Clement XI declares Catholicism and Confucianism incompatible.
1717: The Netherlands, Britain and France sign the Triple Alliance.
1718: The city of New Orleans is founded by the French in North America.
1718: Blackbeard (Edward Teach) is killed by Robert Maynard in a North Carolina inlet on the inner side of Ocracoke Island.
1718–1730: Tulip period of the Ottoman Empire.
1719: The Spanish attempt to restart the Jacobite rebellion fails.
1719: Second Javanese War of Succession.[5]

1720s

1720–1721: The Great Plague of Marseille.
1721: Robert Walpole becomes the first Prime Minister of Great Britain (de facto).
1721: The Treaty of Nystad is signed, ending the Great Northern War.
1721: Kangxi Emperor bans Christian missionaries because of Pope Clement XI's decree.
1721: Peter I reforms the Russian Orthodox Church.
1722: Bartholomew Roberts is killed in a sea battle off the African coast.

1722–1723: Russo-Persian War.
1722–1725: Controversy over William Wood's halfpence leads to the Drapier's Letters and begins the Irish economic independence from England movement.
1723: Slavery is abolished in Russia; Peter the Great converts household slaves into house serfs.[6]
1724: The Treaty of Constantinople is signed, partitioning Persia between the Ottoman Empire and Russia.
1727–1729: Anglo-Spanish War.
1729–1735: Charles Wesley and John Wesley begin Methodism in England.

1730s

1730: Mahmud I takes over Ottoman Empire after the Patrona Halil revolt, ending the Tulip period.
1730–1760: The First Great Awakening takes place in Great Britain and North America.
1732–1734: Crimean Tatar raids into Russia.[8]
1733–1738: War of the Polish Succession.
1734: Letters Concerning the English Nation by Voltaire published in French.
1735–1739: Russo-Turkish War.
1736: Nader Shah assumes the title of Shah of Persia and founds the Afsharid dynasty; he rules until his death in 1747.
1736: Qing Dynasty Chinese court painters recreate Zhang Zeduan's classic panoramic painting, Along the River During Qingming Festival.
1738–1756: Famine across the Sahel; half the population of Timbuktu dies.[10]
1738: Pope Clement XII issues In eminenti apostolatus, prohibiting Catholics from becoming Freemasons.
1738: Turlough O'Carolan, famous Irish harper, dies.

1740s

1740: Frederick the Great comes to power in Prussia.
1740: Great Awakening in New England with evangelist George Whitefield.
1740: The British captured St. Augustine, Florida but lose to the Spanish during the Siege of St. Augustine.
1740–1741: Famine in Ireland kills ten percent of the population.
1740–1748: War of the Austrian Succession.
1741: Russians begin settling the Aleutian Islands.
1741: Pope Benedict XIV issues Immensa Pastorum principis against slavery.
1742: Marvel's Mill, the first water-powered cotton mill, begins operation in England.[13]
1744: The First Saudi State is founded by Mohammed Ibn Saud.
1744: The French attempt to restart the Jacobite rebellion fails.
1745: Second Jacobite rising is begun by Charles Edward Stuart in Scotland.
1748: The Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle ends the War of the Austrian Succession and First Carnatic War.
1748–1754: The Second Carnatic War is fought between the British, the French, the Marathas, and Mysore in India.

1750s

1750: Peak of the Little Ice Age.
1754: The Treaty of Pondicherry ends the Second Carnatic War and recognizes Muhammed Ali Khan Wallajah as Nawab of the Carnatic.
1754: King's College is founded by a royal charter of George II of Great Britain.[15]

1754–1763: The French and Indian War, the North American chapter of the Seven Years' War, is fought in colonial North America, mostly by the French and their allies against the English and their allies.
1755: The Lisbon earthquake occurs.
1755: Demand-Supply by Richard Cantillon published in French.
1756–1763: The Seven Years' War is fought among European powers in various theaters around the world.
1758: British colonel James Wolfe issues Wolfe's Manifesto.
1759: French and Indian War: French commander Louis-Joseph de Montcalm and British commander James Wolfe die during the Battle of the Plains of Abraham.

APPENDIX 7. OTHER NOTABLE TAAFFES

Lewis' Taaffe's *Memoirs* does not include information about other Taaffes who also made a name for themselves. I've included several below.

Julia Taaffe (1809-1881)

Julia Taaffe is the subject of a *The Prince and the Wild Geese*,[448] a non-fiction book written by the acclaimed British author Brigid Brophy (1929-1995). Brophy was a popular, colorful figure in England: feminist, progressive social reformer, frequent television guest, and provocateur. Her book about Julia combines narrative about Julia and a Russian admirer and artist, Prince Grégoire Gargarin who was smitten by her in 1832 and captured her likeness in a series of drawings that depict her loveliness and his affection for her. Set in springtime Italy of 1832, the narrative weaves the backgrounds of these two and speculation about the hidden meaning in the sketches. The drawing depicted here shows Julia surrounded by suitors while her older sister Martha-Joanna sits alone looking forlorn. The book is out of print now but a search by its ISBN number, 0-312-64551 may lead interested readers in finding a copy at a used bookstore.

Julia was the youngest daughter of John Taaffe and Catherine Fotterell (sp?), one of 14 children in a family of four sons and ten daughters. She would spurn the overtures of Gargarin and Marry Theobold MacKenna sometime after her return to Ireland. She and her husband had a least one child, John.

Eduard Franz Joseph von Taaffe, 11th Viscount Taaffe (1833-1895)

Eduard Franz Joseph von Taaffe was born in Vienna, Austria, son of Ludwig (Louis) Patrick John von Taffee (1791-1855) and Amalia Taaffe. He had two siblings, brother Charles Rudolph Taaffe (1823-1873), the 10th Viscount of Taaffe and a sister, Amália Taaffe.

Hi titles included the 11th Viscount Taaffe of Corran, Baron of Ballymote, and Count of the Roman Empire. Over the course of his political career, he held several offices, including Member of the Bohemian Diet, Minister of the Interior, Prime Minister of Cisleithania, president of the cabinet, governor of Tyrol, and minister president.

In 1862 Eduard married Countess Irma Csáky,[449] daughter of Count Emanuel Csáck and Maria Aranyossy zu Jorbasz. Together they would have six children:

- Ludwig Taaffe,
- Henirich Graf Taaffe, Baron of Ballymote,

[448] Brophy, B. (1983). *The Prince and the Wild Geese*. St Martin's Press.
[449] Surname sometimes spelled Tsaky.

- Marie/Mary (b. 1866), married Maximilian Graf Condenhove 21 September 1899.
- Luisa/Louisa (b. 1868), joined a religious order as a canoness in Brunn, Austria.
- Helena/Helen (b. 1870), married Richard Baron con Mattencloit in September of 1889.
- Clementine (1875-1877).

During childhood he was a companion to the Archduke Francis Joseph of Austria who, in 1848, was crowned Emperor of Austria. This friendship was what led him to important political offices within the Austrian government for Eduard. This was a tumultuous time in Austrian politics, and Eduard found himself in a situation like those of his forebears: caught between political and religious factions. One of his most significant accomplishments with the Election Reform Act of 1882 which broadened participation in voting within the country.

During his tenure as Prime Minister, Rudolph, Crown Prince of Austria, and son Francis Joseph, committed suicide along with his mistress, Mary Vestera, committed suicide at the Maylering Hunting Lodge, creating an international scandal.[450] An investigation into the deaths resulted in a report called the *Maylering Papers* which were entrusted to Taaffe for safe keeping. The whereabouts of these papers is unknown. There has been widespread speculation about the deaths and if they were indeed suicides or murder, with Eduard himself a possible suspect.

Eduard died at age 62 on 29 November 1895 at his castle in and is buried in the Taaffe Family Crypt in his castle estate in in Nalžovské Hory, Klatovy District, Plzeňský (Plzen), Czech Republic, *Find a Grave* Memorial number 65121584.

Upon Eduard's death, his son Henirich (Henry) became the 12th Viscount Taffee.

Heinrich (Graf) Taaffe, 12th Viscount Taaffe (1872-1828)

Heinrich married Maria Magda Fuchs in Vienna on 22 May 1897. Together they had five children, four daughters and a son. Following the death of his wife in 1918, Heinrich married a second time on 2 June 1919 to Aglaë Isescu in Elischau.

Austria aligned itself with Germany during World War I, with Heinrich serving as a Lieutenant in the Regiment of German Kaiser Franz Joseph's regiment. In turn, this led to the loss of Taaffe titles and properties in Ireland under the Titles Deprivation Act of 1917. At the end of WWW, the new state of German-Austria was created, the Austrian nobility system eliminated, and Heinrich would lose his title of Count as well.

Edward Charles Richard Taaffe (1887-1967)

As the sole male heir, Richard Taaffe (1887-1967) did not inherit the titles of his father, but nonetheless styled himself as "Count" during his lifetime. Richard would die childless, in Ireland where he made his home.

He would become famous in his own right as a gemologist by discovering an rare mineral, technically called Magnesiotaaffeite, 2N'2S but familiarly known as Taaffeite, used in jewelry. If you shop for it

[450] The Mayerling Incident

you will find prices ranging from a under $20 for a small, raw stone to tens of thousands of dollars for larger, cut stones.

Ellen Taaffe Zwilich (1939-)

Ellen Taaffe is a Pulitzer Prize winning composer. She was born in Florida in 1939, where she earned an undergraduate degree in music, moving to New York after graduation to play violin in the American Symphony Orchestra under conductor Leopold Stokowski. In 1975 she earned a Ph.D. in musical composition from the Julliard School. While in New York, she met and married violinist Joseph Zwilich, who would pass away in 1979. She has written several classical orchestral and choral works, and her *Symphony Number One, Three Movements for Orchestra*,[451] was awarded in Pulitzer prize for Music in 1983. You can play a rendition of the work by the Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra conducted by John Nelson on Apple Music.

Alice Frances Taaffe Terry (1899-1987)

Alice Frances Taaffe (stage surname Terry) was an American film star and director, married to film director Rex Ingram. She was the youngest of three children born in Vincennes, Indiana on July 25, 1899 to Matthew Taaffe and Ella Thorn.

Two online biographies of Alice are available:
1. Wikipedia: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alice_Terry.
2. Women's Film Pioneers Project: https://wfpp.columbia.edu/pioneer/ccp-alice-terry/.

Photos from some of her films may be found on IMDB at https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0855935/.

Her grave site may be found at https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/6272/alice-terry-ingram

[451] (December 8, 1992) *Zwilich: Symphony No. 1, Prologue & Variations, and Celebration for Orchestra*. Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra, John Nelson, conductor. New World Records: NW336-2.